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The Peoples of the Amur Region
/Die Völker des Amur-Landes/

by Leopold von Schrenck

St. Petersburg: 1881-1895

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Explanation of the Plates

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Plate VI

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Plate VIII

Occiputal view (norma occipitalis) of the same skulls, see ibid.

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Basal view (norma basilaris) of the same skulls, see ibid.

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/1/ Introduction

121 167 177 The picture of the peoples of the Amur region which is sketched here already in large part belongs to the past. Since Russia has taken definite possession of this region, the ethnographic conditions of this territory have changed in rapid strokes. Whereas the Amur region in the fifties, when I became acquainted with it -- with the exception of the relatively small stretch between the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/ and the Bureja /Bureya/ where a Chinese town and Manchu-Chinese villages carrying on agriculture and livestock-raising were located -- was still a continuous forest and prairie wilderness, in which, except for a couple of small and newly established Russian military posts, only half-wild fishing and hunting peoples lived undisturbed, now post stations or settlements of Russian Cossacks or voluntary colonists extend along the entire Amur and Ussuri at intervals of 20-30 versts, cities have risen or are in the process of rising, several harbors have been established on the coast, steamboats run up and down the Amur, and even a telegraph wire already cuts through the former wilderness. It is obvious that events of this kind could not have taken place without the greatest influence on the life and activities of the native population of the Amur region. When a country still almost virgin in character is opened to immigration, colonization, and civilization, it is not its plant or animal world that first suffers a loss of individuality, but the people. Even before the forests are cleared, the virgin soil broken up and sowed, the wild animals scared away or reduced, the man who roams over these forests as a hunter or dwells on the riverbank as a fisherman comes into contact and relations with the new arrivals and bears the traces of the foreign contact in his way of life, his manners and customs, his language, his ideas and conceptions, in short, in the total pattern of his physical and spiritual life. History has often shown what consequences this contact, if it is enduring, customarily has for a primitive people as a rule. /2/ First fundamentally and lastingly

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121 injured in his physical means of existence, hunting and fishing,
179 by the newcomers, unable to acquire new means of livelihood, much less compete in this with the foreigners superior to him, also often robbed and enervated by them with the help of the irresistible brandy, step by step torn out of his traditional life, assailed in addition even in his psychic life, wronged and despised in everything dear and sacred to him, oppressed and tortured by the terrors conjured up by his own superstitions, and, in addition to all this, greatly weakened and decimated perhaps further by war, but certainly by devastating epidemics such as always follow the first contact of primitive people with Europeans, there inevitably will be a rapid decline in the number of persons, impoverishment, moral and physical deterioration, complete dependence on the newcomers, and, by mixing with them, either the loss of individuality, with even a loss of language, or else total extinction (1). Even if one does elude the

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1. This subject has been dealt with very thoroughly by Dr. Georg Gerland in his work, Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker /On the Extinction of Primitive Peoples/ (Leipzig, 1868). He regards the attacks on the psychic life of primitive peoples as almost even more pernicious than the assaults on their physical existence (op. cit., p. 118).

intruding foreigner, however, if, where circumstances allow it, one withdraws to the remote wildernesses, only a short respite is usually won, for with the loss of his native soil, his familiar hunting grounds and fishing sites, his material belongings, and his moral and psychic vigor, the same fate still ultimately befalls him through impoverishment and curtailment. We do not have to go far for examples of extinct tribes or tribes that have completely lost their individuality. Siberia offers enough of
[173] them. Where, for instance, are the Omok, now known only

SS 121 177 173 /2 cont./ by name, who once supposedly lived from the Jana /Yana/ to the Kolyma, and of whom legend says, "formerly along the banks of the Kolyma there were more Omok fires than stars in the sky on a clear night" (2)? What has become of the Schelagern

SS [113]

2. F. F. Vrangel' /Ferdinand von Wrangel/, Putesh. po siev. bereg. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu / A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1841, pp. 80, 81. German translation, Vol. II, pp. 5,6. Kiber", "Zamiech. o niekot. predm. Estestv. Istor., ychinenn. v" Nizhne-Kolymskie i okrestn. onago, v" 1821 g. /Remarks on Several Subjects of Natural History, Learned in Nizhne-Kolymsk and Its Environs/" (Sibirsk. Viestn. izd. Grig. Spasskim", 1823, Ch. II, Statist., p. 127).

who disappeared at the same time, of whom tradition relates that one autumn they and the Omok assembled on a large lake in such numbers that the ice, half an arshin thick, broke under the weight and many of them lost their lives (3)? Hedenström

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3. A. Argentov", "Siev. zemlia /Severnaya Zemlya/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book II, Izslied i Mater. /Research and Materials/, p. 18). All the reports to be gleaned from legends and traditions concerning these peoples and their presumed emigration to a northern country in the Arctic Sea are collected in this very interesting article.

SS [113]

/Gedenshtrom/, to be sure, regards the Yukagir, who in his day

/2 cont./
roamed between the Jana and Kolyma in small numbers, as a remnant of the Omok (4), and Argentof /Argentov/ actually

4. Gedenshtrom", Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, St. Petersburg, 1830, p. 97.

heard them speak of these people as their ancestors (5), but what

5. Argentov", "Opisanie Nikolaevskago Chaunskago prikhoda/ A Description of the Nikolaevsk Chaun Parish/" (Zap. Sibirsk. Otdiel. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book III, 1857, pp. 89, 104).

is the situation of the Yukagir today? /3/ The expedition led by Baron Gerh. Maydell (1868-70) met among them only a few isolated individuals who still knew the language of their fathers (1).

1. According to Neumann /Neiman/ ("Niesk. slov" o torg. i promyshl. siev. okrug. Iakutsk. obl. /A Few Words about the Trade and Industry of the Northern Districts of the Yakut Oblast/" Izviest. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. III, Irkutsk, 1872, p. 36; Vol. IV, p. 156), only ten persons; according to Trifonof /Trifonov/ ("Zam. o Nizhne-Kolymskie /Notes on Nizhne-Kolymsk/," Izv. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch. Vol. III, p. 167), only one old man. Even the Yukagir questioned by Maydell, who knew his language, did not always have ready answers and was therefore forced to turn

Yukagir RV3
Northeast Siberia RY1
Ket RU2

Y 121 177 197 Y [113]

/3 cont./ 1. (cont.)
to his aged mother when he himself was unable to think of certain expressions. Cf. Schiefner, "Ueber Baron G. v. Maydell's Jukagirische Sprachproben /Concerning Baron G. v. Maydell's Yukagir Language Specimens/" (Bullet. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XVII, p. 86; Mél. asiat. tirés du Bull., Vol. VI, p. 600).

NS 121 101 177 648 K 101 121 161 NS [113]

Of the Anaul, a tribe on the Anadyr with whom the discoverer of this river, the Cossack Semjon Deshnef /Dezhnev/ waged war in 1649, it is expressly said that they were completely wiped out in a short time because they were not numerous, but were stubborn (2). All the peoples who, along with the Yenisei

2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, p. 11.

K 101 121 114 K [113]

Ostyak /Ket/, belong to the same tribe, such as the Arin or Arinz, Assan /Asan/, and Kott /Kot/, are either completely extinct or close to extinction. Fischer, who first recognized the homogeneousness of these peoples, spoke of it with regard to the Arin as an accomplished fact (3). Castrén /Kastren/

3. Fischer, Sibirische Gesch. /Siberian History/, Vol. I. St. Petersburg, 1768, pp. 138, 387, note 51.

000 K [113]

found the Kott in only five living individuals, who gave him the opportunity to study their language (4). But even for the

4. Al. Castrén, Ethnolog. Vorles. über

2:Schrenck--6 E-5 (1854-1856)1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ket RU2
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

K 101 12 114 113

/3 cont./ 4. (cont.)
die Altaisch. Völker /Ethnological Lectures on the Altaic Peoples/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1857, p. 87. The same, Versuch einer Jenissei-Ostjak und Kottischen Sprachlehre /Tentative Ket and Kot Grammar/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. V, VI.

K KL 121 177

But even for the Yenisei Ostyak, standing isolated today, the present situation is not much better than for the above-mentioned Yukagir, Italmen or Kamchadal, and many other Siberian tribes. To be sure, they have managed to survive, but as a consequence of their constant and close intercourse with the Russians and living with them, their peculiar tribal character has been completely lost, and it is hardly possible now to reconstruct the original picture of these tribes with even the most meticulous research. How far and in how short a time, for example, has the disintegration processs affected even the more remote Kamchadal, isolated by the peninsular position of their country? Today we would scarcely know anything more to say about them had not Krascheninnikof /Krasheninnikov/ and Steller determined their main features. What has once been neglected here cannot be collected again later.

SS 167 177 121

At present the peoples of the Amur region, too, have entered upon such a process of disintegration. Indeed, it may proceed all the more rapidly among them, since the colonization of this country on the part of the Russians, as mentioned above, has been conducted with a vigor that has no equal in Siberia. The descriptions of later travelers indicate beyond doubt that the individuality of these peoples is rapidly disappearing. Even today it may often be rather difficult to find out what is original and peculiar in their practices, customs, and conceptions under what is foreign and superimposed growing over it. This difficulty did not yet exist at the time when I made their acquaintance.

/3 cont./

121 The only civilized peoples with whom they had been in longer
122 contact up to then, were the Chinese /4/ and Japanese, but this
[439] contact, at least for the more remote among them, was always only rare and almost exclusively limited to trade relations. The culture of these East-Asiatic peoples lacked, at least at that time, the expansive character of European culture in order to act as distructively as the latter on primitive peoples. To what extent they nevertheless had an influence on them will be set forth in
121 the following pages. Always intent on promoting the scientific exploration of North Asia to the extent that political circumstances permitted, the Academy sent out, in my charge, its first expedition to the Amur region at the time when this country, after the bloody battles of enterprising freebooters and Cossacks of the seventeenth century, was first re-entered by the Russians, to be taken into permanent possession from then on. For ethnographic research, it thus took advantage of the most favorable moment, one which can never occur again in these regions. Aware of this advantage because of the circumstances of the time, I have given as much attention to the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region as was at all possible for a traveler whose mission, above all, was research in natural history.
[114] Moreover, the Academy sent along with me a draftsman, by means of which it would be possible to record much from the life of the Amur peoples through pictorial representation. Thus, during the trip work was done to collect the observations and materials necessary in order to be able to give the most detailed picture possible of the peoples of the Amur region at the time, since they still possessed their complete originality, or at least it was not yet spoiled by contact with a civilized European people. In the following, then, the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region at that time are always meant, even if according to the form, the observations are in the present.

3 [i.e., at the time of the author's visit to them, c. 1854-1856 -- Analyst]

/4 cont./

101 The whole Amur river area will not be discussed here ethno-
121 graphically. A part of it, the so-called Dauria, or the source-country of the Amur River, remains remote to us here. This country, indisputably left to the Russian since the Nerchinsk Border Treaty of 1689, has already often been visited by older and more recent travelers and has been repeatedly discussed with regard to its ethnographic conditions, with its prevailing Russian and, to a smaller extent, Mongol-Tungusic population.
[133] Only where the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/ join the Amur, to the east of the Mongolian-Daurian high plateau, do the terraced country and lowlands of the Amur River begin, the Amur region proper, which, having only recently come into the possession of Russia, is only very little or scarcely known ethnographically. Only this Amur region proper will be considered in the following pages. On physico-geographic, as well as ethnographic grounds, however, we must also add to it, not only the districts on the Amur and its tributaries, but also the adjoining coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan, from the Tugur Gulf to the Korean border, as well as the island of Sakhalin which lies opposite the mouth of the Amur River and which follows the coast of the mainland at a short distance, leading, like a bridge, to Japan and the Kuriles.

/5/ Furthermore, not all of the peoples who inhabit the Amur region thus outlined will be the subject of our observations. Automatically excluded, of course, are the well-known civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, who did not belong to the Amur region originally, but invaded it from the south to a greater or lesser extent; and also the Manchu, who, to be sure, have their homeland in the drainage area of the Amur, but through their history, their ruling position in China, their literary language, and the like are ranked with these civilized peoples. These peoples, however, in linguistic, historical, culture-historical, and other respects, have been the subject of many searching investigations by specialized experts. Here

/5 cont./

they can be considered only with regard to their relations with the natives of the Amur region and insofar as they have exerted influence on them. So we have left only the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, who to be sure, can no longer be designated as primitive peoples, but who nevertheless have had little contact with civilization, even that of their neighbors, and are still on the level of simple hunting and fishing tribes.

But even for these peoples, still very numerous, the mission set forth above could be carried out only in part and to a very limited extent. The great expanse of the Amur region, which at the time of my stay there was for the most part still wholly under Chinese rule, as well as the fact that access to many parts of it was still difficult at that time, naturally did not permit me, in the relatively short period of something over two years that my travels in the Amur region required, to come into contact with all the peoples scattered over it, much less to become better acquainted with them. The circumstance that the Russians, advancing from the Sea of Okhotsk, first gained a firm foothold at the mouth of the Amur River, obliged me, since I entered the Amur region from the sea side, to make my headquarters likewise at the newly established Nikolayev Post, in order to undertake from there, in summer as well as in winter, major and minor excursions and trips into the interior of the region, to the seacoast, and to Sakhalin Island. The details concerning these trips are to be found in the introduction to the first volume of this work, as well as in several travel reports published in the Bulletin of the Academy (1). They led be twice to Sakhalin Island, whose

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1. Reisen u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande /Travels and Research in the Amur Region/, Vol. I, pp. IX-XXII. Bulletin de la classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 40-46, 184-192, 217-222; Vol. XV, pp. 169-176, 241-254; Mélanges phys. et

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/5 cont./

1. (cont.)
chim. tirés du Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 346-355, 446-456, 492-497; Vol. III, pp. 8-17; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 49-65, 297-306, 344-363.

southern tip, by the way, I had already touched in the summer of 1854, along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan, to the Gorin and the Ussuri, and, finally, on the return trip, up the entire Amur and a part of the Argunj /Argun/ River. During the winter travels in particular, I lived with and among the natives entirely. Therefore, it was principally the peoples of the lower Amur region, especially the Gilyak, but also the Olcha (Mangun) and Goldi, with whom I had an opportunity to become more closely acquainted, whereas I came in contact with the others only more or less fleetingly.

G 114 129

For certain information concerning the Gilyak I am also indebted to Middendorff /Middendorf/, who /6/ became acquainted with this people as early as 1844, and, to be sure, on the extreme northwestern border of their area of distribution. He did not publish in his travel account the notes written down by him at that time, but kindly passed them on to me for use in this place, and they are in fact of great value to me, since I myself did not visit this part of the Gilyak area. Therefore, in the following where I refer to Middendorff without citing his writings, my information comes from the handwritten notes mentioned. A great deal was also contributed for a more detailed knowledge of the peoples of the lower Amur by the circumstance that during the time I had my headquarters in the midst of the Gilyak area, my friend and present colleague, C. J. Maximowicz, had his in Olcha territory, and, to be sure, in the Mariinski Post established shortly before. His information concerning the Olcha and Goldi collected at that time and on a later trip in 1859 and 60 and passed along to me forms an essential part of the following information on these peoples. This was a fortunate arrangement for ethnographic research because it is precisely the peoples of

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SS /6 cont./
114 the lower Amur region who undoubtedly are the most interesting, since, due to their greater remoteness from the Manchu, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as the Russians, their way of life has best been shaped and preserved in a peculiar way. In particular, G [197] however, this is true of the Gilyak, who, linguistically as well, stand wholly isolated among all the Amur peoples (1).

1. It may be noted in passing that even during the preparations for the second Bering Expedition, the instructions drawn up in the bosom of the Academy for the ethnographic investigations strongly urged a visit among the Gilyak. (Baer, "Kurzer Bericht über wissensch. Arbeiten u. Reisen /Short Statement concerning Scientific Work and Travels/," etc., see Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersb., 1855, p. 408, note). This request could not be complied with until over a hundred years later through Middendorff's and my travels.

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122 Nevertheless, here, too, in spite of frequent contacts with the natives, a detailed investigation of their practices, customs, religious views, and the like still faced many obstacles. The greatest of them for a traveler, especially if he is a natural scientist and not a linguist, is his ignorance of the language of a people and the difficulty of learning it in a short time well enough to be able to converse in it. As a rule, one can overcome this difficulty by hiring an interpreter, but when the first contact with a people is made, he does not yet have one. On my first trip up the Amur to the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir, the Cossacks accompanying me understood so little of the languages of these peoples that I myself, noting down immediately every word whose meaning I learned, had to serve them as an interpreter.

/6 cont./

122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.

[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of

122 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much
128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

123 /7 cont./
information, by frequently examining and testing it by means of repeated inquiries on the same subject, and, finally, by learning their language. I believe that I reached my goal completely in the case of the Amur Gilyak, who more frequently came to the Nikolayev Post, for I gradually won trust and popularity among them, such as later perhaps would not appear again. In winter, when Gilyak came to the Nikolayev Post, they drove directly up to my house, unharnessed their dogs, pulled their light sleds into the antechamber, and settled down confidently in my presence, certain of receiving from me both food for their dogs and, for themselves, food and tobacco for smoking à discretion, indeed even perhaps a few trifles, a few needles, buttons, and the like as gifts. This gave me the assurance of finding on my eventual trips a hospitable reception likewise from each of them. They turned to me when in their dealings and trade with the Russians an injustice had been committed against them in their opinion; they complained to me about their distress when, say, a dog was stolen from them, a storeroom was plundered, a monument destroyed; indeed, they sometimes voiced in my presence their fear about what was to become of them in view of the growing number of Russians and their settlements. When, in the winter of 1855/56, I was sick in bed with gastric fever for several weeks, the news of it spread quickly among the Gilyak, and when, in the spring of 1856, I was finally about to leave for good, I received many demonstrations of their regret upon learning that hereafter I would no longer be at the Nikolayev Post. Farther away from the Amur, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin, however, I have also found that the Gilyak suddenly stopped in the midst of a long, calm communication and asked one another the question, /8/, for what would I probably use the information concerned? And after they had agreed that a possible colonization among them by the Russians might depend on my recital concerning the condition of the country, the communication either stopped or it took on an entirely different character, painted as black as possible or

G /8 cont./
123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to
SS come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples
121 naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

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Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

GSS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

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1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

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/9 cont./ a meager list of the illustrations, most of which even lack any information as to which of the Amur peoples they refer to. In any case the objects pictured there do not belong to the Gilyak, since Maack's trip did not touch their territory. Some of our illustrations could have been omitted by references to several woodcuts that are found in the last issue of Middendorff's travel report -- to illustrate the household implements of the Nigidal /Negidal/ -- but this issue had not appeared at the time when the following plates had all been prepared.

As stated above, since it is the peoples of the lower Amur region who are to be discussed here in greater detail, most of our illustrations refer to them, and especially to the Gilyak. Indeed, whenever identical or very similar objects from various Amur peoples were available to me, I always gave preference to the Gilyak one for the illustration, in order thus to provide as complete a picture as possible of at least one of these proples, and unquestionably the most unique and interesting one.

By far the most of the illustrations added here are by the draftsman of my expedition, Mr. W. Poliwanof, during our stay in the Nikolayev Post; a few were also drawn or at least sketched during the trips. I owe a not insignificant portion of the illustrations, especially the sketches of many scenes from Gilyak life, to Mr. Maximowicz, with whom I made many a trip in the Amur region. Still others were first made here from ethnographic objects brought back from the trip, for example, most of the idols by Mr. A Baumer, the drawings of Gilyak patterns by Mr. Nezwetajef. Finally, I had access to a collection which was made in the sixties, in part by W. Lanin in Nikolayevsk, in part by other photographers, namely, many photographs of the Gilyak, Goldi, and Ainu. All the material was handed over to the skilled artist, Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, in order in part to work on it and to perfect it, and in part to make lithographs corresponding to the format of this work. Since Mr. Dmitrijef himself /10/ was never in the Amur region, it was all the more incumbent on me to examine all his work closely with regard to its faithfulness to detail, and I must

2: Schrenck--17 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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testify that in all his drawings he faithfully copies reality as a whole as well as in all its details. In order to illustrate the craniological proportions of the Amur peoples, the photographer of the Academy of Sciences, Mr. W. Clasen, made with his customary skill a number of phototypic plates, the details of which will be discussed in the appropriate place. The same will be done with regard to the ethnographic map of the Amur region preceding all the illustrations, which was made by the topographic section of the general staff here under the direction of Major General O. von Stubendorff.

It is a pleasant duty for me to express publicly here my warmest thanks to all the gentlemen named who have worked on the artistic design and adornment of this book, especially my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, through whose industrious devotion most of the drawings were made. If this work succeeds in giving a true and clear picture of the Amur peoples and their life and practices, certainly not the least part of this is on account of his illustrations.

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I. Geographical-Historical Part

Section 1

General survey of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region. Present boundaries of their respective areas of distribution. Spatial position of the civilized peoples of East Asia, Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region. Spatial position of the Russians in relation to the Amur peoples. Ethnographic map of the Amur region.

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A certain uniformity of the phenomena in nature and the life of the people, extending over broad areas, is generally a part of the character of northern Asia, but it stands out in the Amur region much less than in Siberia. The Amur region, provided with diverse natural conditions, alternating mountain

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13 ranges and plains, extensive forests, grassy prairies, mighty rivers abounding in fish, extensive seacoasts, and a climate milder than that of Siberia, though inclement and continental, offers a more diverse and richer picture in its ethnographic conditions equally as much as in its flora and fauna. First of all, apart from the 101 foreign elements that have come in from the neighboring civil- [167] ized states, China, Japan, and, more recently, Russia, one has to deal with three indigenous peoples in the Amur region -- Gilyak, Ainu, and Tungus -- who differ completely from one another in language. To be sure, a Mongol tribe has pushed from the southwest into the Sungari area, but it is being pushed back more and more by the Chinese and by a Tungusic people and may soon be quite far from the Amur region. Of the three Amur peoples named (it is to be understood that the Amur region always includes Sakhalin Island), the Tungus, in turn, fall into many tribes or peoples that are more or less far apart in language and customs. It is these Tungusic peoples who occupy by far the largest part of the Amur region, whereas the Gilyak and Ainu inhabit only relatively small areas in the extreme northeast and southeast of it. Though Tungusic peoples are also found far beyond the Amur region, up to the Yenisei, the coasts of the Arctic Sea, and Kamchatka, nevertheless the Amur region seems to be their true homeland, in which they attained /12/ the highest culture available to them up to then and from which they spread in all directions. Along the Sungari and its tributaries lies the chief center of the Manchu, the only Tungusic people that has writing and literature and that, through its repeatedly successful wars against China, which gained for it control over this largest civilized realm of Asia, has also gained historical significance. In the plains along the Nonni or Naun, the main tributary of the Sungari, live the Daur, who, far more widespread in former times, had to endure, above all, the battles with the bold Russian freebooters. Farther up the same river are the remnants of the formerly warlike Solon. If one follows the main artery of the region, the Amur River, down from the junction of the

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101 Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/, one meets above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains and the Manchu-Chinese settlements on the Amur the roaming tribes of the Orochon and Manegir, below the mountains named the widespread Goldi people, who also migrate along the large right tributaries of the Amur, and the Olcha or Mangun, the neighbors of the Gilyak on the Amur. Other Tungusic peoples have their dwelling sites on the numerous left tributaries of this river, for example, the Birar along the Bureja /Bureya/, the Kile along the Kur, the Samagir along the Gorin, the Negda along the Amgunj /Amgun/. To the east of the lower Amur and the Ussuri, along the sources of their right tributaries, in the coastal mountains and along the seacoast, lies the extensive, but only sparsely populated area of the Orochi, and beyond the mainland, in the middle section of Sakhalin Island, there is finally still another Tungusic people, the seminomadic Orok. Many smaller Tungusic tribes that annually roam with their reindeer from the Sea of Okhotsk to the tributaries of the lower Amur or from the Udj /Uda/ and Lena areas on the southern slope of the Stanovoi Mountains to the tributaries of the Bureja and Dseja /Zeya/, or in part stay along the latter permanently, still remain unmentioned in this enumeration. The number of the various peoples in the Amur region is by no means small, and it is the Tungus tribe in particular that has its most abundant branching and greatest development there.

It is not always possible to delimit accurately the area of distribution of all the peoples named in relation to one another because of the wandering, seminomadic way of life of many of these peoples and the frequent overlapping of their hunting grounds and fishing sites. It can be done most easily for the sedentary peoples of the lower Amur, whereas the higher the Amur and its upper tributaries, it is all the more difficult and impossible. On the following ethnographic map of the Amur region I have tried to mark as precisely as possible the boundaries of the individual areas, in part according to my own experiences and the statements

SS /12 cont./
101 of the natives themselves, in part according to the observations of other travelers, and at the same time to give a total picture of the geographic distribution of the Amur peoples. Let us now go over these areas individually and in detail with regard to their location and limit.

G /13/ The Gilyak live in the extreme northeast of the Amur
131 region: the lowermost part of the Amur River, the Amur-Liman,
361 and adjoining coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the northern half of Sakhalin Island. Along the Amur, going downstream, the area of the Gilyak begins with the villages of Chjare on the right bank and Tlals on the left bank, at a distance of about 175 versts from the mouth of the Amur. From there their dwelling sites at the beginning extend only along the right bank, but later, from the last bend of the Amur toward the east, on both banks of it to the Liman. The Amur-Liman is inhabited entirely by Gilyak, a purely Gilyak waterway. Southward from the mouth of the Amur along the coast of the mainland is Tschomi, located on the small river of the same name, the last Gilyak village, beyond which, along Mamia-Rinsô Strait, there extends an uninhabited territory visited by the Gilyak only for hunting and fishing. To the north of the mouth of the Amur the dwelling sites of the Gilyak extend beyond the Liman along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. To be sure, Kulj or Kolj is said to be the last place there permanently inhabited by the Gilyak, but Gilyak also live even farther, at least temporarily, for the purposes of hunting, seal-hunting, and fishing. According to Poplonskij, for instance, they supposedly come at times to Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay (1).

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1. Poplonskii, Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1848, p. 98.

Middendorff, too, became acquainted with Gilyak there and even farther to the west along Tugur Gulf. The extreme limit of his journey eastward, a promontory in Ulban Bay, bears in

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his work (2) the name Cap Gilyak, presumably after the inhabitants,

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2. Maps-atlas with Middendorff's Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens /Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, 1859, Pl. XVII.

even though temporary, of the region. Along the Ulban River, three versts above its mouth in the bay of the same name, he came upon a Gilyak settlement consisting of two winter houses and a summer house; one and a quarter versts to the east of it, another summer house (3). The last farthermost dwelling sites of the

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3. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Osten Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 126.

Gilyak to the northwest lie along the Sea of Okhotsk, but in Tugur Gulf. Across the narrow, low isthmus, which, stemlike, connects the Ssegneka /Seneka/ Peninsula with the mainland, runs a towpath made out of logs laid against one another, which, according to Middendorff, is designated even on an old map dating from the last century under the name "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka) and was used by the Gilyak and Tungus to transport their boats, usually with the help of dogs, from Akademii Gulf (on Konstantinov Bay) to Tugur Gulf, and thus avoid the laborious and dangerous rowing around the long Ssegneka Peninsula with its steep, rocky banks. Along this towpath Middendorff saw the frames used for drying fish among the Gilyak and a Gilyak summer house standing at the end of it at Wolok Bay in Tugur Gulf (4). Somewhat farther south and on the last-

4. Op. cit., pp. 116, 117.

named bay there were also two of their winter houses (5). Finally,

5. Ibid., p. 125.

/13 cont./

131 somewhat farther south and /14/ west, where the Tugur empties
361 and shortly before that receives the Kutin River, he found seven Gilyak huts along with three Tungusic birch tents. These were the first occupied dwellings that Middendorff encountered after leaving the mouth of the Udj (1). Orlof, too, coming along the

[113] 1. Op. cit., p. 124. The Gilyak met by him along the Ulban River, on the Ssegneka Peninsula, and at the mouth of the Tugur are also mentioned in Middendorff's preliminary travel account (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. des sc. Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 616).

seacoast from Ajan /Ayan/ in the year 1849, met the first Gilyak at the mouth of the Tugur (2). Here, then, is the extreme north-

[113] 2. Cf. P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Ross.-amerikansk. Kompanii /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 64.

west boundary of the Gilyak region, beyond it, up to the Udj, stretches an uninhabited territory through which probably only the Tungus roam.

131 On the island of Sakhalin and especially along its west coast the area of distribution of the Gilyak extends much farther to the south than on the mainland. There the Gilyak population extends from the northernmost tip, through the Amur-Linman,
[361] and far into the northern part of the Sea of Japan. Their southernmost point along this coast is the village of Pilja-wo near

/14 cont./
131 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half
[361] the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island extends somewhat less far south. According to the information
131 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley and
361 in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

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3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which
[115] the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

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4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard it and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

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4. (cont.)
I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-wo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

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5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

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6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
13 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

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7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

/15 cont./

131 one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin

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1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent

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2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's above-mentioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this population, aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

/15 cont./

G 131 that in itself indicates the role that sea and river play in the lives and the economy of these people. At the same time, with such a location and limitation of their area of distribution, the Gilyak G 101 177 have no neighbors to the north and east, and therefore, in a large part, in fact, the greater part, of it, but only some in the west and south. Here, however, they come in direct contact with many of the Amur peoples, for example, with the reindeer Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk and of the Stanovoi Mountains, with the Negda, Olcha, and Orochi on the mainland, and with the Orok and Ainu on Sakhalin. Taken together, these factors give the Gilyak, on one hand, an isolated position among the Amur peoples and greater independence, but, on the other hand, they make them the natural connecting link between the peoples of the mainland and of Sakhalin Island, not excepting even the civilized peoples of the two areas, namely, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Though the Gilyak are sharply differentiated from all the Amur peoples through their unique language, nevertheless a manifold mutual intermeshing of the respective areas of distribution takes place on the borders with their above-mentioned neighbors. It has already been mentioned above that on the Tugur and Ulban gulfs, along with the Gilyak, the Tungus, too, pursue their livelihood and erect their easily transportable birch tents beside the Gilyak yurts (3). Indeed, they roam far to the east along the Sea

Gi [101] [177] [342] [361]

3. Poplonskij, loc. cit., found Tungus also in Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay.

of Okhotsk, even in the area permanently occupied by the Gilyak; in the winter of 1856 I myself saw their conical tent frames east of Kulj. Some Negda, from the Amgun are said to come annually to the Tugur and Ulban gulfs in order to hunt seals (4). The Negda

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4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbornik", 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 332). Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über

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G 101 179 Gi 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.) den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, G [36] [103] as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This information, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin G [115] [114] in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolayev Post on the Amur River to Udskii

Gi 131 [113] /16 cont./ 2. (cont.) Ostrog/," in Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III. 1857, Miscellany, p. 11.

Gi [103] 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 148. Schmidt mentions only the Negda village Nemorchon on the river branch that connects the two lakes, Orel and Tschlja (op. cit., p. 142). This name is probably Negda, at any rate not Gilyak.

Lake Orel "Negda Lake" on a map in part based upon Chinese information and still unpublished ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br. /First Attempt at a Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountain Range and Its Spurs, between 45° and 62° North Latitude/."

G Gi 101 Gi 103 361 In the territory of the Gilyak, their Amur neighbors, the Olcha, have penetrated more deeply than the Negda. To begin there, too, as mentioned above, with the village of Chjare, there lie far to the north of it, on the right bank of the river and surrounded by purely Gilyak villages, two villages, Tschylwi and Tyr, which are inhabited only by Olcha, the former with six, the latter with two winter yurts. And still farther to the north, on the same bank, there is the place Kaberazbach, consisting of only one winter yurt besides accessories, in which at the time of my journey an Olcha, who had a Gilyak wife, governed as head of the household. On the other hand, deep within Olcha territory G [361] one comes across isolated permanent Gilyak sites. For example, of the six winter yurts that make up the village of Aure located only slightly north of Kidsi, I found that three had been occupied by Gilyak for many years. Everywhere these scattered members of an alien people have clung as much as possible to their respective mother tongues and native customs.

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

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place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113 /17 cont./ 1. (cont.) south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

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2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

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Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

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5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A /17 cont./
G dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These re-
Gi lationships become even more complicated, however, by the
101 fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu
131 occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people
[101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming
361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one
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1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

361 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 169 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

2: Schrenck--34 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/18 cont./ 3. (cont.)

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Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, pp. 143, 145). Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, ed. by J. B. S., Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, pp. 79, 81. Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the North/, Halle, 1771, pp. 433, 434. "Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin und Otscheredin) /New Description of the Kurile Islands (according to the reports from Tschernyi, Antipin, and Otscheredin/, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. /New Northern Contributions/, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of Maert. Gerritsz. Vries/ A. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otdiel. Etnogr., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 374, 375, 421, 423).

131 inhabited Nippon will be discussed later. Thus the [illegible] tribution of the Ainu embraces throughout only islands on the eastern edge of Asia. There are absolutely no continental Ainu, of whom there has often been mention, following Klaproth's example. We shall come back to this in greater detail below.

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101 On Sakhalin a third people, the Orok, have shoved in between the two peoples named, the Gilyak and Ainu. Whereas [233] [221] the latter are sedentary fishermen, the former in part lead a seminomadic life in that at certain times of the year they undertake regular migrations with their reindeer. This makes a precise delimitation of their area of distribution even more difficult. 361 131 They have permanent or at least semipermanent habitation sites only along the east coast of Sakhalin, whereas they touch the west coast only on their expeditions. The northernmost Orok site of which I have any knowledge, and at the same time their principal seat, is Käkr-wo, as the Gilyak call it. The statements of the latter about this place differed so much, however, that I remain uncertain about its location; at one time it was said to be only a day's journey north of the Gilyak village of Nyi, but then again it was said to be the same distance from the likewise Gilyak village of Tschai-wo located much farther to the north. Glehn, who has traveled through the northern part of Sakhalin, gives the location of Käkr-wo at 52°58' north latitude (1),

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1. P. v. Glehn, "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 231). Therefore the statement by the Gilyak that it was a day's journey north of Tschai-wo was correct and the map in the first volume on my travels shows this place about 3/4 a degree too far south. Glehn and Schmidt write "Keäkr-wo" for the place. In his travel account the former calls the Orok "Oltscha" /Olcha/ throughout. We shall see later with what justification.

and this place is also shown on Schebunin's map of Sakhalin, which, in this part, is based upon Glehn's data. Thus the northernmost Orok site -- and even Glehn knows of none more

/19 cont./

361 131 northerly -- lies exactly on Cape Würst and therefore deep in Gilyak territory, indeed, almost exactly in the center of the entire section that the Gilyak have along the east coast of Sakhalin. The southernmost habitation sites of the Orok have advanced less far into the adjoining Ainu territory. We have already learned of these southernmost Orok sites: they lie on the Gulf of Patience and along the coastal lakes that accompany the delta of the Ty River, or the Poro-nai of the Ainu. The most southerly of all is probably Tschogbo on the Ssiska River and Lake (2). It is noteworthy that their only, or at least by far the

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2. See above, p. 31; also Schebunin's map of Sakhalin. Admiral Newelskoi /Nevel'skoi/, in his first reports, which appeared after his death, on the activities of the so-called Amur Expedition, which he led with the rank of captain and which first traveled through Sakhalin and a part of the lower Amur region and took possession of them for Russia, stated repeatedly that the Orok (for him "Orotschonen" /Orochon/) were spread over the whole south of Sakhalin to Aniwa /Aniva/ Gulf and lived interspersed with the Ainu, indeed, that these peoples had even become completely mixed (cf. Podvigi russk. morsk. ofitser. na krain. vost. Rossii, 1849-55 g. Pri-amursk. i pri-ussuriiskii krai. Posmertn. zap. Admirala Nevel'skago. /Exploits of Russian Naval Officers in the Far East of Russia, 1849-55. The Pri-Amurskii and Pri-Ussuriiskii krais. Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi./ Published by the wife of the deceased, E.I.N., under the editorship of V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, pp. 275, 293, 295, 301, 305, and others), but these statements are not reliable, since these gentlemen, for reasons which we shall touch on later,

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/19 cont./ 2. (cont.)
saw and wanted to see Orok everywhere on southern Sakhalin. Also, they are not confirmed by later travelers.

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most numerous of their more or less permanent settlements lie along the above-mentioned borders of the area of distribution of the Orok, whereas they only wander through the entire broad area in between. The east coast of Sakhalin north of the Cape of Patience in particular has no Orok settlements. It is true that three such places were named for Schmidt and are shown on the map by Schebunin accompanying his report (3), /20/ but, as already

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3. These three places, as an Ainu named them for him, are: Taoko-nai, Tsea-moki, and Unu on the Ura-nai or Nuri-nai River, the latter of which was supposed to be a principal gathering place for the Orok (Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 116). On the map concerned the former two places are named somewhat differently, namely, Ssaoko-nai and Tschoa-moki. By listening to these names one can tell that they are of Ainu origin. As Schmidt noted, in Orok they might sound different. "Unu," for instance, was named for him as "Uny" by an Orok. Presumably they are not settlements, but other localities, rivers, promontories, tent sites, camping places, and the like, which often have a special designation among the natives.

mentioned, Lopatin found this coast completely uninhabited up to the Gilyak village of Tschamr-wo, which also corresponds with the information that I obtained from the Sakhalin Gilyak (1).

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1. See above, p. 23. After all that has been said, Brylkin's statement ("Pis'ma s" Sakhalina." –

/20 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 131 114 Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, p. 21) that the coast from Taraika to Nyi was inhabited and rather densely populated by Orok is completely erroneous.

484 At times, of course, it may be visited by roaming hunters, just as Lopatin reached it "by following Orok hunting paths" (2),

2. Schmidt, in Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1870, p. 387.

but the regular Orok migrations between Kãkr-wo and the places along the Gulf of Patience do not take place along this coast, but through the interior of the island, along the courses of its two largest rivers, the Tymy /Tym'/ and Ty, or Poro-nai.

221 484 Every winter the Orok make their migrations in these directions from the east coast of Sakhalin to the west coast and to the mainland. Along the Ty River they roam through a vast, level, uninhabited land, in which only a few Orok yurts, perhaps only temporarily inhabited, are to be found (3). Things are different

[103] 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber.," etc., op. cit., p. 238), who has traveled through and described this region in detail, only the two Orok (for him, "Oltscha" /Olcha/) yurts Chuié and, somewhat higher, the yurt Muika are there along the Plyi (or Ty) River. Schmidt ("Histor. Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 118) calls the latter place Myge, which Glehn regards as the Gilyak designation for it.

along the Tymy River, the main artery of the Gilyak area of distribution on Sakhalin. Here, the Orok, coming from Kãkr-wo and the other places on the east coast, follow the mountain range, which borders the Tymy Valley in the west, up to the sources of this river, where at Mgatsch or Arkai they descend to the

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221 west coast of the island. Along the seacoast they move north-
484 ward up to the Amur-Liman, which they cross in the direction
[103] of Tschomi, and from there they proceed northward to the small river Tymy /Tym/ (4) in order to cross, along it, the low,

4. Not to be confused with the like-named river on Sakhalin.

heavily wooded Langgysk or Adara Mountains (5) and, at the

5. The former is the Gilyak name, the latter is the Olcha name for this mountain range.

small Chaselach River to descend into the Amur Valley. They stay there near the Olcha village of Pulu or Pulj and then after a time make the same migration back again. We shall later discuss in some detail the aims and purposes of these annual winter migrations of the Orok; it is sufficient to note here that they take the Orok through the territory of the alien Gilyak to the habitation sites of the people most closely related to them, the Olcha
174 on the Amur. They perhaps even now show us the route by which
167 in an earlier time, no more specifically determinable, the first immigration of the Orok to Sakhalin took place. Through this immigration the island obtained a branch of the large, truly continental Tungus tribe, very widespread on the mainland, which, ethnographically speaking, gave it a semi-insular character to some extent. It is also noteworthy that this single Tungusic people on Sakhalin /21/ inhabits and wanders through the very part of the island that to the greatest extent has continental features, because of its largest extent of breadth, the greatest river development, and certainly also its climatic conditions.
[131] Nevertheless, the Orok on Sakhalin have not gained an independent special homeland of their own; rather, as we saw, it rests in peculiar fashion against the border areas of the Gilyak and Ainu. We shall come back to this matter later and say a few

Gi 174 167 /21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

Gi Gi A 101 If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G. Gi A [113] 1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G. Gi 101 361 Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

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by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

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It is different with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

Gold. RX3
Orochi

/22 cont./

101 361 We earlier called the Orochi population along the seacoast a sparse one, but it would be completely erroneous to regard, as was done quite recently, de Castries Bay, where we have known of the Orochi, and even under this name, since La Pérouse (2),

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2. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, ed. by Millet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 62 ff.

as only a quite isolated, Orochi site advanced far to the north, but the coast farther on up to Kaiserhafen or Hadshi Bay as completely uninhabited (3). Rather, on repeated occasions well-versed

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3. In particular so runs the statement by Lieutenant-Colonel Bolschef, head of the expedition conducted in 1874 along this coast between Olga Bay and de Castries Bay for a topographic and astronomical survey. (See the review of the report read by him before the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Society in the St. Petersb. Zeitung, 1876, No. 100, and in the S. Peterb. Viedomosti, 1876, No. 104.) Furthermore, according to Bolcshef, the population in Kaiserhafen and to the south is supposedly made up of Orochi and Gilyak, but there cannot remotely be any question of the latter here. Tronson commits the same error when he throughout calls the natives in the Bay of Barracouta (Hadshi) Gilyak and has their habitation area extend from there to Ajan /Ayan/ and the northwestern tip of Sakhalin; indeed, he even gives a list of "Gilyak" words, which, of course, were taken, not from the Gilyak, but from the Orochi.

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/22 cont./ 3. (cont.)
114 language. (Tronson, Person. Narrat. of a
101 Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia,
361 Tartary and var. parts of coast of China, in
113 H.M.S. Barracouta, London, 1859, pp.
268, 325, etc.)

101 Olcha have named for me a number of places that lie along the
361 coast concerned at short distances, journeys of two or three days, from one another, and many of which, Choĭ, for instance, were said to contain many Orochi tents. I have shown most of them on the map which accompanies the first volume of this work (4),

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361 4. From my journal, the following two place names should be added: Dshuanko, between Data and Hadshi, and Kõpi, between Hadshi and Idi. The yurts of Kõpi, by the way, are said to have been uninhabited since 1864, since all the inhabitants died in the smallpox epidemic, according to Petrowitsch, cf. Budishchev", "Opis. liesov" chasti Primorsk. oblasti /Description of the Forests of Part of the Maritime Oblast/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geog. Obshch., Books IX and X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 345). Boschnjak /Boshniak/, too, who, in the spring of 1853, was the first to examine the coast between de Castries Bay and Kaiserhafen more closely, learned of the following villages on it inhabited by Orochi in part permanently, in part only in summer: Dugu. Choĭ, Ssurkum or Choismo, Aukan, Chojol, Byki, Data, Dshuanko, and Ui. The Orochi are said to move from several of them, such as Ssurkum, Chojol, and Byki, to the Tumdshi River for the winter. (Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur

103 /22 cont./ 4. (cont.)
175 Region/." - Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 37,
113 Unofficial Part, pp. 201-205.)
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103 though some of them may perhaps be only popular overnight or
361 temporary tent sites. Statements of others are definite about these being places inhabited by the Orochi only during the summer for fishing, for example, the village of Du, the first to the south of de Castries and consisting of three yurts, whose inhabitants move to the Jaï River, which empties into Lake Kidsi.

101 So much for the northern border of the Orochi along the
361 seacoast. The southern border of their area, /23/ according to
563 Prshewalskij Przhevalski (1), is said to lie along the Ssuifun

[113] 1. Putesh. v" Ussurūsk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Journey in the Ussuri Krai, 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 103.

/Suifun/, which empties into the Guérin Gulf, or the so-called Amur Gulf as it is very inappropriately named by the Russians. The Orochi, however, are not the only inhabitants in this southern part of their area of distribution, but are joined, along the sea-coast and along all the rivers that flow to the sea or to the Ussuri, by many Chinese living with or among them, who are known here by the name of Man-dse or Mansen. We shall deal with them in greater detail later; here we shall only note that, coming from the south, they are met in the area of distribution of the Orochi beyond the Olga and Vladimir bays and even up to
000 46° north latitude, but do not appear beyond this (2). If one

[113] 2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri i zemel' k" vostoku ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands West of It toward the sea/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.; Part 25, 1859, Sec. II

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[Research and Materials], pp. 226, 233). Id., Putesh. po okrain. Rus. Azii i zap. o nikh" /Journey in the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia and Notes concerning Them/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 86.

563 If one
197 considers the great number of the Man-dse, as well as the circumstance that only men move from their Chinese homeland into this wilderness and that there they marry Orochi women or keep them as concubines, one easily understands the influence that the Man-dse living with the Orochi must have exerted in the course of time on the physical nature, as well as on the way of life, the customs, the character, and even the language, of the latter. As a rule, they are identified under a special name given to them by the Chinese, Ta-dse or Tasen (Russ. Tatszy and Tazy), without their connection with the Orochi always being recognized (3).

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3. It appears to have happened, for instance, in Beresin ("Ocherk" russk. portov" v" Tatarsk. prol. i Iaponsk. morie /Essay on the Russian Ports in the Tatar Gulf and the Sea of Japan/."—Morsk. Sborn., 1861, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 162), Plaxin ("Primorsk. Oblast' Vostochn. Sib. /Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia/."— Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, pp. 195, 196), Bolschef (op. cit.), and others.

131 From north to south, then, the Orochi and Ta-dse area extends over almost nine degrees of latitude. It occupies a long, but, in proportion to its length, narrow strip of land, for toward the interior from the seacoast it extends only slightly beyond the coastal mountains. While the eastern boundary is formed naturally by the sea, it is difficult to define the western boundary. Since

361 /23 cont./ since
131 the Orochi for the most part are nomadic hunters who only sec-
224 ondarily devote themselves to fishing along the sea and the rivers,
222 whereas their western neighbors, the Olcha and especially the
[433] more numerous and powerful Goldi, are almost exclusively fisher-
men, their mutual territorial borders may have depended on the greater or lesser productiveness of hunting and fishing along the rivers flowing from the coastal mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri. Insofar as easy and productive fishing could be done in them, the Goldi advanced on them, but where the fish were insignificant or catching them was difficult, but productive hunting grounds spread out, the land fell to the Orochi. The upper courses of the rivers, therefore, belong throughout to the latter; on the rivers with mountainous banks and a rapid current, as many of the Amur and almost all of the Ussuri tributaries from the mountains have, the Goldi occupy only the mouths, and along the major right /24/ tributaries of the Amur also a part of their lower courses. The Orochi coming down from the coastal mountains more or less approach the Amur and Ussuri, without ever reaching them, with the single exception of the sources of the latter river located in the mountains. Let us now consider somewhat more precisely the individual rivers with regard to their above-mentioned heterogeneous population.

131 The small but rapid rivers Pă and Jaĭ, which, united here,
361 empty into Lake Kidsi from the south, are, as I learned during a
133 visit to this region in 1856, inhabited by Orochi who move to the seacoast for the summer. They do not, however, reach Lake Kidsi, which is only a large, lateral, outward bend of the Amur River, and therefore the Amur itself, for the Olcha village of Pădane lies on the Pă River not far from its mouth. The rivers to the south, the Miăta, which empties into the Amur between the villages of Pulssa and Ssamachagdu, and the Chelasso or Sselasso, are unpopulated and only provide mountain trails over which in the winter Olcha traders from the Amur go to visit the Orochi along the Jaĭ and Tumdshi. The Orochi population on the much larger, rapid Chongar extends far downstream.

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131 361 133 According to the statements of the Goldi from the village of the same name located where this river empties into the Amur, there were only three Goldi villages left along it, the last of which, Hadshal, was a journey of three to four days in summer or one day in winter from the Amur (1). Farther upstream, where the

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1. The two other villages are Cherole with one yurt and Goarmo with two, like Hadshal, all three are located on the right bank of the Chongar.

Chongar becomes even more rapid, Orochi territory begins with the village of Ultur and along this river, up to where the Uldji empties into it, contains five more Orochi villages (2). The

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2. According to information from the Goldi, Ultur, which consists of three to four yurts on the right bank of the Chongar, is inhabited by the Orochi only in summer, while in winter its inhabitants move to the two nearest of the Chongar villages farther upstream. These are: Odome with one yurt and Ui-odome with two, both located on the left bank, Pir on the right bank with one yurt, Dshigdana, which likewise sends its inhabitants to Ultur in summer, and Uldji with one yurt, both on the left bank. From there on the Chongar is uninhabited.

Likewise rapid Naiche or Da River (3) and its tributary, Munamu,

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3. Always given on the maps under the name "Dondon" River. Among the Goldi, besides the above-mentioned names, I also heard the name "Ssera" for it.

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131 originating near the Chongar headwaters, are said, likewise ac-
133 cording to statements by the Goldi, to be populated in their
361 upper course, in the mountains, only by Orochi, but in their
131 lower course by Goldi (4). The Kij River, flowing into the
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[103] 4. The Goldi villages Jauka and Dulala were named for me here, while the Orochi villages Sserachssā and Bera are said to lie much farther upstream.

Ussuri, seems to be visited only temporarily by Orochi. On August 5/17, 1855, when I passed its mouth, I saw many Orochi boats coming down the river. Their occupants were from the Poor, and upon their return to it they temporarily pitched their tents along the Ussuri. It is said that along the Poor (5) the

[103] [113] 5. One also hears this river called "Foor" and "Choor," or "Chooro," designations also found in Maack /Maak/, Wenjukof /Veniukov/, and Prshewalskij. (Maak", Putesh. po dolinie r. Ussuri /Journey along the Valley of the Ussuri River/, St. Petersburg, 1861, pp. 44, 53. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri i zemel' k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands West of It toward the Sea/." - Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, p. 194. Przheval'skii, Put. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Krai/, p. 43.)

Orochi are not met prior to about 60 versts from the /25/ junction of the small river Kcheten-daban with it (1). From there on,

[113] 1. According to Korsun; see Budishchev",

131 /25 cont./ 1. (cont.)
36 "Opis. lies. chastei Primorsk. obl."
[113] (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX and X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 366).

they live both along this river itself and along many of its tributaries, for example, the Korssona and others, in part as
[563] nomads, in part in permanent sites (2). Already along the upper

[113] 2. Korsun, op. cit. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Ussuri" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Georgr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, pp. 194, 195).

tributaries of the Poor a few sedentary Chinese are also found among them, their number generally increasing more and more southward along the Ussuri and its tributaries. The Biki and
[133] the Ima, or Ema, with its large tributary, the Waku, lie entirely within Orochi territory, except for their lower courses; on the Waku, for example, going upstream, the first Orochi habitation, the yurt Peile, lies at a distance of about 65 versts from its juncture with the Ima, which, in turn, is very close to the Ussuri.
[563] In particular, however, the Orochi inhabit or roam through the region along the upper courses of the rivers named and their tributaries, along with many Chinese (3). Finally, along the

3. Korsun, op. cit., p. 376. Wenjukof (op. cit., p. 198) still maintained that there were only Orochi and no Chinese along the Biki. Later travelers, however, met some there. According to Korsun, for instance (op. cit., p. 364), the part of this river occupied most by the Orochi is supposed to be the one in which the Chinese village of Tschamu-dyndsa lies.

131 /25 cont./
361 Ussuri itself the border between the Orochi and the Goldi lies at the mouth of the Daubiche /Daubikhe/ (4): up to there, going

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4. From the mouth of the Daubiche upstream the name Ussuri ceases: the larger of the rivers, into which the Daubiche empties from the left, is now called the Ulache /Ulakhe/ and upstream from where the Fudsi or Lifudin empties into it -- Ssandogu.

upstream, the Goldi live along it, from there downstream Orochi, both, and especially the latter, mixed here with many Chinese. According to Wenjukof, the Goldi also extend upstream along the Daubiche for a stretch, but its sources again belong to the Orochi (5); according to Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/,

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5. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Ussuri," p. 233. Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chast. Primorsk. obl.," pp. 428, 429. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie, p. 93.

however, only the village of Ssjangssau at the mouth of the Daubiche belongs to the Goldi, while exclusively Chinese
131 live farther upstream (6). Thus, the western boundary of the

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6. Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, p. 56.

Orochi territory does not by any means coincide with the watershed between the tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri on the one hand and the northern part of the Sea of Japan on the other (7).

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7. Maximowicz thought that in the upper Ussuri area the coastal mountains or the watershed between the

131 /25 cont./ 7. (cont.)
[113] Ussuri and the sea could also be regarded as the dividing line between the Goldi and the Orochi (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book III, Summary p. 5).

but rather runs west of it throughout. Its route clearly shows the alpine character of the entire area of distribution of the Orochi. This hunting people roams through the wooded coastal range, Ssichota-alin, in its entire length from north to south and spreads out on both sides of the slopes, rich in game, as far as there is favorable or uncontested land: in the east to the nearby sea, in the west to the vicinity of the Amur and Ussuri, which they do not reach, however, because mightier neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, block their way.

101 131 361 /26/ The Olcha border the Gilyak to the south along the main artery of the Amur region, the Amur River, just as the Orochi do along the coast. The Olcha or Mangun, as they are called by the Russians (1), are a purely Amur people who, leaving

1. An explanation of this name, as well as of all the other tribal names in the Amur region, will be given later.

aside de Castries Bay as the only point on the seacoast, have their habitation sites only along the Amur, between the Gilyak in the north and the Goldi in the south. Although they are sharply 101 and easily differentiated from their Amur neighbors on either side, from the former through their fundamentally different Tungusic language, from the latter through certain dialectal peculiarities, as well as many features in their external behavior and way of life to be mentioned later, nevertheless, despite these, they have not been delimited even approximately correctly by any of the many travelers who went up or down the Amur, and therefore through the whole of the Olcha territory lying on this

Gi /26 cont./
101 main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

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2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

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correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

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disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/."- Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

/26 cont./ 3. (cont.)

101 113 114 lower Amur from the mouth of the Ussuri. And Th. Busse ("Ocherk" uslovii zemlediel. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Conditions of Farming in the Amur Krai/."- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. K. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec. 1869) skips the Olcha entirely.

13 36 Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha villages (4) pushed into Gilyak territory, the places Tentscha on

[103] 4. Tschylwi, Tyr, and Kaberazbach, see above, p. 28.

the right bank of the river and Uchtr on the left bank, located only a short distance from the last Gilyak habitation sites on the Amur, Chjare and Tlals, form the northern border of Olcha territory (5). /27/ The large village of Adi on the right bank of

[114] [113] [101] 5. Permikin ("Putev. zhurn. plav. po r Amuru ot" Ust'-Strielochn. karaula do vpad. eia v" Tatarsk. prol. /Travel Journal of a Trip along the Amur River from the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost to Its Mouth at the Tatar Strait/."- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book II, St. Petersburg, 1857, p. 64) erroneously thought that the Gilyak begin at Pulj northward and therefore also inhabit the villages of Tentscha and Uchtr (Ochto). Moreover, he regarded the inhabitants of Tyr as Gilyak (op. cit., p. 67), whereas they are Olcha.

the Amur and the small village of Kulgu on the left bank form the southern border against the Goldi (1). Kidsi, known to us

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1. Just like the northern boundary of the Olcha area, the southern boundary of it, too, toward the Goldi, is given erroneously everywhere. Thus, in the report by Tschichatschof, one of the first travelers to set foot in Olcha territory, it is said that, going downstream, it does not begin until Chywwunda (see the posthumous work by Newelskoi, Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vostokie Rossii, 1849-55 g., p. 163). Other, even more erroneous statements have already been mentioned above (p. 52, note 2).

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since the travels of the Japanese Mania Rinsô /Rinsô Mamiya/, therefore lies almost exactly in the center of the whole Olcha area, and the wide outward bend by means of which the Amur River comes within a few versts of the sea, the so-called Lake Kidsi, opens up for the Olcha a natural route from their central point to the seacoast at de Castries Bay. Thus, the whole area of distribution of the Olcha includes only one and a half degrees of latitude along the Amur River. Apart from trading trips, the Olcha do not spread along the tributaries of the Amur beyond the mouths. Moreover, there are no Amur tributaries of any considerable size in their area. The Olcha area is thus one of the

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smallest tribal areas in the Amur region. Moreover, one often finds in it individual, isolated families from neighboring peoples. This is less the case on the part of the Gilyak (2), but all

2. The Gilyak permanently residing in the Olcha village of Aure have already been mentioned above, p. 28.

the more so on the part of the Goldi, who are related to the

/27 cont./

101 Olcha. For example, at the time of my travels in the Amur
563 region one of the two houses that made up the village of Dyra, or Dere, belonged to a Goldi, as did the yurt Chywwunda located at the mouth of the Chelasso River; a few Goldi likewise lived in the village of Ssamahagdu lying a little above the latter; indeed, in February, 1855, I myself, from the Mariinski Post, visited a Goldi settlement being established not far from it on
167 Lake Kidsi. What induces the Goldi to migrate into Olcha terri-
648 tory is not, say, a lack of space within their own borders, but rather the pressure from the Manchu that they suffer there. Since the actual rule of the latter along the Amur River reaches as far as the Goldi territory extends, an immigration of the Olcha into this territory of their neighbors, on the other hand, does not take place, and nowhere there does one find isolated Olcha families, much less whole settlements, such as we have discovered in the Gilyak area.

131 While the Olcha area is small, that of their southern neigh-
361 bors, the Goldi, is, on the other hand, extensive. It embraces
[101] not only the Amur River from the Olcha border to the Sungari, but also extends more or less far along the right tributaries of the Amur, especially along the Ussuri and Sungari, and, finally, at several points it also goes beyond the left bank of the Amur. The northernmost Goldi villages along the Amur, from which, going upstream, /28/ the purely Goldi area begins, are Tschiutscha on the right bank and Kõurmi on the left, both only a short distance from the above-mentioned last Olcha villages. The mouth of the Sungari forms the southern border of the Goldi
[221] along the Amur River. Above this the Amur, or the Sachali, as
[648] the Manchu call it from there on, is only occasionally visited in the summer by Sungari Goldi for hunting and fishing (1); on

1. For example, I met Sungari Goldi, who allegedly came from the village of Lachzo on the Amur above the Sungari mouth in a

/28 cont./ 1. (cont.)
131 place named for me as Kudjurko, in
36 summer tents, an illustration of which
[221] will be given below.

[648] the other hand, access to the Sachali River is prohibited to the Amur Goldi, as well as to all the other peoples of the lower Amur, and a military post in Dshangdshu at the mouth of the Sungari has to supervise, among other things, the strict observance of this prohibition. Along the Amur, then, the Goldi alone occupy a stretch more than twice as long as the whole Olcha area (2). But, as has been said, they are not limited

[114] 2. Most of the Russian travelers regarded only a part of this area as Goldi territory and, to be sure not always the same part, so that their statements sometimes do not agree any any point. For example, Dr. Sperk (op. cit., p. 68) has the Goldi living from the mouth of the Sungari to the mouth of the Ussuri; Dr. Plaxin (op. cit., p. 193), on the other hand, from the mouth of the Ussuri to the mouth of the Gorin. It is not surprising, therefore, that to them the Goldi population seems extremely small ("kraine nichtozhnoe naselenie /extremely insignificant population/," Sperk, loc. cit.). Others, on the other hand, claim even a large part of the Olcha area for the Goldi, for example, Sswerbejef (see above, p. 52, note 2).

merely to this river, but also go beyond its two banks. To be
[101] sure, the two largest tributaries that empty into the Amur on
[133] the left side within the Goldi area, the Gorin and the Kur, are occupied by the Goldi only directly at their mouths, whereas

/28 cont./
131 their middle and upper courses belong to other Tungusic peoples,
36 the Samagir and Kile; but about halfway between these two rivers
[101] extends Lake Bolang /Bolon/ (Goldi, "Nor-chywwo") (3) --
[133]

[103] 3. "Chywwo" means "lake."

perhaps also only a wide lateral extension of the Amur River, like Lake Kidsi, the Ssargu Lakes, and others -- into which many small rivers empty, and the largest of these, the Ssedsemi, has a relatively dense Goldi population (4). In relation to the Amur this

[115] 4. A Goldi from the village of Maji, who
[103] had formerly lived on the Ssedsemi, named for me no fewer than nine villages, albeit small ones, located along this river. According to my journal they are the following, going downstream: Dshuang, Ssāfareûne, Chyralzu, Pudjimoda, Bogdamu, Chutu, Ssomomu, Ebare, and Dshafia.

would therefore be the westernmost point reached by the Goldi.
131 We have already become familiar with their eastern boundary, facing the Orochi, along the Chongar, the Naiche River, and along the Ussuri. Along the latter we saw that the Goldi extend to the mouth of the Daubiche and perhaps also up this river for a stretch, but not to its sources, which are occupied by the Orochi. The southeast boundary of the Goldi runs from the
[563] Daubiche to the Lefa, an intake of Lake Kengka /Khanka/ (or Chanka on the Russian maps), and to this lake itself (5).

[113] 5. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri u pr." (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, p. 205); id., Putesh. po okr. Russk. Azii, 1868, p. 37. Anosov", "Ozero Khankai i ego klimatich.

/28 cont./

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5. (cont.) osobenn. /Lake Khanka and Its Climatic Peculiarities/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1864, Book II, Sec. Res. and Mat., p. 116). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kr." (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, pp. 116, 117). According to the information that I collected from the Goldi of the lower Ussuri, only a few of their many countrymen live scattered in five villages on Kengka Lake. Wenjukof /Veniukov/ (loc. cit.) gives the Goldi population on Kengka Lake as only five families. Anossof (loc. cit.) mentions one Goldi village at the point where the Lefu empties into Lake Kengka. At any rate, there is no doubt about the permanent sojourn of the Goldi on this lake, whereas Ussolzef ("Zakhankaisk. krai /Trans-Khanka Krai/."- Morsk. Sborn., 1864, No. 6, Unofficial Part, p. 188) was of the opinion that they come to it only as visitors and are received by the Chinese.

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[563]

where, however, as along the entire upper Ussuri, they are mixed with many Chinese (Man-dse). The course of the western boundary of the Goldi population in the Ussuri area cannot yet be defined exactly since the country around the left tributaries of the Ussuri is little known as yet. In any case the Goldi seem to extend only slightly beyond the mouths of these tributaries and then leave the place to scattered Chinese. On the Ssungatschi /Sungacha/, the single outlet of Kengka Lake into the Ussuri, there is only one Goldi hut, Chyichyl, at about half the length of its course (1). We still know nothing

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1. Maak", Putesh. po dolinie r. Ussuri,

13] /29 cont./ 1. (cont.)
[113] St. Petersburg, 1861, Vol. I, p. 63.

concerning the Muren in this connection. The Goldi population
[487] seems to extend farthest to the west along the Noor, because here a route leads to Ssan-ssin /Sansing/ on the Sungari (2).

2. Maack /Maak/, op. cit., p. 66.

[487] Be that as it may, the Ussuri always provides a main artery for the Goldi population in the Amur region, and the Goldi since time immemorial have perhaps nowhere felt so much at home as here. In the course of our observations we shall become acquainted with historical facts that support this view and reveal the Ussuri region as the true homeland of the Goldi.

131 The Goldi population does not extend as far on the Sungari
361 as on the Ussuri. In fact, on the former they occupy only a relatively small part of its lowermost course (3). With about 13 or

[113] 3. According to Maximowicz ("Nachricht. vom Sungari-Fluss /Report from the Sungari River/," Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IV, p. 234; Mél. biolog. tirés du Bull., Vol. IV, p. 59), the Goldi area extends about 240 versts along the Sungari.

14 (4) villages, in part very large, but usually hidden in the

4. Maximowicz (loc. cit.) gives the number of Goldi villages on the Sungari, not counting Dshangdshu at its mouth, as 13, but he enumerates 14 with names.

willow bushes, it advances along the right bank of the Sungari

131 /29 cont./
361 exclusively (5), until it reaches its boundary at the village of

5. According to information which I received from the Amur Goldi, all the Goldi villages along the Sungari were said to lie on the right bank. This information was confirmed by
[113] Maximowicz and Barabasch, the latter having traveled far on the Sungari (see his "Sungariisk. Eksped. 1872 g. /Sungari Expedition of 1872/." – Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 328); indeed, according to the former (loc. cit.), the Goldi are not even permitted to live on the left bank of the Sungari.

101 Indamo (6). From there on only Manchu and Chinese villages

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103 6. Maximowicz, Bull., op. cit., pp. 235, 241; Mél. biolog., Vol. IV, pp. 59, 67. Barabasch (loc. cit.) has the Goldi extending to the village of Dsan-mu-sso, but from another statement by him (op. cit., p. 326) it appears that this is not the last Goldi village, but rather the first Chinese one. Moreover, this name does not sound like Goldi, but rather like the first Manchu village, "Dljamssa" in the Chinese pronunciation, which, according to Maximowicz, lies one to two versts above Indamo.

101 follow, and at not too great a distance, where the Churcha empties into the Sungari, the first Manchu-Chinese town,

/29 cont./

101 Ssan-ssin, or Ilan-hala as the Manchu call it, or Itsche-choton as the Goldi and, following them, all the other peoples of the lower Amur region call it. Here then the Goldi are immediately bounded by their closest tribal kin and present rulers, the Manchu (7), and the Chinese, who, in the territory of the latter,

[175] [648]

7. Since the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians, this is, of course, only in part the case.

are almost more /30/ numerous and at any rate more important [131] culturally. This circumstance, as well as the location of the Goldi territory along the three largest rivers of the Amur region, the Amur, the Sungari, and the Ussuri, and, no less, its great extent, give the Goldi a prominent position in the ethnographic picture of the Amur region and an essential importance for the character of the whole such as no other people of this region can claim.

If we leave the main artery of the Amur region and go westward beyond it, we encounter three other Tungusic peoples who have their seats along the three largest rivers that empty into the lower Amur on the left side, the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Gorin, and the Kur. The northernmost of them, who border the Gilyak in the northeast, are the Negda, or Nigidalz and Neidalz, as they are called by the Russians (1). Their area of distribution is

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1. Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /Travels in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, pp. 1523 ff.) writes "Nigidal." In Newelskoi's /Nevel'skoi/ reports concerning his and his comrades' activities in the lower Amur region in the years 1849 to 1855 (Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii.

/30 cont./

1. (cont.)
Posmertn. zap. Admir. Nevel'skago, St. Petersburg, 1878) they are called "Neidalz" throughout. In the following section we shall return to this name and some other variations of it.

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131 their area of distribution is
361 defined almost entirely by the river system of the Amgunj, since beyond this there are only a few detached advanced outposts. One of these outposts has already been mentioned: the settlements of the Negda on lakes Orel and Tschlja /Chlya/ and the branch of the river connecting them (2). Since the habitation

2. See above, p. 27.

sites of these people are permanent and not separated from the Amgunj system by intermediate areas with a different population, we must designate them as the extreme northeastern boundary of the Negda area. The situation is somewhat different with regard to the extreme northwestern point at which the Negda are found. Middendorff and, later, Boschnjak met several families of these people who had their permanent dwelling sites at Burukan [439] on the Tugur (3). Since this is a place where people of different

[113]

3. Middendorff, Reise in den Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Vol. IV, p. 182. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."-Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 333.

nationalities, Reindeer Tungus, Yakut merchants, sometimes perhaps even Gilyak, meet to trade, we must regard the few Negda there as foreigners. As we saw above (4), separate in-

4. See above, p. 26.

dividuals of this tribe sometimes even go to the Tugur and Ulban bays on the Sea of Okhotsk in order to catch seal. But if one crosses the narrow watershed which separates the Tugur from the

/30 cont./

131 Nemilen, a tributary of the Amgunj /Amgun/, one enters a
361 whole area that is unquestionably Negda. It was this crossing
[487] from Ukakyt, used by the natives on either side as a towpath for their canoes because of its narrow width, that Middendorff, too, traveled, in order to become acquainted with the /31/ Negda people in the Amgunj River area. As a matter of fact,
[484] he met them along the upper Nemilen in permanent habitation sites which represented an advanced outpost of them, since it is said that the lower course of the Nemilen to the Amgunj and the latter in turn for a two-days' journey below the emptying of the Amal /Omal/ into it are uninhabited, so the Negda from the Nemilen have to make a boat journey of six days through uninhabited territory to reach their nearest countrymen along the Amgun (1). It was certainly those very trade relations with

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523.

the Reindeer Tungus and Yakut on the Tugur that induced the Negda to push their dwelling sites up to the upper Nemilen, despite the still vast space along the Amgunj, the main artery of their territory. The continuity of the sparse Negda population, however, is not interrupted by any other people, and so the northwestern boundary of their territory coincides with the watershed which separates the river system of the Amgunj from that of the Tugur. The southern boundary is of a similar nature, as it is formed by the watershed between the Amgunj and the Gorin. In spite of those deserted places along the lower Nemilen and along the Amgunj below the latter, the Negda sites proceed along the upper Amgunj, above the point where the Nemilen empties, and along the Oldshekan, the outlet of Tschuktschagir /Chukehagirskoya/ Lake to the Amgunj (2). If one crosses the

[103] 2. Schmidt ("Histor. Ber., etc., "op. cit., p. 151) names along the upper Amgunj the Negda villages Huidshan and

Goldi RX3
Negidal

/31 cont./ 2. (cont.)

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Nilän, the latter at the mouth of the river of the same name, and on the Oldshekan, the Negda village of Baniku.

watershed southward, however, one enters the area of the Samagir on Lake Eworon and along the Gorin (3). Nevertheless, of the

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3. Schmidt., loc. cit. Lake Eworon is the one that is entered under the name Samager Lake on the map in the first volume of my travel account, following the reports by Boschnjak and Tschichatschof, who had traveled through this area.

nine kin groups /Geschlechtern/ in which the Negda are divided, according to Middendorff's information, it is said that one, the Muktagern, live among the Samagir (4). To the east,

4. According to Middendorff, the other eight are: Ajumkan, Altschakul, Toromkon, Tschuktschager, Njässekagr, Uddan, Tschemakogr, and Tapkal; the latter are said to live along the Amur, whereas the Toromkon live farthest up the Amgunj. See his Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523.

finally, the Negda territory extends along the Amgunj to the point where it empties into the Amur. In passing by I have seen many Negda yurts on the low islands overgrown with willows that hide the mouth of the Amgunj. Here, as on Orel and

[101]

Tschlja lakes, the Negda border the Gilyak, whose nearest villages lie on the left bank of the Amur, but far from the mouth of the Amgunj (5). Almost exactly opposite the latter,

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5. When Newelskoi in his above-mentioned

Goldi RX3
Negidal
Samagir

/31 cont./

131 36 10 114 5. (cont.) posthumous work(Podvigi russ. morsk. ofits., etc., pp. 130,132, 140, 163, 170, and elsewhere), partly on the basis of reports by officers sent out by him, partly on the basis of information from the natives, also speaks of Negda who live with the Olcha (Mangun) along the Gorin, along the Amur below Chywwunda, in Kidsi, in de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay, etc., these false statements result from the circumstance that at that time among all the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region the Negda were the first known, and the other peoples neighboring them and differing from them only dialectally could not yet be distinguished.

131 36 however, are found the Olcha villages pushed into the area of the Gilyak, which were mentioned above, and it is therefore an obvious assumption that in choosing these settlement sites in a foreign territory the Olcha were influenced by the proximity of a /32/ related people, the Negda, and the prospect of easy and profitable trade relations. On the whole, then, the Negda territory lies in close contact with the area around the Stanovoi Mountains and the nearest river areas of the Sea of Okhotsk, but, with its main artery, it remains turned toward the Amur, and, accordingly, in ethnographic respects, in spite of many a contact by its people with Russian Reindeer-Tungus, Yakut traders, etc., it bears in general only the character of a dependency of the Amur region.

The latter is the case to an even greater extent with regard to the second of the Tungusic peoples living along the left tributaries of the Amur River, the Samagir, or Samager, as we

131 /32 cont./
361 have also called them (1). Just as the Negda area is defined by

[104]
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1. See the first volume of this work. According to the orthography used here, we should spell this name, in order to render the hard s in it, "Ssamagir," which, however, for the sake of brevity, will not be done; accordingly, it is noted here once and for all.

the Amgunj, that of the Samagir is defined by the river system of the Gorin. Outside of the latter, one meets them only more or less isolated and as foreigners. At the time of my travels, for instance, the occupant of a yurt in the Olcha village of Pulj on the Amur was a Samagir. It may perhaps be somewhat different in the Lake Udyl region. Since this lake drains into the Amur in Olcha territory one would expect members of this tribe to dwell on it. In part this may be correct. But the Samagir were also expressly named for me as dwellers on it, and since the point where the lake drains into the Amur lies opposite the village of Pulj, the presence of that Samagir in the village named may indicate the existence of Samagir sites
[437] on nearby Lake Udyl. On the other hand, the Gilyak of the village of Patt told me about trading trips that they make to Lake Udyl in order to trade with the dwellers on it, whom they called
ooo Rdhy, for various furs which they have in abundance (2). By

[103]

2. The Gilyak also gave me the names of the Rdhy villages on Lake Udyl: Koltschom, Kiltschirn, and Tentscha, all three of good size, the latter one consisting of four yurts. The latter name is the same as the one for an Olcha village lying on the right bank of the Amur diagonally across from the outlet of Lake Udyl.

/32 cont./ BY

101 the name "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu," however, the Gilyak refer to the Negda, as I learned from other statements, In any case the two peoples are closely related and perhaps are not always distinguished by the Gilyak; it is also possible, however, that both
131 are found on Lake Udyl (3). For the Samagir, moreover, their

101 3. Lieut. Boschnjak was at Lake Udyl in
131 the summer of 1852 and speaks of the natives
113 there in his travel reports on it, without,
361 however, designating their nationality. He, too, found three villages there, and he gives their names just as I have given them above on the basis of information received from the Gilyak: Ssoljangsa, Ssiltschuru, and Tentscha. Cf. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 124).

131 northeast boundary would lie at this lake, if they live there, and in this case one cannot fail to recognize the curious analogy /33/ with regard to the boundary of their area of distribution and that of the Negda, namely, that both peoples would have moved their sites from their own particular river system to one or several lakes more easterly or northeasterly, but in any case draining into the Amur. From this, however, a further advantage would accrue
[437] to the Samagir, in that there they had a route over which they
[487] could dispose of their yield from hunting to the northern, free
[648] Amur peoples, the Olcha and the Gilyak, while avoiding the Manchu and Chinese oppressing them. Therefore, perhaps the
[166] same motive that led the Goldi to emigrate into the Olcha territory drove the Samagir to Lake Udyl (1).

[114] 1. Lieut. Boschnjak ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."--Morsk. Sborn., 1859,
[361] No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 331) has the

Goldi RX3
Samagir

/33 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Samagir also living along the lower course of the Amgunj to the village of Kewritin, and only from there upward the Negda; this statement seems to me to be based upon a confusion of the two tribes, or to have been made because of temporary residence on the Amgunj by Samagir.

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Be that as it may the river system of the Gorin is the true Samagir area. We have already learned its northern boundary toward the Negda area, which coincides with the watershed between the Gorin and the Amgunj. Toward the west too, in the direction of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, as toward the south to the river system of the Kur, it seems to find its natural limits in the watersheds. But we still lack definite information on this subject. What I could learn during my visit to the Samagir in the winter of 1855 was that the densest population was on the upper Gorin itself, but on a right, and therefore probably coming from the west or southwest, tributary of it, the Chui. No less than ten Samagir villages, containing from one to six yurts, were named on it for me.(2). Finally the eastern

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2. They are the following: Kukuleki, Chuïnda, Jamektanka, Zonginka, each with two yurts, Kondonka with six, Sserochjanka and Zorgunka with five yurts each, Churadjaka with two, Cheroke with one, and Kadakado with two yurts.

boundary of the Samagir area toward the Amur is interesting. I investigated it during the above-mentioned winter trip (3).

[113]

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la classe physico-mathém. de

/33 cont./

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36|
[113]

3. (cont.)
l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 189; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. II, pp. 452, 453.

The place where the Gorin empties into the Amur is occupied by Goldi, and their village of Bitschu is located there. There are no other Goldi villages farther along the Gorin. And yet the first Samagir village on the Gorin, Ngagha, is no less than about 120 to 130 versts from Bitschu (4). Between the two

[114]

4. I traveled this stretch in a dog sled in 2 1/4 days on the outward journey, and on the return trip, under more favorable conditions, in two days.

peoples, then, there remains a broad area of uninhabited land, a wooded territory rich in game, which serves both as a hunting ground. On repeated occasions I came across winter hunting tents (the so-called alko) there, first of the Goldi, who themselves had come here from far distant villages on the Amur (5),

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5. For instance, from Onmoi, Chongar, and even from Zollazi, which lies about 150 versts above Bitschu on the Amur.

and then, about halfway, the quite similar hunting tents of the Samagir, and, finally, the isolated summer dwellings of the Samagir from Ngagha, and, a few hours later, the winter village of that name lay before me. What might have caused such a sharp separation of the habitation areas of such closely related peoples? Have the Negda on the Amgunj pushed their dwelling sites to the Amur, where they directly, only across the river, border on a people alien to them, /34/ the Gilyak? The

/34 cont./ The
131 distinction between the two cases, however, lies in the fact that
361 free peoples inhabit the one area, whereas in the other, in the
648 Goldi area, the Manchu rule, whose power, to be sure, has broken a path even to the Gorin. It may therefore have been the fear of coming too close to their oppressors that kept the Samagir from spreading to the Amur.

10 [13] The Kile along the Kur are the third and last people of the major left tributaries of the lower Amur River. The information on no other Amur people is as sparse as on them. Even the name "Kile" is unsatisfactory, since this is only a general Tungusic designation distorted by the Chinese, whose etymology we shall
114 discuss later. No traveler has as yet visited the Kile on the Kur;
133 indeed, the region where this large river reaches the Amur has not always been given correctly. Maack, for instance, has it emptying into the Amur at Poddale, that is, below the Chongar (1),

[113] 1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazh. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g., St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 197.

whereas its mouth is about 1 1/2 degrees of latitude south of there and only slightly north of the Ussuri. This lies, however, on the low left bank of the Amur, in a remote branch of this mighty and ramified river, hidden by many islands overgrown with willows, so that travelers, as a rule going along the high right bank, cannot possibly see it. I overlooked it, too, although on my return trip from the Ussuri to Nikolayevsk in the summer of 1855 I stayed near the left bank of the Amur, with which I was still unfamiliar. No traveler, however, can overlook the Wanda Mountains, which in this part of the Amur bounds the horizon to the west and northwest
124 and in which the Kur originates. The fact that I nevertheless ob-
10 tained on this trip some information, albeit scanty, about the existence of the Kile people on the Kur, I owe to the contributions

Goldi RX3
Kile
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi /34 cont./
124 from the Goldi in the Amur villages close to the mouth of the
101 Kur. According to their statements, the Kile, differing from
Gi them only slightly in language (2), live along the Kur and its
13
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[101]

Gi [126] [197]

2. The designations for animals among the Kile, collected by me and presented in Volume I of this work, should provide a small sample of this dialectal difference.

tributaries. Their area extends down the Kur to its mouth, where their village of Ssäwan-Gauwne, or Ssiwan-Gauwne, lies between the Goldi villages of Immiñda to the south and Kozja to the north. I was unable to ascertain how far upstream it extends, but a Kile
Gi village, Ssäfandu, was said to lie above the Urmi River, which
[224] empties into the Kur (3). Moreover, the fact that the Kile are

Gi [103]

3. Between the two Kile villages mentioned, the following are also said to be on the Kur: Chyja-manga (i.e., "strong current"), Iwu, Adi, Kusinaho.

said to be good hunters and rich in furs allows one to conclude with some certainty that they do not merely limit themselves to the lower course of the Kur in the lowlands, but also roam through its upper course and its tributaries up to the game-rich Wanda Mountains as their special hunting ground, although they do not occupy it permanently. And thus the Kile area, too, probably has its natural boundary along the river system of the Kur.

SS /25/ So far, the peoples of the lower Amur region. We
131 have accepted the mouth of the Sungari as the boundary for the
648 lower Amur. As a matter of fact, from an ethnographic stand-
point, the Sungari plays a very important role for the entire lower Amur region: going out from the Sungari is the Manchu-Chinese influence which has broken a path into the most distant

Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Birar

SS 1311648 /35 cont./ parts of the lower Amur region; the peoples of the lower Amur are strictly prohibited by the Manchu-Chinese from penetrating the Amur region beyond the Sungari; all commerce, traffic, tributary payments, etc. are therefore tied up with the Sungari and not with the central and upper Amur, the so-called "Sachali" among the Manchu (1). Beyond the Sungari, therefore, we enter

SS 13[10] SS [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 245; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, pp. 349, 350.

a different ethnic province of the Amur region, the peoples of which, to be sure, are for the most part related to those of the lower Amur region, but are nevertheless alien. Moreover, along the main artery these two ethnographic provinces of the Amur region are separated from each other by vast uninhabited areas; these are the low grassy prairies along the Amur immediately above the mouth of the Sungari, in which one only now and then comes across the conical tents of the Sungari Goldi who have come here for fishing, and the steep rocky slopes of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains cut by the torrents of the Amur. Only at the western foot of this range are the banks of the Amur populated again. Let us stop at it, in order to learn in greater detail the spatial distribution of the peoples in the central and upper Amur regions, starting from there.

T 13 [114] [36] The Birar are the first people whom we meet on the Amur above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains. Isolated Birar tents may even be found toward the western slope of this mountain range. I did not find any, but, according to Radde, who spent a winter in the Bureja Mountains, they usually make the lower Ditschun River, which empties into the Amur from the left, the boundary for their hunting expeditions, and occasionally, though seldom,

/35 cont./
[3] [14] [36] [113] they extend them to below the Golin Brook (2). Since for the most part this is a people living by hunting, and therefore nomadic we at the same time discover here their eastern boundary. Only slightly to the west, along the U River, the eastern border of the Birar area also cuts through the right bank of the Amur. It is said that some Birar families live permanently on this river, and trading Daur come to them from the Sungari over the mountains (3). More numerous, though still scanty, is the Birar population in the prairie immediately above the Bureja Mountains. Under the influence of their adjacent western neighbors, the Daur, Manchu, and Chinese, they assume a sedentary character there. Larger and smaller Birar villages, provided with vegetable gardens and surrounded by fields, lie there, sometimes on the left bank of the Amur and sometimes on the right one, to beyond the mouth of the Bureja. The last of these villages that I encountered traveling upstream was Kadagan on the right bank of the Amur, /36/ after which there were several isolated houses of Chinese carrying on a trade, and then the Daur village of Chormoldin. In Kadagan, therefore, we

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2. G. Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibir., im Auftrage der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. ausgeführt in den Jahren 1855 bis 1859 /Report on Journeys in the South of Eastern Siberia, commissioned by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, undertaken in the years 1855-1859/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reich[illegible]d. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXIII, St. Petersburg, 1861, p. 526, and the small map accompanying p. 512).

3. Radde, op. cit., p. 519.

/36 cont./

131 already have the western boundary of the Birar area on the Amur,
361 which, to be sure, embraces both banks of this river, but only on the relatively short stretch from somewhat above the mouth of the Bureja to within the Bureja Mountains. And this is only a small part of the whole Birar area which principally extends along the major rivers that empty into the Amur from the left along this stretch, along the Aar and especially along the Bureja, the Njuman-bira (1) of the natives, and their tributaries.

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1. "Bira" or "bera" means "river" in the language of the Birar, the Goldi, and other Tungusic peoples.

Within the river system of the Bureja the Birar extend far to the north, and, indeed, they even go beyond it to the west and live, or at least formerly lived, on the upper Ssilimdshi /Selendzha/ and its tributaries. Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, the leader
131 of the first Russian expedition on the Amur, reported upon his return
175 from there (1646) that numerous Birar-Tungus lived along the upper
[648] Ssilimdshi (Ssilimba) (2). Later (1681) the Ssyn bojarskij, Ignatij

2. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., sobr. i izdann. arkheogr. kommis. /Supplement to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archaeographic Commission/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, p. 53.

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Milowanof, mentions them even farther downstream along the Ssilimdshi, by reporting that at the point where the latter empties into the Dseja /Zeya/ Daur people collected
500 tribute from them for the Chinese crown (3). At the time of

3. "Otpiska stol'niku Voevodie F. D. Voeikovu ot" poslann. v" 1681 g. dlia obozrieniia Amura syn" Boiarskago Ign.

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3. (cont.) Milovanova /Report to the Secretary General, F. D. Voeikov, from the Boyar's son, Ignatius Milovanov, Sent in 1681 for an Inspection of the Amur/," reported by Spasskij: "Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information by Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. on Res. and Mat., pp. 40, 41).

13 At the Time of
36 Middendorff's journey, the "Byral-" or "Bural-Tungus," as he
[484] calls the Birar, lived in permanent habitation sites along the Byssa, a tributary of the Ssilimdshi along the Elge, a tributary of the Byssa, etc., in fact, he speaks of Byral-Tungus who in summer went far up the Ur, a right tributary of the Dseja /Zeya/,
101 in boats and thus approached the Stanovoi Mountains (4). It

4. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 167, 1505.

would be wrong, however, to assume that the northern boundary of the Birar area ran along the places mentioned. Some of these statements are evidently based upon a confusion of the Birar with other Tungusic tribes, especially with their nearest neighbors, the Manegir. Middendorff himself declares that one of these Bural, if he understood him correctly, claimed to belong to the tribe of the "Manigirj," and another, on the Bureja, identified himself as "Guragr" (5). Moreover, he adds to Milowanof's statement

5. Op. cit., p. 1505. I shall later show that the designation "Guragr" very probably refers to the Kile from the Kur.

concerning the "Birjär-Tungus" of the upper Ssilimdshi: "more

2: Schrenck--77 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus R45
Birar

/36 cont./

101 correctly perhaps Guragr; belong to the Manegirj tribe" (6). I

[13] 6. Op. cit., p. 167. Ussolzef calls the Birar on the Bureja "Manägern" throughout; see Shvarts", Podrobn. otch. o rezul't. izsled. Matemat. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksp. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. /A Detailed Account of the Results of the Research of the Mathematical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society/, St. Petersburg, 1864, I, p. 51.

cannot share this opinion simply because it involves a further confusion of the so-called Guragr with the Manegir. On the contrary, it seems to me very likely that the Birar live along [131] the upper Ssilimdshi which flows so close to the right tributaries of the Bureja. Similarly they may live along the Elge and the Byssa, which, on the one hand, are not far from several /37/ Bureja tributaries and, on the other hand, are to a certain extent on the route from the Bureja and its tributaries to the village of Inkanj (1) in the Dseja system, a village temporarily visited for

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 189.

trading purposes by all the mountain nomads there. Concerning the dwellers along the Ur, however, they are certainly not Birar, but Manegir -- a closely related Tungusic tribe which will be discussed forthwith.

131 Be that as it may, it is probably impossible to delimit
36 precisely the areas of the Birar, the Manegir, and their northern
628 neighbors, the Russian Reindeer-Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains. As hunters, they all lead a roaming, nomadic life: they go wherever a rich yield from hunting can be expected, disregarding all political boundaries, and, if their expectations

/37 cont./

131 361 628 are justified they make a longer and more permanent stay at a place, and, in doing so, they may have betaken themselves far from their tribesmen and into a territory that others regard as their own on the basis of priority. From this come the various clashes and the friction between them, which, as Middendorff mentions (2),

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1505.

do not always stop at threats, but lead to action, firearms are captured, riding animals and draft animals are shot, etc. The boundary between Russia and China, the Stanovoi Range, established by treaty, is in no way decisive for bounding the areas of the Birar and Manegir on the one side, still Chinese not long ago, and the Russian Reindeer-Tungus, on the other side. The former, to be sure, are not allowed to cross the southern slopes of this range, but the latter all the less remain confined to its northern slopes, but rather push forward over the range, along the Bureja /Bureya/ and along the Dseja /Zeya/, deep into the supposedly Chinese area. From his own experience Middendorff mentions many cases of this kind. Along the Kebeli, for instance, a tributary of the Niman emptying into the Bureja, he found four sedentary families of the Russian Tungus (3); similarly, a Russian

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3. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166.

Tungus lived at the mouth of the first-named river (4); others had

4. Op. cit., p. 189.

moved down the Tyrmi /Tyrma/ almost to the Bureja (5).

5. Op. cit., p. 166, note 1.

Schmidt even met a Russian (Christian) Tungus family 40 versts below where the Tyrmi empties into the Bureja; it was registered in the Udskoi ostrog but it had its hunting area, which it had

Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

T 131 361 /37 cont./ been visiting for a long time, here on the Malmalty River (6).

6. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., p. 167.

T [233] In fact, according to information collected by Ussolzef among the Birar (for him, "Manägern"), the Russian Tungus -- whom, moreover, he calls "Orotschonen" /Orochon/ throughout -- wander as nomads along the Bureja with their reindeer to the village of Schewaki, about a fourteen-days' trip from the mouth of this river. They cannot go farther downstream with their reindeer, because they can find no fodder there for their animals, but still some of them come down to the mouth of the Bureja in bark canoes (7). In the train of the Tungus, or inviting them

T 439 563 Y 439 443 [113] along /38/ enterprising Yakut traders also travel over the Stanovoi Mountains and sometimes settle down for a longer period of time in the Chinese territory along the Bureja /Bureya/ or Dseja /Zeya/ and their tributaries. Middendorff estimated that in his time there were about 25 traders from Yakutsk on the move, sometimes on this side, sometimes on that side of the Dseja and Bureja Range (1).

7. Shvarts", Podrobn. otch. o rezul't izslied. Matemat. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksp. Geogr. Obshch., Ch. I, p. 51.

1. Op. cit., p. 168.

One Yakut lived permanently at the above-mentioned gathering place of the Birar, Manegir, and Russian Tungus on the Inkanj; others came from time to time with various wares and necessities from Yakutsk as well as from the Udskoi ostrog. Some of them likewise settled side by side and with the Tungus along the Kebeli and Niman; indeed, at the former place a Yakut had already been in residence for six years. Middendorff's Yakut Y 484 guide (Wantscha) had himself visited the Jorach, a tributary of the Bureja, 18 years earlier. Another Yakut (Trofim), with

2: Schrenck--80 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus R45
Yakut RV2

Y /38 cont./
484 whom he traveled for a time, had even swum down the Bureja
T 26 years earlier to 60 versts above its mouth, where he came
439 upon a Chinese guard (2). Just as the Yakut follow the Russian

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2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1. On the other hand, the report of the escape of 6,000 Yakut over the Russian border into the Amur region, first made known and elaborated by Billings, and later repeated by many others (Sauer, Capt. Jos. Billings' Geogr.-astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Gegend. Russlands zur Unters. der Münd. des Kowima-Flusses /Capt. Jos. Billings' Geographical-Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Regions of Russia to Investigate the Mouth of the Kowima River/, etc., transl. from the English, Berlin, 1802, pp. 367, 368), originated, according to Middendorff, simply because of confusion (Sauer had heard this story in the house of the ispravnik, Hornofskij, from the assessors, Ewers and Kyschkin), and such a mass crossing of the Yakut into Chinese territory never took place (see his Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 169). I must agree completely, for such a number of immigrants from such a vigorous, tough, and enterprising people as the Yakut would have attracted attention in the Amur region in any case, whereas in reality aside from the isolated traders, there were no traces of any Yakut there.

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439 Tungus, so, on the other hand, do the Daur follow the Chinese Birar and Manegir. With the same interest in trade as the former,

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439 they go from the Amur up along the Bureja /Bureya/, the Dseja /Zeya/, and their tributaries. Indeed, in former times they are said to have frequently gone up the Ssilimdshi
[177] /Selemdzha/ to the Inkanj (3). Thus, as a result of the over-

3. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 166, note 1; p. 1536.

lapping of the territories of these Tungusic tribes, there are encounters even among these peoples living far apart. On occasion we shall come back to these mutual trade voyages and trade relations, but here they must be noted in passing in order to make the indefinite character of the boundaries between peoples in this part of the Amur region stand out to its full extent.
[133] The Stanovoi Range, a divide between the extensive river systems of the Amur and the Lena, is certainly no divide between peoples, and therefore, despite all treaties, it has been only an untenable boundary, even politically.

131 Another factor, to which Middendorff has justly drawn
231 attention (4), is perhaps more decisive for the distribution of the

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1504, 1505.

peoples under discussion, at least by and large. Although for both, the Russian Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains as well as the Chinese Birar and Manegir along the Bureja /Bureya/ and Dseja /Zeya/, hunting is to the same extent an indispensable condition for existence, in that it supplies them with food and the means for the satisfaction of all other needs of life, and hunting requires the one as well as the other to roam /39/ and wander in the mountains, nevertheless there is a difference between the two in that the Russian Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains use the reindeer for riding and burden-carrying in connection with it, while the Chinese Birar and Manegir use the horse: the former are Reindeer Tungus, the latter Horse Tungus. Therefore, more

/39 cont./

131 favorable conditions for wandering or settling are offered to the
231 former by the high mountain forests with their thick carpet of moss, to the latter by the grassy prairies, the sunny mountain spurs, and the wider valleys. Where the former or latter character decidedly prevails, the land automatically falls as it were, to that people whose needs it satisfies. Only on subalpine terrain where both kinds of natural conditions meet and penetrate each other, can more frequent meetings of the peoples in question take place and a perpetual struggle for the possession of the territory in question be waged. If it should happen, for instance, that because of the clumsiness of the Reindeer Tungus vast stretches of coniferous forest burn down, or that prairie fires, purposely set by the Horse Tungus in order to promote a more luxuriant growth of the grass, spread to the mossy pine forests lying higher, the Reindeer Tungus will be pushed higher into the mountains or forced out of the region altogether, while, on the contrary, the Horse Tungus will gain more space. Thus, the boundary between prairie and mountain is therefore by and large also the natural boundary between the Reindeer Tungus and the the Horse Tungus.

131 And, as Middendorff (1) has shown, this boundary coincides

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 171-173.

quite precisely with the line given by the Chinese border markers. In spite of the fact that the Stanovoi Range was established as the border between the Russian and Chinese states by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the border markers, which were erected by the Chinese government and are annually inspected by their officials, are not found along the crest of this range, but rather much farther to the south, pretty much at the foot of its southern slope and its numerous spurs extending down into the prairie. The westernmost of the Chinese border markers found in this region by Middendorff stood where the Gilui /Gilyuy/ flows into the Dseja. He himself did not visit the next one to the east, but a Tungus, who had seen it often, identified its location as the place where the Mewan

2: Schrenck--83 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus R45

/39 cont./

131 Brook empties into the Nara /Nora/, a right tributary of the Ssilimdshi. It was said that there was likewise a border marker on the Ssilimdshi itself, where the Killer River empties into it, but Middendorff could not learn anything about this locality. On the other hand, he himself again verified the next one to the east, which was in the Bureja system, where the Nimakan empties into the Niman. We have no information concerning the Chinese border markers farther to the east, except that the last one, farthest to the east, is, according to the Tungus, located on the watershed between the Tugur and the Nemilen, on the above-mentioned towpath from Ukakyt, and therefore on the boundary between the /40/ Russian Tungus and the Negda. We do not know where this line of boundary markers cuts through the Bureja Range. If one connects the boundary marker on the Niman with the one of Ukakyt by a straight line, the entire upper course of the Bureja and also pretty much its entire river system remain to the south of it. In any case, in this part it runs northeast, whereas it had a southeasterly direction from the westernmost Dseja /Zeya/ tributaries to the Bureja system. And thus all the peoples along the left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Kile of the Kur, the Samagir, and the Negda, are to the south of this line, on the Chinese side. Let us not forget, however, that even though this line of boundary markers in part of its course pretty much coincides with the boundary between prairie and mountains, which can be of importance for the distribution of the various tribes, it is nevertheless not an ethnographic boundary, but only a political one. It only designates the outermost points to which Chinese rule in the Amur region actually extends, or, in other words, at which the tribute owed to China is actually collected by the Chinese officials from the natives. Beyond it, to be sure, and up to the Stanovoi Range, lay Chinese territory by virtue of the treaty, but the Chinese government was perhaps unable or unwilling to include this remote and thinly populated mountainous territory in the sphere of the tribute lands regularly visited by their officials. This does not by any means prove, however, that

2: Schrenck--84 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir

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[13] those peoples who inhabit the Bureja and Dseja up to this political line, Birar and Manegir, do not also migrate still farther to the north. Indeed, even if this had not been the case originally and if the Chinese government had erected the markers exactly along the area boundaries of the peoples named, this line would certainly not have been observed by them, for the promising hunting in the more northerly mountain valleys and the possibility of evading the payment of tribute by crossing the border would have driven them ever northward.

From all that has been said we come to the conclusion that wherever prairie predominates along the Bureja and Dseja, and this is approximately up to the line of the Chinese border markers, undoubtedly quite purely Birar and Manegir territory extends, but from there, while the same peoples still advance, to be sure, they are no longer alone, but share their territory with Russian Reindeer-Tungus, who in particular occupy the higher mountains and the mossy mountain forests as their natural hunting and roaming grounds. The spread of the Birar in the Bureja River system is so great in comparison with the minor part that they have on the Amur River that one may regard that as their principal and proper territory. As we shall see later, it was from there that they moved to the Amur. Along the upper or, more correctly, the middle Amur they have a position which parallels, as it were, that of the inhabitants of the large left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Kile, Samagir, and Negda.

/41/ Along with the Birar we have also frequently mentioned their immediate neighbors, the Manegir, in the above. We shall now proceed to a special discussion of their area of distribution.

[101] The Manegir, or Monjager, as they are also called (1), are

1. Cf. Vol. I. of this work.

immediate neighbors of the Birar only in the northern part of their area of distribution, along the Dseja /Zeya/ River and its left tributaries. Along the Amur River, on the other hand,

Tungus RUS
Manegir

/41 cont./

131 directly above the Birar territory, Daur, Manchu, and Chinese villages, and even a town, Aigun, lie in confusion -- in a word, first comes that part of the Amur River which we designated above as a stretch of Manchu-Chinese civilization. We shall pass over it now and return to it later. Close to and opposite the mouth of the Dseja, on the right bank of the Amur, lies the last Manchu village, which is also the post of a Manchu-Chinese guard. At the same time the open prairie comes to an end, and from here on mountains line the broad valley of the Amur River, here and there approaching it more closely. The Manegir territory begins at the mouth of the Dseja River: the civilized part along the river has come to an end; one is again in the wilderness and is only occasionally, and always rarely, reminded of the presence of human beings by an airy Manegir tent or the lonely hut of a Chinese or
000 Daur raftsman (2). Unlike the Birar, the Manegir have remained

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2. Gerstfeld ("O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/."-Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 293) has the Manegir extend downstream only as far as the mouth of the Komar, but this is in contradiction to a later statement in the same article (op. cit., p. 313) according to which there are also Manegir between the Komar and the Dseja. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", pp. 69, 97) believes that they are met either rarely or not at all below the mouth of the Komar. I have seen Manegir tents very soon above the Dseja mouth, on the very same day on which I had departed from the Dseja Post (the present Blagoveshchensk). Prshewalskij's /Przhevalski/ report sounds similar (see his Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 11). Other writers, however, extend

Tungus R45
Manegir

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2. (cont.)
the Manegir territory too far down the Amur. Th. Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie." – Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. K. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 116), for instance, has them living from Albasin to along the small Chingan (Bureja Mountains).

13| Unlike the Birar, The Manegir have remained
433 faithful to their nomadic way of life, even along the Amur River, where, in spite of the most favorable soil conditions, they have not at all turned to agriculture and livestock-raising. For the
[22] most part they stay along the Amur to fish and therefore are almost always found there only in spring and summer, whereas in the fall and winter they go to hunt in the mountain valleys to the
13| north and south of the Amur. In 1856, from the end of August to
[14] the beginning of October (new calendar), when I went up the Amur through the Manegir territory, I often came across deserted dwellings and camp sites of the Manegir, with bare tent frames, grazed grass all about, etc., but only rarely did I meet the occu-
[101] pants themselves. Since the immediate western neighbors of the Manegir on the Amur, the Orochon, lead a similar nomadic and hunting life, it is extremely difficult to determine the boundary
[114] between the areas of distribution of these two peoples. Iakinf's statement that the Manegir occupy the right bank and the Orochon the left bank of the Amur from Ustj-Strelka downward is wholly false (3). /42/ Rather, both have territory on the right and on the

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3. Iakinf", Statist. Opisanie Kitaiskoi Imperii /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1842, Vol. II, p. 1, Notes. The statement concerned actually says that in Transbaikal'a the Tungus of the right bank of the Amur from Ustj-Strelka down are called "Mangiren," but those of the left bank "Orotschonen." In the same work somewhat later (p. 217),

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3. (cont.)
it is said that the Amur is uninhabited up to Jaxa (Albasin), but in the mountains there are Tungus under various tribal names given to them by the Russians: "Minegren" and "Orotschonen."

131 left bank of the Amur, though the Manegir territory lies below that of the Orochon. The former, however, does not extend equally far to the west on both banks, but, quite contrary to Iakinf's statement, breaks off earlier on the right bank than on the left. Hence [114] the repeatedly expressed view that the boundary between the Orochon and the Manegir on the Amur lies near the former Albasin (Jaxa of the Manchu-Chinese) (1) is only in part correct.

[113] 1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, p. 293). Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 11. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chten. izd. K. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 115).

On the right bank of the Amur the purely Manegir territory actually ends below the Albasicha, the Emur of the Tungus, and the area of the Orochon begins at the mouth of this river. But while the [221] latter do not come farther downstream to hunt, the Manegir go beyond this border line in spring and early summer to fish, leaving their horses along the Niwer or below the Albasicha, come as far as the rivers Monastyrskaja and Ignaschina, even to the small and the large Ssestra (2). This may be regarded as merely roaming

[113] 2. Orlov", "Amurskie Oroncheny" (Viestn. Imp. Russkago Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI,

Tungus RUS
Manegir

/42 cont./

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2. (cont.)
1857. Sec. II, pp. 193, 194, 196).

in foreign territory, but the situation is different on the left bank of the Amur, where the Manegir extend permanently to the west far beyond Albasin. I came across their last tents there even above the Kotomanga River and the Russian post of the same name erected on it at the time, in the vicinity of the Oldoi mouth. The statements by Maack and Orlof concerning their western boundary corresponds to this also. The former has the Maneghir extend upstream to the Newir River, but also remarks that they are found at times even farther up, for instance, along the Kotomanga (3); at

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 69, 315.

one time the latter draws the boundary between the Manegir and the Orochon territories along the Niwer upstream (4) and from its

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4. On the map by Schwarz (Karta riechn. oblast. Amura, iuzhoi chasti Leny i Eniseia i ostr. Sakhalina /Map of the Linguistic Areas of the Amur, of the Southern Part of the Lena and the Yenisei, and of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1861): Liwer.

source along the mountain to the left source of the Oldoi, and another time along the Oldoi itself (5). According to what has

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5. Op. cit., pp. 193, 194, 197.

been said, it is only natural that here, as in other places, the hunting areas of the two peoples overlap, and only the circumstance that the Manegir exclusively use the horse for burden-carrying and riding, but the Orochon usually the reindeer, save them from more frequent clashes.

/42 cont./

131 them from more frequent clashes. On the whole, the part that the Manegir have on the Amur River -- from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the Oldoi -- is a very large one. And yet, one can travel for days without seeing even one of their tents, so small is their number along this river.

The situation is different along the two largest tributaries that the Amur receives on this stretch from the left and from the [361] right -- the Dseja and the Komar. The principal Manegir sites are located there. We have already indicated in general their spread along the Dseja and its tributaries and their boundaries there /43/ in relation to the Birar and the Russian Reindeer-Tungus. Wherever open grassy prairie extends along the Dseja /Zeya/, Ssilimdshi /Selemdzha/, Nara, Ur, etc., it is clearly undisputed territory of these horse nomads. The above-mentioned line of Chinese border markers along these rivers also approximately designates the northern boundary of this area. Ussolzef, who has traveled through a large part of the Manegir area, gives the central and lower course of the Ssilimdshi, as well as the area between it, the Dseja, the Depp, and a large right tributary of the Ssilimdshi, which to be sure, he does not name, but which supposedly can be reached by a ride of two and a half days from the mouth of the latter and undoubtedly is the Nara, as the area in which the relatively densest Manegir population is to be found (1).

[113] 1. Usol'tsev", "Putesh. k" vershin. r. Giliuia i na r. Zeiu, lietom" 1856 g. /Journey to the Upper Courses of the Gilui River and on the Zeya River in the Summer of 1856/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXII, 1858, Sec. II, p. 156).

131 They do not confine themselves to this area, however, but move,
221 in small numbers and always more or less temporarily as their hunt-
484 ing life demands, up the above-mentioned rivers and their

Tungus RUS
Manegir

/43 cont./

131 221 484 [101] tributaries to the vicinity of the Stanovoi Mountains. While hunting sable and squirrel, they come, for instance, to the upper Ssilimdshi and its tributaries (2), where they meet Russian Reindeer-

2. Ussolzef, op. cit., pp. 155, 156.

131 [101] Tungus. They must likewise come into contact with the latter along the upper Dseja and its right tributaries (3). Strangely

[114]

3. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 104, 105) speaks of Manegir and Orochon in the middle and upper course of the Dseja. In the latter we can only see Reindeer Tungus. But more about this later.

enough, however, Ussolzef did not once come across any Manegir along the Gilui, but first met them below the latter along the Dseja from where the Moktscha River empties into the latter (4).

4. Op. cit., p. 153.

[484] [501] From a report by Middendorff we have already learned that they also go far up the Ur in boats (5). Along this river, which for its

5. See above, p. 76.

whole length runs approximately parallel to the Amur and becomes separated from it only by the Dseja Range, they are also found again in the vicinity of the left tributaries of the Amur, up to the Oldoi, which is their boundary toward the Orochon.

Tungus RU5
Manegir

/43 cont./

131 Although the Manegir area along the Dseja and its tributaries
161 covers the greatest area, nevertheless, according to statements by
361 their countrymen from the Amur, the greatest density of their population is not in the prairies along the Dseja, but on a right tributary of the Amur River, the Kómar or Kúmar (the Komará
221 or Kumará of the Russians) (6). The permanent winter sites of

6. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 69.

many Manegir who, during spring and summer, temporarily come to the Amur to fish are also located there. But the Manegir do not occupy the whole Komar River: only its lower course and perhaps a part of the middle course belong to them; the remaining part of the latter and the whole upper course of the river is inhabited
131 by the Daur (7). The /44/ principal reason for the density of the
439

7. Maack, op. cit., p. 98.

Manegir population on the Komar certainly lies in their immediate proximity to these industrious trading people, who bring to the Manegir and the Birar, even in the most remote parts of their areas of distribution, many of the food and luxury items that have be-
131 come necessities for them. Moreover, of course, the farther upstream
177 the Manegir are and the closer to the Daur, the more they succumb to the influence of the latter in language and customs (1). We

1. Maack, op. cit., p. 98.

are not told, however, whether this influence goes so far that the Manegir there give up their nomadic life and, like the Daur, occupy themselves with agriculture and livestock-raising, as we saw among the Birar on the Amur.

131 If one now surveys the entire Manegir area, there can be no mistake but that the part of it on the Amur, large as it is, plays only a subordinate role with regard to space and population density and in one or both respects is far behind the parts on the Komar

/44 cont./

131 and the Dseja. It is the latter with its extensive river network that, as far as space is concerned, forms the principal area of the Manegir. Just as we above designated the Birar, despite their
[101] portion of the main river, like many peoples of the lower Amur region, separately as occupants of a left tributary of the Amur, the Bureja /Bureya/, so could one understand the Manegir in their present distribution primarily, even if in no way exclusively, as Dseja people. I say in their present distribution, but not considering its historical course, for this shows, as we shall see below, that they did not reach the Dseja until later.

The Orochon are the uppermost people along the course of the Amur and at the same time the most northwesterly in the Amur region. Their territory lies along the upper Amur and its right and left tributaries, but in the west also extends beyond the Amur region proper toward Dauria, and even beyond the Stanovoi Mountains into the river system of the Lena. We have already become acquainted with the eastern boundary along the Amur, opposite the Manegir: to the north of this river it is formed by the Oldoi, to the south by the Albasicha. To the north, insofar as the Orochon belong to the Amur region, the Stanovoi Range, from the sources of the Oldoi to those of the Amasare /Amazar/, forms the boundary of their area, and westward, Ustj-Strelka or the confluence of the Argunj /Argun/ and the Schilka /Shilka/, from which
101 the Amur proper begins. But actual ethnographic boundaries are in no way given by these localities, since the same population goes beyond them to the west and to the north. According to Orlof, the indigenous Tungusic people to the east of Bargusin /Barguzin/, along the upper Angara, Kitschera, and up to the Witim /Vitim/ (incl.) are simply called Tungus, but those east of the Witim, along the Olekma, the Tungir, the Njukcha /Nyukcha/, the Schilka, and the upper Amur to the Oldoi are called Orochon (2). We are not told, however, that the part of

2. Orlov", "Amursk. Oroncheny," op. cit., p. 193.

Tungus RU5
Orochon

/44 cont./

101 the latter who roam along the above-mentioned Lena tributaries beyond the Stanovoi Range have any essential differences from the Amur Orochon in language and customs, /45/ and it does not seem at all probable to me. Assigned to inclement alpine regions [224] by their element of life, hunting, and their only domestic animal, [231] aside from the dog, the reindeer, which serves them for burden-carrying and riding, these people found the Stanovoi Mountains not only no hindrance, but, on the contrary, the most advantageous conditions for further expansion. The Orochon are precisely [131] Reindeer Tungus, like their frequently mentioned, more easterly tribesmen in the Stanovoi Mountains and along the Sea of Okhotsk, and just as the latter reached the Bureja, the Ssilimdshi, the Dseja, etc., so have the former, proceeding southward, reached and occupied the Amur River itself, whose upper course is near to the Stanovoi Mountains and which has an alpine character (1).

[113]

1. The various and noted similarities of the Orochon with the more easterly Reindeer Tungus in the Stanovoi Mountains explain the several reports that "Orotschonen" likewise roam along the Dseja (Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 104, 105) or even in the Bureja Mountains (Gamov", "Iz" putevykh" zamietok" astronoma opredieliavsh. miestn. rr. Amura i Ussuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/."— Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862 Book I, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 121).

We shall come back later to this Orochon expansion, which in part has taken place in quite recent times, in connection with the discussion of the historical reports concerning the Amur peoples.

Tungus RUS
Orochon

/45 cont./

131 Once they had reached the Amur, the Orochon found a suitable path for southward expansion in the great Chingan Range which approaches the upper course of this river from the south. [224] [23] On the forested slopes of these mountains and in the valleys along the upper courses of the rivers flowing down to the Argunj to the west and to the Nonni to the east, they roam as hunters on small, courageous horses, often accompanied by several Daur exploiting them. Kropotkin, for example, met them along the Ganj, a tributary of the Argunj, along the Nomin which flows into the [231] Nonni, and so forth (2). And when Lange tells us that in the dark

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2. P. Kropotkin", "Poiezdka iz" Zabaikal'ia na Amur" chrez" Man'chzhuriiu /Journey from Transbaikalia to the Amur through Manchuria/" (Russk. Viestn., Vol. LVII, 1865, June, pp. 665, 669).

and impenetrable forests of the Chingan Mountains between the Chailar and other tributaries of the Argunj on the one hand, and the Jalo and other tributaries of the Nonni, on the other, there are "Tungus" who have no beast of burden other than the reindeer (3),

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3. "Tagebuch einer im Jahre 1736 unter Anführ. des Kanzleir. Lange von Zuruchaitu durch die Mongolei nach Peking verricht. Karawanenreise /Journal of a Caravan Journey from Zuruchaitu through Mongolia to Peking in the Year 1736 under the Leadership of Chancellor Lange/," in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, 1781, p. 170.

we cannot help but recognize in them the same Orochon. Their area of distribution reaches to here toward the south. Along the eastern slope of the Chingan Range they border the Daur, who,

Tungus RUS
Orochon

/45 cont./

13 besides trade, engage in agriculture and livestock-raising. And
184 there the Orochon, like the Birar on the Amur, have in part
124 adopted a sedentary way of life based on agriculture. Thus,
361 Kropotkin, after leaving behind the first Daur village in the valley of the Gujuil (also Hujur), which flows to the Ganj and therefore to the Nonni, passed several villages of sedentary Orochon farther downstream (4). With this, however, they have also lost their

4. Op. cit., p. 670.

natural soil; this is their extreme southeastern boundary, for along the Ganj Kropotkin found only agricultural Chinese and, farther toward Mergen, Manchu (5).

5. Op. cit., p. 671.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Orochon, many an analogy with that of the Manegir can be seen: like the latter, it stretches /46/ along both sides of the Amur River, though the part along the river itself remains far behind those parts that extend along its tributaries, and especially the left ones, in area and importance. In other words, for the Orochon and Manegir -- and likewise for the Birar -- the Amur, although it likewise cuts through their areas, is not by far as important an artery of the region as it is for the peoples of the lower Amur region who live on it. And it is easy to understand the reason for this: whereas these latter peoples live principally from fishing, the former find their most productive source of livelihood in hunting, which naturally takes them to the more remote mountains. But small though the share of the Orochon on the Amur River may be, all the larger is their spread to the north and south of it. We find them, on the one hand, along the tributaries of the Nonni, and hence of the Sungari, but, on the other hand, beyond the Amur region, along the southern right tributaries of the Lena. Because of this distribution they provide, so to speak, an ethnographic connecting link between the Amur region and adjacent eastern Siberia. More-
648 over, in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, which allotted all the

/46 cont./

131 648 land east of the Argunj and Schilka, where the latter receives the Gorbiza, to the Chinese government, they have in fact remained under Russian rule along the Amur and its left tributaries and have thus given the spread of Russian influence many a forward thrust toward the Amur region.

000 This ends the series of the Amur peoples proper, that is, those peoples who have their habitation sites along the Amur River, from the mouth to the confluence of its sources, the Schilka and the Argunj, and along its many tributaries, with the exception, however, of one tributary, and, to be sure, the mightiest of all, which is even regarded as the main stream by the Manchu and Chinese -- the Sungari. We have considered above only its lowermost course as a part of the Goldi territory. At the same time the great significance that it has ethnographically for the whole lower-Amur region has been pointed out, in that whatever the peoples throughout the latter had in the way of civilization was brought to them by way of the Sungari and not by way of the Sachali or upper Amur. The few cultural elements along the upper Amur also came by way of the Sungari, though they did not travel down this whole river, but mainly up its left tributary, the Nonni, and from there to that part of the Amur River which we have previously referred to as the Manchu-Chinese cultural section of it. The Sungari peoples, therefore, in comparison with the Amur peoples proper, occupy a higher position, so to speak, the position of a civilized people. This applies first and above all to the Chinese, who actually are not a Sungari people, but at the present time are almost more at home in Manchuria than any other people, and further, to a lesser degree, to the Manchu and Daur, and last and most remotely to the Solon. We shall see later at the appropriate place what cultural elements they brought to the Amur peoples. It is sufficient that they stand in such a relationship with the Amur peoples, and that they have /47/ frequently gained firm footing, not only along the Sungari, but also along the Amur itself, to make it necessary for us to learn about their habitation sites in more detail. Only here one cannot expect a detailed delimitation of them, since we

2: Schrenck--97 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Solon

/47 cont./

do not have detailed and trustworthy information for a precise determination of the boundaries between peoples in this part of Manchuria, which has remained under Chinese domination and therefore access to it is difficult and negligible, and this lack is felt all the more since as the peoples named have been thrown among one another in confusion as a result of historical events and the political procedures of the Chinese government, as well as the growing immigration from China.

The reports on the habitation sites of the Solon are most vague and inadequate (1). We are not referring here to the many members of this people who, as officials or as soldiers of the Eight-Banner /Manchu/ army, are in the direct service of the Chinese government; they may, of course, appear wherever there is Chinese bureaucracy or troops, in the towns along the Amur and the Sungari as well as in Peking, in Mongolia, or along the Ili. The discussion here can only be about those Solon who are not in service and freely practice their livelihood, be it agriculture, livestock-raising, hunting, or trade, and who have to pay only an annual tribute to the government and therefore, according to Palladij, are "Butcha-Solon" or belong in the category of the "Butchani" (tribute paying) (2). All the reports agree that

1. Let it be noted once and for all that the s in this name is hard and that the name should be spelled "Ssolon," according to the fashion accepted here, but, only for the sake of brevity, this is not being done.

2. Archimandr. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot "Pekina do Blagovieshchenska, chrez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr.

/47 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 428, 433).

131 All the reports agree that
114 the Solon have their habitation sites along the Nonni, but where and how far their area extends along it can scarcely be determined from them, especially since they frequently contradict one another. The statements of the old French missionaries are only very general (3). On the maps of d'Anville (4) and, following him, also

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3. One of them says that the third province or the third gouvernement of Chinese Tartary, with Tsitsikar /Tsitsihar/ as its capital, had the Nonni flowing through it and was inhabited by Manchu, Solon, and Daur (Taguri) (Du Halde, Descript. géogr., histor., chronol. polit. et phys. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 15). Very many of the Solon-tatse people are said to live in Niergui, a large village not far from Tsitsikar and from Mergen, and therefore probably on the Nonni (Du Halde, op. cit., p. 17). Elsewhere (op. cit., p. 36) Du Halde, basing his information on excerpts from Gerbillon, says even more generally that the "Solon province" extends from where the Argunj empties into the Amur and along the latter to about Ninguta (on the Churcha, a tributary of the Sungari).

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4. Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, No. 1, 18, 23.

131 /47 cont./
114 of Grosier (5), the Solon occupy the right bank of the Nonni and

[113] 5. Descript. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. I.

the Daur the left bank. Fischer says more vaguely that the river Naun or Nonni forms the boundary between the two (6). In Iakinf's

[113] 6. Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte /Siberian History/, St. Petersburg, 1768, Vol. I, p. 465, note 16.

statistical description of the Chinese Empire it is said in one place that of the two mountain ranges that follow the course of the Nonni, the eastern one runs through the territory of the Solon, the western one through that of the Daur (7); in two other places in the same

[113] 7. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper., St. Petersburg, Vol. II, p. 3.

work, however, /48/ the Solon are given as the inhabitants of the right bank of the Nonni, the Daur as those of the left bank (1).

1. Op. cit., pp. 6 and 29, note *.

According to more recent information, however, none of these statements is correct, and the Solon live along both banks of the Nonni, and upstream from somewhat above the town of Tsitsikar (the former Naun-choton), where their adjacent southern neighbors, the Daur, stop (2).

2. Palladij, op. cit., p. 434.

Thus the southern border of the Solon area can be roughly determined. We remain in complete uncertainty, however,

/48 cont./

131 concerning its northern boundary. The archimandrite Palladij,
114 to whom we owe the information concerning the habitation sites of the Solon, left the Nonni River at Mergen in order to go across the Ilchuri-alin Mountains to the Amur, toward Aigun /Aihun/
[184] and Blagoveshchensk. Along this part of the Nonni the Solon
[224] are sedentary farmers, besides which, however, part of these
[241] people are said to lead the nomadic life of hunters. The latter would probably be found in the mountains along the upper Nonni and its tributaries. But how does their boundary run with regard to the Manegir of the Komar tributaries, the Daur of the upper course of the Komar, and the Orochon of the Chingan Mountains?
101 And how do these peoples behave toward one another? As long as
114 we do not know this, much confusion may readily be expected in the statements of casual travelers concerning peoples with a similar way of life, and just as the agricultural Solon may have been taken for Daur, or, conversely, the latter for the former, so could the nomadic Solon, living from hunting, be taken here and there for Manegir or Orochon--where the latter, especially in the Chingan Mountains, do not use reindeer, but horses--or, conversely, the latter for the former. This is all the more possible since some of the information is based only upon statements by the natives. I shall point out only a few of the possibilities of this kind. Among
[439] the Goldi, going upstream along the Amur from Sselgako, when I saw the first horses, I was told that they, like the horses along the Ussuri, came from the Solon, whom I would meet along the upper Amur. This, to be sure, did not happen, but I came to know the Manegir there as horsetraders who often brought their wares far downstream. Therefore there was either confusion here between the Manegir and the Solon, or ignorance about the habitation sites of the latter. Could it not be that perhaps a part of the above-mentioned Orochon, who, as hunters on horseback, are said to roam far down to the south in the Chingan Mountains, are Solon? How great the possibility of confusing the latter with the Daur is can be seen, for example, from reports like the following. Lange reported that along the Tynyken, or Tynysken, Brook, a tributary of the Chailar, he had met, along with Mongols, also Solon, who

Tungus RUS
Solon

/48 cont./

101 114 had come from the Naun area, and added, to explain what was meant by "Solon," "Daur Tungus" (3), which, however, strictly

[113] 3. "Tagebuch einer im Jahre 1736 von Zuruchaitu durch die Mongolei nach Peking verrichteten Karawanenreise" (Pallas' Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, 1781, p. 164.

speaking, would be only a paraphrase for "Daur," since the latter likewise belong to the Tungusic tribe. From this and other reports we learn that the Solon /49/ can be found not only along the Nonni, where they are densely settled, but also in other parts of the Amur and Sungari regions. And again I do not mean as officials or soldiers in the service of the Chinese, but as people earning a livelihood and, in particular, engaged in trade. Trade in horses, which they are said to engage in down the Amur and toward the Ussuri, has already been discussed above. Every winter the Birar in the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains are said to be visited by not only Daur, but also Solon, the latter, to be sure, chiefly as officials, the former as traders (1). The Russian Tungus told Middendorff

101 439 [13] 648

[113] 1. Radde, in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIII, 1858, Sec. I, p. 31, Notes.

that whenever the administration in Yakutsk did not furnish them with gunpowder for any length of time, they would obtain it at a cheap price from the "Solorn." He interprets this statement as a reference either to a trading station on a little river emptying into the Amur above Albasin, or to Cossacks who come there from Transbaikalia, and, accordingly, believes that it is Transbaikalia gunpowder (2).

[113] 2. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden u. Osten Sibiriens, Vol. IV, pp. 1502, 1504.

Tungus R45
Solon
Dagur AG5

T 101 439 /49 cont./ But from the whole account by the Tungus as Middendorff tells it, it becomes clear that "Solorn" is not a place, but a people, and we would not be in error if we recognized them as trading Solon. T [411] This is all the more probable as the Solon, in view of the general use of Chinese matchlock guns among all the Sungari peoples (3),

T [435] 3. Op. cit., p. 1511; Middendorff himself speaks of the Solorn rifles, which were large caliber, more expensive than the pea-sized barrel, and, if well made, were valued up to 200 rubles -- obviously Chinese matchlock guns.

might easily have large supplies of gunpowder whereas the hunters or Cossacks roaming into the Amur region from Siberia usually are only scantily supplied with it and certainly would not sell the small supply so indispensable to them, and especially not for a cheap price. Even if besides the above-mentioned places there should be many another in the Amur and Sungari regions where Solon live permanently or even only temporarily, their total area of distribution (again, of course, apart from those in service) still remains very small, especially in comparison with that of D 131 their immediate neighbors, the Daur.

No people in the entire Amur region, with perhaps the single exception of the Chinese, has such scattered habitation sites as the Daur. We have therefore been obliged to mention them repeatedly as partial neighbors of the Birar, Manegir, Orochon, and Solon. As among the latter, among the Daur, too, in order to get an approximate idea of their distribution in the Amur region, we must disregard those members of this people who are in the direct service of the Chinese government and consider only those who are not in service and pay tribute (Butchani). At their densest, the Daur still appear to live along the Nonni and some of its tributaries. There, especially in the area of /50/ Tsitsikar /Naun-choton), our older travelers, Yssbrants Ides, Lange, and

Dagur AG5

/50 cont./

131 others, came into contact with them (1). Barabasch, a more recent
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1. Yssbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-year Journey to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 70. Lange, op. cit., pp. 175-178. See also Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 252.

traveler, gives in particular the part of the Nonni from Tsitsikar down to Mocholo as the area of the Daur; it is, to be sure, only a short stretch (of about 35 versts), but it is said to be occupied exclusively by large Daur villages (2). To the north, therefore,

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2. Ya. Barabash", "Sungariisk. eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, I, p. 328).

the Daur on the Nonni border the Solon. To the south, below Mocholo, is the beginning of the territory of a Mongol tribe, and, to be sure, according to Palladij, the Korloss-Aimak (3), who go

3. Or Korloss Horde (Palladij, op. cit., p. 414).

down the whole lower Nonni and along the Sungari from Da-chutun
131 to the town of Petune (or Bodune). Along the Nonni (4), and
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[113]

4. Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongol. Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/ St. Petersburg, Vol. I, p. 175.

especially along the Sungari, Daur and Chinese are mixed in with these Mongols (5), and both, but especially the latter, are steadily

5. Barabasch, loc. cit.

2: Schrenck--104 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Dagur A65

/50 cont./

[31] gaining more and more territory from the Mongols. Although the
563 latter were settled by the Chinese government to practice agriculture at the places named (6), this activity and the sedentary

6. Pallas, loc. cit.

mode of life connected with it did not agree with their inborn nomadic tendencies. Hence there are only small farms there, which are cultivated by the Mongols, but usually with the help of Chinese workers; the Chinese have been able to acquire the most through rent or purchase, and under their influence the Mongols have for the most part become Chinese in language and customs (7). Only

7. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 414, 423.

farther to the west, away from the lower Nonni and Sungari where pure steppe spreads out and the Mongols lead their customary nomadic life (8), can their individuality be preserved. Thus,

8. Barabasch, loc. cit.

where the interior Asiatic steppe extends into the Amur region, the ethnic group particularly at home in this form of nature also extends into it, but they are unable to gain a firm foothold in the river area. The Mongols remain strangers in the Amur region, and therefore here, in a consideration of the Amur peoples, we can properly pass over them with these few casual remarks.

Just as along a part of the Nonni, the Daur also inhabit its right tributaries coming from the Chingan Mountains the Jalo (9),

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9. Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, p. 116, following Yssbrants Ides and Lange.

the Gujuil (10), and others, frequently mixed with farming Chinese.

10. According to Kropotkin (see above, p. 94.

/50 cont./

101 We have already discovered them at the eastern foot of the
131 Chingan Mountains as the neighbors of the Orochon, who are under their influence and often in their service. How far they extend northward, however, and where and how they border the Solon are as yet unknown. Could it perhaps be that their territory extends continuously, though with a sparse population, along the eastern slope of the Chingan Mountains as far as the sources of the Komar? Or is it interrupted by the Solon on the upper Nonni and its tributaries? Or, finally, /51/ in this last stretch do both peoples perhaps intermingle? Whatever the case may be, toward the middle Nonni, along the Komar, we discover a second area in which a denser Daur population has its seat. And, to be sure, the Daur occupy the upper and middle courses of this river, while the lower course belongs to the Manegir (1).

1. See above, p. 91.

101 Finally, the third locality where we find the Daur in greater
361 density lies along the middle Amur, between the Birar and
131 Manegir portions of it, from somewhat above the mouth of the
563 Bureja to the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/. Whereas along the Komar the Daur occupy the land by themselves as far as their borders go, on the Amur they share it with the Manchu and Chinese. Their habitation sites there lie mixed in confusion with those of the latter two peoples, and sometimes a whole village belongs to only one people, while sometimes two or each of them will have their respective portions of it. With the great number of these villages, which, surrounded by large fields, go along both banks of the river and many of which I have seen only from a distance, it was not always possible for me to ascertain to which nationality
131 they belonged. The easternmost Daur village is Chormoldin, al-
361 ready known to us, directly on the border of the Birar area on the

/51 cont./
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Amur (2). I do not know what their westernmost village is, but it

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2. Gerstfeldt ("O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura."– Viesm. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. II, p. 313) quite erroneously has only one designation for the entire population between the Komar and especially the Dseja and the Ussuri, "Dauren," being of the opinion that they form the bulk of the population. In doing this, he does not intend to associate the name with the notion of a particular tribe of people. The designations Birar and Goldi do not occur in his work at all.

must be located below the town of Aigun, since above it, at least on the right bank of the Amur, there are only Manchu villages. The large Daur villages of Dungtscheba and Beratochso on the left bank of the Amur are also below Aigun, and the latter
101 is perhaps the westernmost one. The Daur may be concentrated more in the eastern half and the Manchu more in the western half of this area inhabited by a mixture of the three peoples named. All three, however, seem to occupy the land in almost equal proportions. When we earlier called this part of the Amur River the Manchu-Chinese culture area of it, it was done both for the sake of brevity and because in political and historical respects the Manchu and the Chinese play a more important role than the Daur, but the designation Daur-Manchu-Chinese area would also
[439] be correct. And all the more so since the Daur, through their various trade relations with these peoples, have a culture-historical importance for the central and upper Amur region which should not be underestimated.

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Besides the three designated areas, on the Nonni, on the Komar, and on the middle Amur, where the Daur live in denser assemblages, they are found in smaller divisions or individually throughout the upper and middle Amur region, since they are the

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131 ones in particular who, as enterprising, profit-seeking traders,
184 carry Chinese, Manchurian, or even their own /52/ products to
439 the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon in order to exchange them for their products from hunting. In discussing the areas of distribution of the peoples names, we have often mentioned these Daur traders, who, sometimes permanently, sometimes temporarily, stay among them at the various places. From the middle Nonni and its tributaries, they follow the Orochon roaming in the Chingan Mountains; from their habitation sites along the Sungari, they move downstream along this river and up its left tributaries in order to reach the Birar along the U and the other right Amur tributaries beyond the mountains; the Daur villages along the middle Amur send off the many traders who are to be found throughout the Birar area along the Bureja and its tributaries up into the mountains; and, finally, from the Komar there are the Daur traders who carry on their business with the Manegir both along the upper Amur and especially along the Dseja and its tributaries. We have seen above that in former times they even came up the Ssilimdshi as far as Inkanj (1) and that even today, in their spread northward, at many

1. According to Middendorff; see above, p. 81.

places in the Bureja and Dseja areas they meet Yakut coming down from the north for the same purposes. In the Amur region there seems to be only one boundary set for them by the Chinese government itself: they do not go beyond the mouth of the Sungari, and they are not met in the lower Amur region where a wide field stands open to their trading activities. In this respect they fall back before the similarly gifted, but more favored Chinese.

131 Thus, unlike all the peoples considered by us up to now,
174 the Daur have no unified continuous area of distribution, but rather stand before us, on the one hand, at several places in greater density and, on the other hand, in dispersed fashion among foreign peoples and scattered over a broad area -- a

T 131 174 /52 cont./ phenomenon that automatically indicates that at the present time in the Amur region they are not in their original, continuously occupied homeland, but rather only on recently acquired, secondary soil. And, as we shall see, history, too, shows this.

M 121 131 While the Daur, in spite of their dispersed habitation sites, belong to the Amur region in view of their total distribution, this is by no means the case for the last and historically most important of the Sungari peoples remaining for our consideration, the Manchu. Succeeding to the rule over the Chinese Empire, they also spread far beyond the boundaries of their original homeland. We by no means intend to pursue the historical movement and the whole extent of their expansion; here we are only going to learn about their habitation sites in the Amur region in detail.

M 131 [101] The land located between the Amur and the White Mountains (Schan-alin), with the Sungari and its tributaries flowing through it, that is, Mongolia proper, the homeland of the many closely related tribes from whose union the Manchu people /53/ arose, is well known (1). And although even later, after the

M [113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, p. 291. J. H. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/ Göttingen, Vol. I, 1830, pp. 233 ff., and others.

victorious Manchu had won control over all of China, along with the province of Liao-tung, the first conquered, which soon became a second homeland for them, the Manchu region always remained especially favored by the rulers and preferred by them, those events nevertheless laid the groundwork for the fact that today this designation can hardly be claimed any more. And this because at present there are almost no Manchu in it anymore.

M [167] Even during the reign of Emperor Kang-hi -- and probably later -- many Manchu were induced by the favored position that they found in the newly conquered land to leave their homeland and

131 /53 cont./
167 to move to Peking and other places in China (2). The Chinese,

(113) 2. Gerbillon; cf. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 36.

on the other hand, now had the opportunity to move from their overpopulated land to Manchuria, now a province of their empire (3).

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175 3. Plath (Die Völker der Mandschurey, Vol. II, 1831, p. 942) thinks that although the Chinese emperors of the Manchu Dynasty viewed the emigration from China with regret, the one to the north, into Manchuria, was nevertheless never forbidden, but rather always encouraged by them. A similar opinion is expressed by the archimandrite Palladij ("Dorozhn. zam.," etc., op. cit., p. 373). According to Huc, however, up to the reign of Emperor Tao-kuan, the Chinese were not allowed to enter the Sungari regions and especially to cultivate the soil there. It was not until the beginning of the rule of this emperor, who ascended the throne in 1820, that this prohibition was lifted, and, in order to help the imperial treasury, the sale of land to the Chinese was permitted, and they then descended like vultures upon the Sungari region (Huc, Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine pend. les années 1844-1846, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 150). Since, however, there was a danger that all the land in Manchuria might fall into the hands of the Chinese, the government afterward prohibited the

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3. (cont.)
further emigration of Chinese farmers to Manchuria -- a prohibition which was violated in secret and therefore had to be renewed again in 1844. (I. Zakharov", "Pozemel'naia sobstv. v" Kitaie /Land Ownership in China/." -- Trudy chlenov" Rossiiskoi dukhovnoi missii v" Pekinie, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1853, p. 65.) I do not know whether it still exists, but if it should still exist, it is in any case being circumvented.

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This began colonization of Manchuria by the Chinese, which, carried on steadily and incessantly, soon grew to colossal proportions and became disastrous for the Manchu. The practical, diligent, industrious disposition of the Chinese, their superiority in all trades and skills, their tenacity and endurance assured them victory over the lazy, shirking, ignorant Manchu, who, conscious of their power, were nevertheless proud and overbearing. Soon agriculture and livestock-raising, all rural and urban trades, all buying and selling were in the hands of the Chinese, while the Manchu became proportionately poorer and more dependent on them and sank to being mere handymen for them or even proletarians. Faithful to the customs and traditions of their homeland, the Chinese provided for schools out of their own means in every village of any importance, but the Manchu, of course, could not enter them, and only the government provided for Manchu schools and barely in the few towns (4). Because of

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4. Barabash", "Sungar. eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, Sec. I, p. 325).

this, the Manchu youth at an early age were won over to the Chinese language, customs, and views. In addition many a

/53 cont./ In addition many a measure by the government contributed to driving the Manchu /54/ into the ranks of the Chinese. As long as the latter were not allowed to acquire land in Manchuria, they knew how to acquire it in such a manner that the nominal ownership, and also the obligation for the taxes, remained with the Manchu (1). Moreover,

1. Huc, Souv. etc., Vol. I, p. 149.

above all, the latter have the privilege and the duty of serving in the Eight-Banner army, while the Chinese are excluded from it (2). According to an imperial decree, a count of the Manchu

2. With the exception of those who sided with the Manchu party at the time of the conquest of the empire (Plath, op. cit., p. 737) or those who had come with the Manchu from Manchuria (Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper., St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 251) and their descendants. Accordingly, in effect, all the Chinese immigrating to Manchuria later were excluded from the army.

must take place every three years in each of the eight banners, and those who do not report at that time in order to have their names posted in the rolls are regarded as having left the Manchu nation. It therefore follows that all those Manchu who out of poverty or laziness wanted to be freed from taxes and military service remained far away from these counts and thus entered the ranks of the Chinese, whose language, practices, and customs they now definitely adopted (3). And, finally, it is obvious that

3. Huc, op. cit., p. 150.

through frequent mixed marriages the physical differences between the Manchu and the Chinese became ever more blurred (4). Thus

648 563 [113] /54 cont./

4. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 60.

648 179 197 563 Thus it has come about that the Manchu, the conquerors and rulers of China, are gradually losing their national identity and are being assimilated and swallowed up by the conquered people. All the travelers who have visited various parts of Manchuria agree in describing for us this rapid process by which the Manchu are being absorbed by the Chinese and their idiom is disappearing from the list of living languages. Huc says that at the present time one can travel through Manchuria to the Amur and everywhere it is as though he were traveling through a province of China so completely has all local color disappeared there. With the exception of a few nomads (5), no one speaks Manchurian

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5. Huc includes the Solon with the Manchu and is of the opinion that the pure Manchu type has been preserved among them.

anymore, and perhaps there would no longer be a trace of this beautiful language if the emperors Kang-hi and Kuen-lung had not erected beautiful monuments to it (6). Du Halde said of the

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6. Huc, op. cit., p. 151.

map of Manchuria drawn up by the Jesuits upon the orders of Emperor Kang-hi that the Chinese names were omitted from it because it could be of no use for a traveler in Manchuria to know, for example, that Sachali-ula was called He-long-kiang by the Chinese, since he would not have to deal with Chinese there, but with Manchu who probably have never heard the Chinese name, but Huc is of the opinion that, while this may have been correct in Kang-hi's time, nowadays the opposite is true (7). One might

7. Huc, op. cit., p. 161.

648 /54 cont./
199 think that Huc were judging Manchuria and /55/ the Manchu from
199 a distance -- perhaps according to what he saw and heard in China,
114 Mongolia, and, at most, along the southern borders of Manchuria.
563 But the reports of those travelers who have penetrated farther into Manchuria are quite similar. According to Fleming (1),

[113] 1. Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 544.

Richthofen (2), and Williamson(3), southern Manchuria, the

[113] 2. "Reise durch Liao-tung and Pe-tschili nach Peking, Mai-Juli 1869./Journey through Liao-tung and Pechili to Peking, May-July, 1869/" (Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1870, p. 371). The same, "Schreiben über meine Reisen zur Grenze von Korea und in der Prov. Hu-nan /Notes on My Travels to the Border of Korea and in the Province of Hunan/" (Zeitschrift der Gesellsch. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Vol. V, pp. 319, 320).

[113] 3. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 39.

province of Liao-tung, including even its capital Mukden, is purely Chinese; there are no longer any Manchu there, and the Manchu language has practically died out; there are hardly any individuals who still understand it. Williamson is of the opinion [167] that a large portion of the Manchu migrated from there to the north, into the Sungari region -- central Manchuria, as he calls it -- while another part remained in Liao-tung, where in several places their ratio to the Chinese is 1 to 3, in others even 1 to 10, and are being gradually assimilated by the Chinese. According

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to Richthofen, however, there was no displacement of the Manchu by the Chinese, but only an amalgamation of the two, of such a kind, however, that the Manchu language has given way to the Chinese. He says that only in the villages of the province of Kirin (4) is Manchu still said to exist as a living language. Ac-

4. Or Girin, hence in the Sungari region.

cording to direct reports from the Sungari region, however, even this is hardly the case anymore. Williamson calls even central Manchuria only a direct continuation of China, in that even there the Manchu blindly follow the Chinese in language, customs, dress, and manners and give up everything national from childhood on (5). Barabasch says that if language is the characteristic of

5. Williamson, op. cit., pp. 59, 60.

nationality then four peoples are to be distinguished among the inhabitants along the Sungari, Nonni, and Churcha: Chinese, Mongols, Daur, and Goldi -- one does not meet Manchu, i.e., persons who speak Manchurian, and this is true not only of the villages, but also of the towns, those breeding places for Manchurian officialdom. And the reason is that the Chinese, who have begun to flood Manchuria since the present dynasty mounted the throne, were able to transform the ruling people wholly into Chinese (6).

6. Barabasch, op. cit., p. 322.

On the basis of his experiences in Manchuria, the archimandrite Palladij (7) notes that though the sons of the Celestial Empire

7. Op. cit., p. 396.

easily learn all languages and pronounce, though imperfectly, seemingly impossible foreign words, one language is banned from their encyclopedia as unnecessary -- the Manchurian language.

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103 Huc's remark, then, concerning the Chinese place names currently
179 in use in Manchuria is largely correct. Barabasch, for instance,
[114] reported recently that the Manchurian name "Churcha" usually found on all our maps of this country for the large river on which the town of Ninguta is located is completely unknown in Manchuria itself, and the river generally /56/ bears the Chinese name "Mudan-dsan" (1). Thus the large area along the Sungari and its tributaries,

[113] 1. Barabasch, op. cit., p. 134, note. The Korean missionary, Kimaĭ-Kim ("Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évèque de Belline, etc. /Letter to Mgr. Ferréol, Bishop of Belline/." -- Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. IX, 1847 [Vol. I], p. 69) gives this Chinese name (in the French spelling) as "Mou-touan," Venault ("Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850 /Travels in the Interior Parts of Manchuria, 1850/." -- Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 207), as "Mou-tan." On Williamson's (English) map of Manchuria (see his Journeys, etc.) it is called "Mootwan-ho." On the other hand, this river was designated to me by the Ssargu Goldi (therefore far below the mouth of the Ussuri) with its Manchurian name "Churcha."

Manchuria proper, is now Manchurian in name only.

101 It does not seem to be quite as bad for the Manchu in other parts of the Amur region, though these areas were occupied by them later. Separated by Mongols and Daur from the Manchu-Chinese area along the Sungari, the Manchu live along the Nonni
[167] above Tsitsikar. Most of them, say about eight-tenths, are so-called "Itschă-Manchu" ("New Manchu"), that is, descendants of

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101 167 197 those families who originally lived in the eastern part of Girin Province and were transferred from the Ussuri region to the Nonni by the founder of the present dynasty (Tai-tsu) (2). They are said

101 167 175 2. Archim. Palladij, op. cit., p. 432. Plath (op. cit., p. 983, note 4), following Klaproth, regards the "Itschã-Manchu" as descendants of those Manchu who, in contrast to the Old or "Fe-Manchu," did not invade China, but were later subjugated by the latter or joined them. The Chinese U-tschen, who in 1664 was born in Ninguta, where his father lived as an exile, and who stayed there until 1681, states in his description of this place that those persons from the "Churcha or Chulcha people" (Manchu from the Churcha River) who had distinguished themselves by bravery received rings and slaves (from the ranks of the exiles) as presents from the government. They were later ordered to move to Ninguta, from there to Mukden, and two years later to Peking. These, he says, are the "Itschã-Manchu," who in the beginning were awkward and ungainly, but later, when he saw them in Peking, could hardly be distinguished at all from the true Manchu. Cf. [113] Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's work ("Zapiska o Ningutie /Note concerning Ninguta/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, p. 93).

101 [197] to speak Manchurian among themselves, but to speak Chinese with others (3). They undoubtedly owe the purer preservation of their

3. Palladij, loc. cit.

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101 nationality to their more remote habitation sites, which were separated from the Chinese of the Sungari region by other peoples.
[563] Chinese have now settled among them, however, and their denationalization is only a question of time.

101 563 The same applies also to the third Manchu area, that of the middle Amur, in the oft-mentioned Manchu-Chinese culture area of it. To be sure, they live there mixed with Daur as well as with the Chinese, who are so fatal to their nationality, but the number of the latter does not seem to have been sufficient to suppress the Manchu element so far, as was done along the Sungari and Churcha. Perhaps in this connection one should also consider the fact that both this part of the Amur River and the Nonni are exile regions and therefore to a large extent contain only inferior Chinese elements, who could not as readily procure the influence and respect that the free settlers won so easily. At least I have seen on both banks along this stretch of the Amur several large villages which reputedly were still pure Manchu, but, besides them, some with a mixed Manchu-Chinese population. Also, the town of Aigun,
[103] or Aicho-choton, may have fewer Chinese /57/ elements than the Sungari towns for the reasons stated above, and likewise Mergen and Tsitsikar, in which there are Manchu, Daur, and Solon in addition to the Chinese (1), whereas Girin, Ninguta, Petune, and

[113] 1. Lange, "Tageb. einer Karawanenreise," in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 177. Palladij, op. cit., p. 429.

131 361 Ssan-ssin are almost purely Chinese towns. The easternmost of the Manchu villages along the Amur is the village of Torel located not far above the easternmost Daur village (Chormoldin). In particular, however, as was stated above, the Manchu villages occupy the western part of those stretches of the Amur below and above the town of Aigun, on the right bank opposite the mouth of the Dseja. Indeed, they even advance along this latter river to a distance of about 20 versts above its mouth, but at present only along its left bank, whereas formerly they occupied both banks of

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13] the Dseja (2).
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[113] 2. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc. p. 33. Cf. also Ussolzef's report in Schwarz's Podrobn. Otch. o rezul't. izslied. Matemat. Otdiela Sibirsk. Eksped. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., St. Petersburg, 1864, Ch. I, p. 34.

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13] In addition to the Manchu areas considered, we must finally
648 also regard as Manchurian those points in the Amur region where
[563] there are larger or smaller guardposts or where officials appointed by the Chinese government stay, though the persons concerned are by no means only Manchu, but rather there are also Solon, Daur, and even Chinese among them (3). Far be it from us to

[122] 3. For example, the official who was sent out to me from Aigun and accompanied me for several days until I reached this town was of Chinese nationality.

enumerate all the places of this kind; we shall content ourselves with mentioning only those that lie along the Amur and its tributaries among the peoples in question here. It cannot be denied that they
[439] have a certain ethnographic importance, because they give us a picture of the political power of the Manchu-Chinese in relation to the Amur peoples, and further because the collection of tribute takes place in them, some trade with the natives is carried on, and, even more, all kinds of extortion are practiced on the part of those in power.

712 In the province of He-long-kjang, our middle and upper Amur
648 region, belonging to Tsitsikar as the capital, there are several
131 Manchurian posts in the Manegir region above the town of Aigun and the mouth of the Dseja for instance, Ulussu-modon, below the mouth of the Komar, a noose-shaped bend of the Amur, two posts

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912 648 131 on the Komar mouth, the one directly on it, the other opposite it on the left bank, and, finally, two more at the foot of and opposite the Zagajan Mountain, easily recognized by its steep white and yellow walls. These are the last ones upstream, for there are none in the Orochon area, though the latter, in accordance with the Treaty of Nerchinsk, is still a part of the Chinese Empire; it is only occasionally visited by Chinese officials on trips to inspect the border markers. Downstream from Aigun there is the guard-post Ssung or Ssung-bira in Birar territory at the mouth of the river of the same name emptying into the Amur from the right and somewhat above the mouth of the Bureja. On this latter river about 60 versts above where it empties into the Amur, there is another Manchurian post, evidently intended for keeping watch over the Birar, /58/ collecting tribute from them, and perhaps also preventing the advance of Russian Tungus and Yakut to the Amur (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1.

In the province of Girin, our lower Amur region, the Manchurian guardposts or permanent residences of Manchu officials are all located in the very extensive Goldi area. One of the most important among them is that of Dshang-dshu at the mouth of the Sungari, which was mentioned above. A second one is located in Gaidje, on the right bank of the Amur. Furthermore, the Goldi village of Chöchzyr on the right bank of the Amur close to the Ussuri mouth was in my time the residence of an apparently rather high Chinese official in the lower Amur region. There were two Manchurian posts on the Ussuri itself: one, which I visited, was in the Goldi village of Dshoada on the lower course of the river; the other, named Schang-jeng, is on the left bank, diagonally across from the mouth of the Ima, and is the residence of several Manchurian officials who set out from here to make their trips to the upper Ussuri to collect tribute from the natives (2). These

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2. Maack (Putesh. po dolinie r. Ussuri,

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2. (cont.)
St. Petersburg, 1861, pp. 11, 36) mentions only this one Manchurian post along the Ussuri; the one in Dshoada was overlooked by him or was perhaps already abandoned, since this village is on the right bank of the Ussuri, which, at the time of Maack's trip (1861), had already passed into the possession of Russia.

trips are said to be made only very rarely and probably also only to a certain point, for the rather inaccessible stretch above the Ssungatschi mouth and especially between the mouths of the Kuburche and the Nyntu, or Nautu, seems to be the actual border of Manchurian rule along the Ussuri. Those Chinese who live farther up are practically no longer bothered at all by the Manchu (3). Finally, the last permanent residence for Manchurian

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3. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri," etc. (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXV, 1859, Sec. II, p. 208). The same, Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii, pp. 42, 43.

officials in the lower Amur region is the Goldi village of Mylki, a few days' journey above the mouth of the Gorin. Farther downstream, in the Olcha and Gilyak part of the Amur River, as well as in the Orochi part along the coast, there were neither Manchurian posts nor even officials dwelling among the natives. Indeed, these regions were never crossed by Manchurian officials collecting tribute or inspecting border markers, so they, as we shall see later, enjoyed virtually complete independence from the Manchu.

Manchu AG4
Historical Manchuria AG2

M 648 563 [131] /58 cont./

In the foregoing, in speaking of the habitation sites of the Manchu in the Amur region, we could not refrain from considering their gradual loss of nationality, for only by simultaneously keeping this situation in mind could the actual extent of their area of distribution and the position that they occupy in this respect in the Amur region and among the Amur peoples be shown in their true light. The original Manchu area was a large one, and nominally still is, /59/ but actually, as a consequence of the disappearance of the Manchu nationality, it is small and insignificant. Hence, the obvious conclusion is that a people who, in spite of its favored position as a conqueror and ruler, is unable to preserve itself in its own territory, is also incapable of exerting any considerable cultural influence upon other peoples. All the more, however, is to be expected from that people who, in spite of its political subjugation, won from the conquerors their own country and has been able to incorporate them in its own nationality. I am speaking of the Chinese. Therefore, for all the subsequent discussions of the Amur peoples, it will be of interest to us first to become familiar with the territory that this oldest civilized people of East Asia has already won in the Amur region at the time when we made the acquaintance of those peoples.

M 563 177 648

HM 563 In the Amur region the Chinese occupy some continuous larger and smaller territories which they have wholly or in large part made their own, as well as some separate outposts deep among the Amur peoples. By far the largest such area over which they are the actual masters is the one that they took from the Manchu -- the broad and fertile Sungari region. We have seen above how, after the conquest of China by the Manchu, the flow of the Chinese emigration not only poured over adjacent Liao-tung, but also over Manchuria proper, the so-called central Manchuria, and so flooded this country that today, with regard to its dominant population, language, and customs, it is merely a direct continuation of China. The main artery of the country, the Sungari with its fertile banks, is wholly occupied by Chinese, among whom are found, as we saw, many Manchu who have become Chinese. Only the stretch between the towns of Petune and Da-chutun, where they are present in

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563 smaller numbers than the Mongols and Daur, forms a slight interruption, though more and more territory is gradually being won by renting Mongol land, as well as through trade, establishing inns and guest houses, etc. (1). A large Chinese population engaged

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1. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki v" 1870 g." (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 423). Barabash", "Sungar. eksp. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, I, , p. 327). The Chinese government favors the increase of sedentation in the territory of the nomadic Mongols, in that it sees in this a guarantee for the peace and security of its border territories. Taking advantage of this, the Chinese snatch away the land from under the feet of the Mongols by first renting or leasing the land and then through trade, loans, and the like, make the original owners their debtors (Palladij, loc. cit.).

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in agriculture, trade, and crafts of all kinds extends from Da-chutun in the exceedingly fertile lowlands watered by the Sungari, both along the river and inland, and especially around the towns of Bajan-ssussu, Ashi-che, Ssuan-tschang-pu, etc., all of which were founded in recent times. The most recent settlements of the Chinese are located on the Sungari between the towns of Bajan-ssussu and Ssan-ssin. Barabasch, from whom we get the description of this population on the Sungari (2), in 1872 came across many of the

2. Op. cit., pp. 325-327.

colonies in their first origins, the newcomers still living in tents and earth huts. /60/ But for quite some time now the Chinese settlements along the Sungari have extended even beyond Ssan-ssin, and, in fact, on the right bank of the Sungari they advance for a distance of about 115 versts to the village of Dsan-mu-sso, from which downstream, the Goldi area begins; on the left bank,

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131 361 563 however, they stop about 60 versts from Ssan-ssin at the village of Wan-juan-wo-ken, from which there is uninhabited prairie wilderness to the Amur. Next to the Sungari, its largest tributary, the Churcha or Mu-tuan-ho, emptying into it at Ssan-ssin, shows the densest Chinese population. In particular it extends along the right bank of this river, which is suitable for farming, up to and beyond Ninguta. From there toward the Russian border, that is toward the upper Ssuifun /Suifun/, the valley of the small river Mo-do-schi forms the border of the dense Chinese population; from here on to Wan-lun-ho and beyond it to the Russian border there are only isolated Chinese huts whose inhabitants do a little farming and gardening or maintain inns for the many travelers who pass through on their way to the upper Ssuifan, the upper Ussuri, or the coastal region for gold-washing or other purposes. Less dense, but still predominantly Chinese is the population along the other tributaries of the Sungari, along the Hulan, the Maiche, etc., with the exception of the Nonni, along which, as we have seen, the Chinese on the lower course live mixed with Mongols and Daur, and farther up with the latter and Solon, and form only a minority of the population.

167 Since the vast Sungari region still offers much space for colonization, the steady immigration of Chinese into it, despite the fact that it began several centuries ago, has not ceased by far. Indeed, it seems that the Russian occupation of a large portion of the Amur region has increased the Chinese migration to the Sungari region, be it because of the prospect of a more lively trade opening up, of a ready and profitable market for the products grown along the Sungari, or because the Peking government favors the emigration in order, by means of a numerous and homogeneous Chinese population, to insure insofar as possible the future possession of the land it has retained. In 1866, Williamson saw every day on his trip from Peking to Manchuria, after he had left Ying-tse, the harbor at the mouth of the Ssira-muren, and was passing through the interior of Liao-tung, swarms of emigrants who were making their way north (1). The largest contingent of these emigrants is

1. Journeys, etc., Vol. II, p. 165.

/60 cont./

167 furnished by the overpopulated provinces of Shantung and Shansi, and, next to them Chihli /Hopeh/, the three provinces of China that are geographically closest to Manchuria. Immediately after the conquest of China by the Manchu, there poured out of Shantung, as a consequence of bad harvests, a great stream of emigrants going to Manchuria (2), who laid the first foundation for the

2. Archim. Palladij, op. cit., p. 373.

colonization of this country by China. It also drew its colonists from there: /61/ experienced, industrious farmers, persons trained in all the rural and urban trades, who come with their families in order to find a suitable field of work and to become sedentary,
563 permanent residents of the country (1). They are the ones in

[113] 1. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 165. Zakharov", "Pozem. sobstv. v" Kitaie" (Trudy chlen. Rossiisk. dukhovn. missii v" Pekinie, Vol. II, 1853, p. 65). Archim. Palladij, op. cit., p. 408. Barabasch, op. cit., p. 323.

particular who changed Manchuria into a Chinese province, who have taken all the land away from the indigenous, ruling people, and who, by means of their moral influence, the erection of schools, etc., have destroyed their nationality. Their language,
[197] the Shantung dialect, is the dominant one among all Manchu-Chinese, or Man-dse -- as they are also customarily called there (2) -- it stifles all other dialects, with the sole exception of that

[113] 2. V. Vasil'ev", "Zapiska o Ningutie" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, p. 86). Barabash", "Sungar. eksp. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, I, p. 324).

of the Shansi people, who do not readily alter their language (3).

2: Schrenck--125 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

563 /61 cont./
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3. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 373, 374, 409.

563 In that connection, however, all Chinese retain the peculiari-
186 ties in character and conduct, of their respective native prov-
197 inces, so that, with a sufficient knowledge of China, one can immediately recognize those from Shantung, from Chihli, etc., in spite of the fact that their language is the same. Like
563 Shantung, Chihli, too, for the most part sends to Manchuria industrious, efficient farmers and craftsmen who stay in the
563 country, even though in fewer numbers then the former. It is
441 different with regard to Shansi. Most emigrants from this province turn to trade in Manchuria; they are enterprising, skilled, practical people who, through tireless activity, have gained possession of all the wholesale and retail trade in all the towns and villages of Manchuria (4), the "Jews of the Celestial

4. Williamson, Palladij, Barabasch, op. cit. This does not mean, however, that there are no merchants from Shantung in Manchuria, or, conversely, no farmers or craftsmen from Shansi. Williamson (Journ. etc., Vol. II, p. 222), for instance, in Ssan-ssin met merchants who were from the towns of Tung-tschu-fu and Lai-tschu-fu in eastern Shantung.

Empire," as the archimandrite Palladij aptly calls them (5), whom

5. Op. cit., p. 396.

the traveler sees everywhere, in China proper as well as in the outer territories of the Chinese Empire, and whose dialect, distinguished sharply from all the others, he hears everywhere. With their large numbers and wide distribution, their financial and moral superiority over the Manchu, and the indispensability

/61 cont./
563 441 that they have gained with regard to them, no less credit is due them than to the Shantung people for having given the Chinese system, the Chinese language and nationality entry and a foothold everywhere in Manchuria. In contrast to the Shantung Chinese, however, the Shansi Chinese attach themselves to the soil only rarely and reluctantly; they usually come to the country without their families, try to become rich as quickly as possible, and then turn their backs on it, only to be replaced by other newcomers. Hence, by their very calling, they are a more nomadic and fluctuating population and do not give the country as permanent a colonization element as the Shantung people. The search for profits, however, as well as the nature of their calling prompts them to advance farther and farther, /62/ and thus it is precisely the Shansi-Chinese traders who can be found beyond Manchuria proper among almost all of the tribes of the Amur region, and who can therefore be regarded as the first pioneers for the spread of Chinese civilization into it. We shall therefore in the following discussions find further occasion to come back to them again.

563 Besides the elements mentioned, the tide of emigration from overpopulated China, and again from Shansi and Shantung in particular, also brings to Manchuria a great number of less useful persons from the poorest and lowest levels, indeed, for the most part the most degenerate rabble of all kinds: persons who have lost everything through vice and dissolute lives, and especially through card-playing, practiced so generally and with such pernicious effects in China, criminals who in order to escape the punishment of the law take to flight, etc. They try to make a living as day laborers, fishermen, hunters, as laborers in connection with the gold-washing, etc., and through industriousness and energy some of them succeed in rising to better and higher positions.

Finally, every province of China more or less provides Manchuria with its contingent of that part of its Chinese population that thronged to it not through voluntary emigration, but rather as a consequence of being exiled by the government. It is by no means only bad population elements that Manchuria

/62 cont./

563 receives in this way from China, for besides the deeply involved common criminals, robbers, counterfeiters, thieves in the government, etc., the penalty of exile falls especially on political offenders, members of secret political societies and religious societies seemingly dangerous to the state, among which Christianity has repeatedly been included (1), civil servants and

1. An edict of July, 1811, under the Emperor Kia-king, stated that all Chinese who had embraced Christianity and were unwilling to give it up should be exiled to the Amur (Plath, op. cit., p. 931).

court officials in disgrace because of intrigues, convicted or suspected enemies of the reigning Manchu dynasty, etc. Under certain circumstances such exiles could and were bound to become a great colonizing force in Manchuria. Not all the regions of it, however, are used to the same extent as places of exile. The towns of Ninguta and Girin in the heart of the Sungari region, and even more Aigun, located on the Amur beyond Manchuria proper, were named to us as such places of exile from the beginning (2).

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2. Gerbillon; see Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 6, 36, 182, 250. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, prosvieshch /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 299, note **. The same, Stat. opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 234, note **.

Aigun or the area above or below it is always meant when simply exile to the Amur is mentioned (3). Palladij also names Hulan

3. For example, to mention only a few cases of this kind under Emperor Yung-tsching (1927)

2: Schrenck--128 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG-2

/62 cont./

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3. (cont.)
Yo-tschu, the son of the first minister and at the same time close relative of the imperial house, Lung-ko-to, was banished to the Amur (Plath, op. cit., p. 554). Under Emperor Tao-kuang (about 1844) the Nomunchan of Lhasa was condemned to lifelong exile on the banks of the Amur for the murder of three Dalai Lamas who were still minors (Huc, Souvenirs d'un voyage, etc., Vol. II, p. 288; C.F. Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, Vol. II, 1859, p. 234).

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on the river of the same name, Hu-lun-buĭr, and especially Tsitsikar, to which the greatest number of criminals and the most dangerous ones were supposedly sent, as such places (1).

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1. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 428, 429. According to Pauthier (Chine modeme ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste Empire, Part II, Paris, 1843, p. 235), the severest banishment is said to be to Ili. The bastinado, with the number of blows corresponding to the gravity of the crime, always precedes the banishment. Cf. Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 135. Iakinf", Stat. opisanie Kitaisk. Imp., Part I, p. 234.

Emperor Kang-hi had many Chinese from Yunnan, who, as followers of Ussan-kuei had fought for China's independence from the Manchu, moved there along the Nonni and gave them land for cultivation. Through diligent and efficient work, their

2: Schrenck--129 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/63 cont./

563 descendants increased their property, and at the present time the Yunnan Chinese, who, by the way, have preserved in character and conduct all the peculiarities of their province, form great farming colonies along the Nonni (2). In this manner even the

2. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 409, 415.

remote south of China has made its contribution to the colonization of Manchuria and to the spread of the Chinese language and customs in it. The importance of these and similar banishments for Manchuria and the Amur region is less likely to be underestimated if one considers the fact that the Chinese government in inflicting the penalty of banishment often had in view the aim of increasing the population in Manchuria (3), and moreover,

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3. Gerbillon (see Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 6, 36) is quite outspoken on this subject.

accordingly, the exiles, at least those less deeply involved, enjoy a certain freedom in their place of exile, in that the only control over them is limited to an occasional summons, perhaps once or twice a month (4). It is, of course, worse for

4. Palladij, loc. cit.; Barabasch, op. cit., p. 324.

them in case of more severe punishment, but even if this goes as far as it can, that is, if the deportee is given in slavery to Solon or Daur in service (5), the more skillful and intelligent

5. Palladij, loc. cit.; cf. also Plath, op. cit., p. 935.

2: Schrenck--130 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/63 cont./

563 slave always has the opportunity to exert a certain influence over his cruder master. Thus, the Manchu-Chinese government itself, by making its own country a deportation country, has caused the Manchu nationality to almost disappear, and Manchuria to be changed into a Chinese province, even without intending to do so.

563 361 131 The area which the Chinese, living in dense masses, occupy on the Amur is insignificant only in comparison with the vast Sungari region. We find them in this fashion only in the so-called Manchu-Chinese culture area on the middle Amur, between the mouths of the Dseja /Zeya/ and Bureja /Bureya/, where they live on both banks of the river, for the most part in large villages, occupied with farming and livestock-raising, but sometimes also individually, carrying on petty trade. Mixed with Daur and Manchu, they have nevertheless, for the reasons mentioned above, not had the assimilative effect on these peoples, as they did in the Sungari region, in order to be the ruling people. Here, as on the Nonni, the Daur, close to them in many respects, particularly in a practical sense, in a calculating, enterprising talent for trade, offered /64/ stronger resistance to their influence than did the Manchu. Indeed, it even appears that the Daur have so far been able to keep the Chinese wholly away from the regions in which their main area of trade lies, from the Bureja and Dseja -- the Birar and Manegir territories.

In the coastal area of Manchuria and along the upper Ussuri and its tributaries the Chinese extend over a much larger [101] area than along the middle Amur. We have already made general references to them in this area, where, as along the Sungari, they are known under the name of Man-dse, in discussing the areas of distribution of the Orochi and Goldi, with whom they are largely intermingled. We shall now cast a special glance at the localities which they inhabit there.

The coastal area of Manchuria, that is, the stretch of land between the sea and the nearby coastal range, Ssichota-alin, is occupied by the Chinese from the border of Korea, and therefore from the present Russian possessions along the Sea of Japan, to

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Vladimir Bay and the Tasuschi or Lifule (1) River and beyond.

1. This name customarily found on the maps is, according to Prshewalskij /Przhevalski/ (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 156, Notes), unknown in the place itself, just like the name Fudsi for Lifudin, a tributary of the Ulache (upper Ussuri).

Their number decreases toward the north, however, and they are said not to go beyond 46 degrees of latitude, where nature rapidly takes on a more northern aspect (2). In particular they

[113]
2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri i zem. k" vost. ot" neia do moria" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXV, 1859, Sec. II, pp. 226, 233). The same, Putesh. po okr. Russk. Azii, p. 86.

live in the valleys of the rivers, coming down from the coastal range across the country. Only rarely do they settle directly on the coast, perhaps because they do not like to be seen from the sea, or perhaps in order to avoid its direct climatic influences, the strong sea winds, etc. They are most numerous in the fertile valley of the Ssutschan /Suchan/ and in its lateral valleys. According to Prshewalskij /Przhevalski/ (3), there are no less than

3. Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 143.

11 villages and 75 separate houses, or fansen, of Chinese there. Then follow, in order of population ranking, the valleys of the Tasuschi, Zymuche, Tassuduche, Pchussun, Maiche, etc. (4).

4. Prshewalskij, op. cit., pp. 78, 136.

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4. (cont.)
149, 151, 157. Along the Tasuschi there are said to be about 35 fansen, including the dwellings of the less numerous Orochi, along the Zymuche 30, along the Tassuduche and Pchussun 20 each, along the Maiche 10. For the Tasuschi, or Lifule, see also Wenjukof /Veniukov/, "Obozr.," etc., op. cit., p. 218; Putesh., etc., p. 59.

A relatively large Chinese population can also be found in the regions around Vladivostok and Possjet /Posyet/ Bay. The stretch between the Ta-uchu River and Olga Bay, on the other hand, is the most deserted part of the whole coast under discussion here (5),

5. Prshewalskij, op. cit., p. 151.

and, of course, the stretch north of the Tasuschi, where the
563 Chinese population gradually ends completely. The population
221 situation, by the way, in this coastal area of Manchuria changes
361 considerably with the seasons, since besides the sedentary Chinese engaged in farming and gardening and trade with the Orochi (Ta-dse), a /65/ whole crowd of wanderers arrive in the summer in order to fish for seatang and trepang or to wash gold along the rivers. This temporarily enlivens the whole seacoast between Possjet Bay and Olga Bay, along which the fishing takes place, as well as the region between the Ussuri Gulf and the Zymuche and Ssutschan rivers, where most of the gold-washing is found. In the fall, when the work is done, most of the people who performed it return, over the same route by which they came, to Hun-tschun, Ninguta, etc. Many of them, however, presumably those who work for themselves, stay in the coastal area even during the winter, in part as laborers among the sedentary Chinese, in part without work, eating up what was made during the

HM 563 221 361 /65 cont./ summer. Thus in many areas of the coastal regions, especially along the Zymuche and Ssutschan, there is almost twice as large a population of Chinese in the winter as in the summer (1).

1. Prshewalskij, op. cit., p. 88.

Gi [361] However much greater the number of Chinese there, however, the smaller is that of the Ta-dse or Orochi, who generally live farther Gi H.M [439] inland toward the mountains where the more productive hunting grounds are found. But even there isolated Chinese, who live by trading with the Orochi for products of the hunt, are not lacking.

H.M. 563 361 If one climbs over the coastal range and descends into the Ussuri region, one enters a territory where the Chinese are thoroughly at home. In general, however, what we observed along the coast is repeated here: the farther north, the smaller their number, and all the smaller and more widely scattered are their H.M. [133] settlements. They are most numerous along the two rivers that may correctly be regarded as the two source rivers of the Ussuri, which arises only out of their confluence, just as only from there down does it bear the name Ussuri -- I mean the Ssandogu, which is called the Ulache after its confluence with the Lifudin (Fudsi), H.M. [433] and the Daubiche (2). The Chinese there practice agriculture and

2. As has already been mentioned, only the former is generally regarded as the source of the Ussuri.

gardening, perhaps livestock-raising, and the like, sometimes individually, sometimes in whole villages and, numerically, represent the dominant population in contrast to the natives, Orochi and Goldi (3), but both downstream along the Ussuri and along its

3. Veniukov", "Obozr.," etc., pp. 217, 233; Putesh., etc., p. 57.

/65 cont./

563 361 right tributaries the reverse situation is found more and more, and eventually the Chinese live only in isolated fansen surrounded by small vegetable gardens and as traders among the natives.

As far as the right tributaries of the Ussuri are concerned, [439] the two largest of them, the Ima /Iman/ with the Waku /Vaku/ and the Biki /Bikin/, are occupied by relatively many Chinese who stay there permanently, have small fields and vegetable gardens, and trade with the more numerous, but for the most part nomadic Orochi. Along the Waku their settlements extend for a two-days' journey above where the small, rapid Tundsi River empties into it. Along the Biki the Chinese are less numerous than along the Ima; the busiest section along the former is said to be where their village of Tschamudyndsa is located, because the most rewarding hunting /66/ is carried on in this vicinity (1).

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1. Korzun"; see Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl." (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vols. IX, X, pp. 353, 379, 381). Veniukov", "Obozr.," etc., p. 201; Putesh., etc., p. 29.

[439] [441] The last of the right tributaries of the Ussuri to the north, along which there are still a few Chinese, who live as traders among the Orochi, is the Poor with its tributaries (2). This is an important

2. Korsun, op. cit., p. 353.

point for them also because from there a route leads down the Pächssa River to the Amur, over which many an Amur Goldi goes to the Poor tributaries to hunt in winter and which is sometimes also used by the Chinese traders. On the Ussuri itself the last permanent habitation sites of the Chinese lie somewhat below the mouth of the Poor, and, to be sure, they are two houses surrounded by small vegetable gardens on the left bank, which bear the name Chaizo, and on the right bank, still somewhat farther down, the Goldi village of Tumurgu, in which there is one

/66 cont./
563 Chinese fanse, whose inhabitants, three Chinese traders, gave
361 me the name Chai-tsching-ju-tscha for the village (3).

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3. Maack (Putesh. po. dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, pp. 9 and 45) also gives Chaizo as the last Chinese site along the Ussuri, but he puts it on the right bank and has the Chinese living there among the Goldi, which only fits Chai-tsching-ju-tscha or the Tumurgu of the Goldi.

563 Conditions are somewhat different along the left tributaries
361 of the Ussuri, because they and their sources come close to the
491 Sungari region and are connected with it by several roads. Ninguta and Ssan-ssin in particular are places in the Sungari region from which several roads lead to the left tributaries of the Ussuri. No less than three such roads run out of Ninguta, and, to be sure, in one case beyond the upper Ssuifun to the Lefu and Daubiche, then to Lake Kengka, and finally to the Muren, one of the largest and, at any rate, most important of the left tributaries of the Ussuri; from Ssan-ssin a much-traveled road
ooo leads to the Noor (4). Thus, in the western Ussuri region there

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4. The sources of the Noor are said to be separated from those of the Woken, a tributary of the Sungari, by only a mountain (Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri." -- Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXV, II, p. 197. See also Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, pp. 42, 56, 61, 66; according to my own investigations, and according to Wassiljef. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie, pp. 88, 208. Archim. Palladii, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /Ussuri Man-dse/." -- Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 372, 373). On the upper Ssuifun the

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4. (cont.)
road from Ninguta branches off to Huntschun, on the one hand, and to the rivers Maiche, Zymuche, Ssutschan, etc., on the other. Moreover, countless small trails worn by the Man-dse lead to the coast and to the eastern Ussuri region (see Prshewalskij and Palladij, op. cit.).

563 Thus, in the western Ussuri region there
133 are much more advantageous conditions for the spread of the
361 Chinese; it is more or less directly joined to the Sungari region, though with only a scattered and sparse population. If we consider the individual left tributaries of the Ussuri more closely, the luxuriant valley of the Lefu, which, however, is swampy in the lower parts, is inhabited by only very few Chinese (5).

5. Maack, op. cit., p. 58.
Prshewalskij, op. cit., p. 214.

Along the Ssianche, another river emptying into Lake Kengka, and on this lake itself their number is likewise small, but it becomes larger to the west of the lake and toward the upper Ssuifun where the roads to Ninguta meet (6). The Ssungatschi has a

6. Maack, op. cit., pp. 60, 61.
Prshewalskij, op. cit., pp. 68, 211.

Chinese settlement only in the vicinity of where it flows out of Lake Kengka (7). There are said to be a few small Chinese

7. Maack, op. cit., p. 63.

villages along the Muren, in the lower part, the only one for which /67/ we have any information (1). The Duma and the

1. Dorshidarof, who visited the lower course of the Muren, found on it only

/67 cont./

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1. (cont.)
one Chinese village at the mouth of a rather large river, which he thought was the one which on Chinese maps bears the name of Jergun, and a second one close to where it empties into the Ussuri (Maack, op. cit., p. 64).

the Duma and The
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Kirki are more heavily populated with Chinese because the mountains and forests in their vicinity and along their sources are said to be rich in the highly prized ginseng root, and for this reason a trail leads from there to the Sungari (2). The most Chinese,

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2. Veniukov", "Obozr.," etc., p. 199; Putesh., etc. p. 25. Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, p. 65.

however, are along the Noor, the last large tributary of the Ussuri from the left; engaged not merely in farming and gardening, but primarily in trade, they live there for the most part in small villages which often alternate with those of the Goldi (3). Therefore, whereas the Chinese population decreases

3. Maack, op. cit., pp. 42, 66.

toward the north along the right tributaries of the Ussuri and with greater distance from the main artery of the region, the reverse situation is found along its left tributaries for the reasons stated above.

167 We still have to say a few words concerning the origin of the Ussuri Man-dse. In general it is the same as that of the Sungari Chinese, with this difference, however, that the Ussuri region and the seacoast often get their Chinese population secondhand from the Sungari region. Again the same three Chinese provinces adjacent to Manchuria, Shantung, Shansi, and,

2: Schrenck--138 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

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167 next to them, Chihli, send the largest contingent of emigrants
167 directly to the Ussuri and the coast (4). But the character of the
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4. Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, pp. 56, 57.

emigrants who go to the one place or the other is different in many respects, and this is conditioned primarily by the difference in the relations of the Chinese government with the two areas. Whereas it opened up the Sungari region to the immigration of Chinese agricultural colonists and permitted the establishment of large agricultural colonies there, it kept both far away from the Ussuri region (5) and instead guided to it a stream of a mobile in-

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5. Although agriculture is nevertheless in the Ussuri region, too, as we saw above, this is done only on a small scale in the immediate vicinity of the fansen, by their owners, alone or with the help of a few laborers, whereby the exceedingly fertile soil and the climatic conditions richly reward the labor. Extensive agriculture, however, orderly farming with all that is associated with it, as in the Sungari region, is not found there. The Ussuri Man-dse themselves complain that the Chinese government did not permit them to establish agricultural colonies (Palladii, "Ussuriisk. Man'tszy," op. cit., pp. 370-372).

dustrial population, because, it is said, the Manchurian commanders in Ninguta and Girin feared a crowd of an all too strong Chinese population there. At the same time it gave the Ussuri Man-dse great freedom in that it only occasionally sends to him officials from Ninguta or Ssan-ssin who collect an arbitrary tribute from each house, but

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otherwise leave them completely undisturbed (6). The conse-

6. Palladij, op. cit.

quence of these measures was that the better part of the Chinese emigrants, namely those who migrated with their families in order to establish themselves in a new homeland and /68/ to become sedentary, farming inhabitants of it, came to the Sungari region, whereas the less desirable elements went to the Ussuri region, people who had no family ties, who even in their homeland had led only an unstable nomadic existence, poor and lowly workers and day laborers, but especially all kinds of degenerate and questionable people, evildoers and criminals, who sought to escape in flight, convicts expelled from society, and similar rabble, who saw a special advantage in the freedom and lawlessness, in the absence of any governmental inspection and control, in the Ussuri region. Similar elements also flowed into it for the same reasons from Liao-tung and the Sungari region. Many of these people even bore traces of the corporal punishment with which they had had to atone for crimes committed in their homeland (1).

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1. Usol'tev", "Zakhankaiskii krai" (Morsk. Sbom., 1864, No. 6, Unofficial Part, p. 190).

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How crude, degenerate, and immoral this population is, is brought out sufficiently in the descriptions of the travelers. Prshewalskij /Przhevalski/ could not point out a single good feature in the Ussuri Man-dse; on the contrary, he gives a drastic description of the dissolute lives of the gold-washers, seatang fishermen, and other rabble who spend the winter in the Zymuche and Ssutschan valleys, their drunkenness, their passionate gambling, in the course of which many a one has lost everything in one night and which is often accompanied by murder and homicide (2).

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. krai, pp. 85, 86, 90.

/68 cont./

563 [184] There are no civic institutions, schools, etc., here, even among the better elements of the Man-dse, the small sedentary farmers or the traders that have come from Ssan-ssin or Ninguta, as there are in the Sungari region. Needless to say, under such circum- [197] stances the Chinese population in the Ussuri region does not have that moral, civilizing force and importance that they have gained over the Manchu in the Sungari region. The Chinese in the Ussuri region lack the primary and most necessary condition for this -- the family. No Chinese woman enters the Ussuri region. Hence, the Man-dse there are forced to marry Orochi or Goldi women or to keep them as concubines, unless they prefer to stay single, as usually happens (3). In either case, the children, under the

[113] [162]

3. As many Chinese fansen as I have visited along the lower Ussuri -- and isolated houses of Chinese traders along the upper Amur, I have almost always seen only men in them, and rarely native women, but never Chinese women. Similar reports for various parts of the Ussuri region are given by Wenjukof ("Obozr. r. Ussuri," etc., pp. 241, 242; Put. po okr. Ross., pp. 100, 101), Maximowicz (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book III, Miscellany, p. 5) Ussolzef ("Zakhankaisk. krai." -Morsk. Sborn., 1864, No. 6, Unofficial Part, p. 190), P. von Helmersen (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1866, p. 84), Budischtschef ("Opisanie lies. chasti Prim. obl."- Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Vols. IX and X, 1867, p. 182), Schmidt ("Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 130), Prshewalskij (Put. v" Ussur. kr., pp. 83, 105), and others.

/68 cont./

563 influence of their respective mothers, are reared no better than Orochi and Goldi children, though they learn to speak Chinese at an early age, but this is also often the case among the natives living amidst Chinese or having much intercourse with them, and in later life, aside from a few modifications of character, in external habitus, etc., /69/ become completely like these [648] nationalities. To be sure, the Chinese government has been successful in preventing the rise of a powerful Chinese population in the Ussuri region, but along with this, in shortsighted fashion, it has only worked against its own interests and made it easier for the Russians to occupy this region and more readily assimilate its people (1).

1. Cf. also Palladij, loc. cit.

563 439 443 These, then, are the areas with a large Chinese population in the Amur region. They are centers, the seats, from which scattered individual Chinese elements radiate out all through the Amur region. The many Chinese traders who go to all the Amur peoples go out from there in order to exchange their Manchu-Chinese wares and products for the hunting spoils of the latter. And they do not merely visit them briefly; at certain points they have obtained a firm foothold among them and, taking up more or less permanent residence, have set up small trading posts or stations. We shall later, at the appropriate place, discuss in detail the trade that the Chinese -- whether itinerant or fixed in one place -- carry on with the Amur peoples, but first of all let us interest ourselves in their trading posts from another point of view. In [197] the wake of trade, Chinese manners, Chinese culture, morals or immorality, penetrate to the Amur peoples, and every Chinese trading post is therefore in turn a small center from which Chinese influence radiates out to the Amur peoples. While, in order to investigate and to measure this influence in the course of our discussion of the Amur peoples, we must, first of all, learn in greater detail the area of distribution of the Chinese in the Amur region, we must by all means also consider their small

563 /69 cont./
443 trading posts among the Amur peoples in terms of their approxi-
439 mate number, location, etc.

The difference in the position and relationship of the Manchu and the Chinese with respect to the Amur peoples is highly significant, in that with regard to the former we are dealing only with guardposts and permanent seats of officials, and with regard to the latter it is a matter only of trading posts and permanent seats of traders. And it is no less significant that the latter do not only greatly exceed the former in numbers, but also extend far beyond the borders within which the former lie. Where the actual power of the Manchu ends, the Chinese, through the power of trade, has still been able to gain a firm foothold. And this in spite of the fact that he himself must submit to many restrictions
563 and oppressive measures on the part of the Manchu rulers. The
443 spread of the Chinese traders is least along the upper Amur,
439 above the mouth of the Dseja, which they reach from Aigun and
361 the nearby Chinese villages. I met them there at only four points, and the last of these traders, going upstream, had his post about a day's journey below the guardpost of Ulussu-modon. They therefore dwindle out in the Manegir area, and none is found among the Orochon. The reasons that keep them from advancing farther in this direction and /70/ in greater numbers seem to me to be the following. First and foremost, the small and nomadic population in this part of the Amur River. This not only curtails trading and makes it difficult, but also makes the trader seminomadic. Since the Manegir on the Amur do not have any permanent habitation sites, the Chinese traders cannot set up their seats among them, as they do among the peoples of the lower Amur region, but must provide for food and dwelling by erecting their own houses and growing their own vegetables. When the Amur is entirely deserted in the fall, however, with the departure of the Manegir, they have no choice but to go back to Aigun or some other place from which they came, and not until spring, when the nomads again come to the Amur to fish, do they reappear at their trading posts. Another disadvantage for the Chinese traders on the upper Amur is the competition which

2: Schrenck--143 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/70 cont./

563 they have there from the Daur and which hurts them all the more
443 in that the latter are in a more favorable position simply because
439 of their permanent sites along the middle and upper Komar and
36 their permanent contacts with the Manegir, and, in addition, it seems, are favored over the Chinese by the Manchurian officials. It may very well be that further advances along the upper Amur have even been directly forbidden for the Chinese traders by their government, for the latter is nowhere so suspicious and uneasy, so anxious to prevent any communication across the border, as it is at the Russian border of the upper Amur, which has been long and bitterly contested. There, as an exception, the Chinese trading posts do not go beyond the Manchurian guard-posts, but remain far below them. No traders go out from Aigun and the surrounding Chinese settlements except to the upper Amur, for the Dseja and Bureja with their tributaries seem to be visited exclusively by Daur traders.

Along the lower course of the river the Chinese have a much wider field than on the upper Amur. To be sure, along the stretch between the mouths of the Sungari and Ussuri there are, as far as I could learn, no permanent residences of Chinese traders, in part on account of the very small population, and in part on account of the proximity of those rivers and therefore of the trading posts located on them. Below the mouth of the Ussuri, in the more densely populated part of the Goldi region, there are, however, several of them. As such, I myself, for instance, became acquainted with the villages of Da, Onmoi, Mylki, Zjanka, Kŏurmi -- all of them inhabited in summer and winter by several Chinese traders. In other places which the Goldi desert in summer in order to seek out places more favorably located for fishing, they stay only during the winter, while they spend the summer getting new wares and trading on the way with the Goldi. The choice of the villages named as permanent residences on the part of the Chinese traders is explained by their favorable location. They all lie at points where the products of nature, especially furs, from various tribes pour in [illegible] natural routes. At Da, for instance, there is the

/70 cont./

563 mouth of the Da or Naiche River, whose lower course is inhabited
443 by Goldi, the upper by Orochi; similarly, from Onmoi not
439 only the dwellers along the Amur, /71/ but also the Goldi and
361 Orochi opposite the mouth of the Chongar River can be supplied and exploited; finally, Zjanka and Kõurmi are in the same manner located respectively opposite and in the vicinity of the Gorin mouth, so that every winter the Chinese from there make their trading trips to the Samagir. Zjanka is a typical small trading post of the Chinese, in that there they have their own house with a vegetable garden. The two latter places are already beyond the last Manchu post and close to the boundary of the Goldi territory, at which effective Manchu control likewise reaches its boundary. The Chinese traders, however, go even farther, through the entire Olcha territory, and even stay there permanently in various places, for example, in the Olcha villages of Adi, Kidsi, and Pulj, where I met them in the winter of 1855. Again, all three places were very cleverly chosen by them, for Adi is the largest of all the Olcha villages and at the same time is close to the Goldi and Samagir territories; Kidsi, on the one hand, lies in the center of Olcha territory, and, on the other hand, it is in the immediate vicinity of the Orochi on account of Lake Kidsi, from which a towpath runs to the seacoast, and also on account of the Pă and Jaĭ rivers, from which there is a road to the Tumdshi River and to Kaiserhafen; and, finally, Pulj has the great advantage, first, of lying in the immediate neighborhood of the Amur Gilyak and also at the threshold of the route which in winter leads over the Adara Mountains to the Liman, over which, not only the Liman Gilyak, but also, as we saw above, the Orok from Sakhalin come to the Amur. This, however, is the last more or less permanent trading post of the Chinese in the lower Amur region, for from here on, and along the left bank of the Amur River, which down to its last eastern bend is uninhabited by the Gilyak -- with the exception of the village of Tlals -- they only make occasional trading trips to the Negda on the Amgunj/Amgun/ (1). The right, relatively

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1. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk.

H.M. 563 443 439 36 113 /71 cont./

1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbom., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and others).

H.M. 563 648 439 G 439 648 The right, relatively thickly populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them, for the Gilyak, although -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the traders might pave the way for the rulers. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in contrast to the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. G 101 114 They also at times simply designate the Chinese with the name "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

H.M. 563 114 113 439 101

2. For example, Orlof (cf. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amer. Komp., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Beresin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Boschnjak ("Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 195, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese traders from the lower Amur and from the Amgunj as "Manchu." The same is done by Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165) with

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2. (cont.)
respect to the Chinese living in Pulj and Adi. As a consequence of this confusion Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ has the Manchu extend almost to the mouth of the Amur; in connection with this, he calls them "traders who are timid by nature" (see Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 305), which fits only the Chinese, and in no way the Manchu. Likewise the "Manchu" who, according to Prshewalskij (Put. v" Ussur. kraie, p. 11), come with their wares to the mouth of the Komar may be Chinese, according to the above; etc.

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/72/ The Sungari, and especially the last Manchu-Chinese town on it, Ssan-ssin or Itschã-choton, is the point of departure for all the Chinese whom one meets as traveling or sedentary traders in the lower Amur region. To be sure, once in a while Chinese traders go down the Ussuri in summer (1), or in winter

1. Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, p. 66.

from the Poor along the Pächssa route, to the Amur (2), but even

2. See above, p. 134.

these few come indirectly from the Sungari, since most of them first went from Ssan-ssin to the Ussuri and subsequently remained in permanent contact with this town. Like most of the Sungari traders, the Amur traders, too, are Shansi Chinese, profit-seeking and enterprising people, who, unfettered by family ties, seek their fortune far away. We shall learn more about them later.

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

/72 cont./

648 On the island of Sakhalin, the role played by the Manchu and Chinese in relation to the Amur peoples on the continent belongs to the Japanese. They are the rulers for at least a part of [177] this island, and they are the civilized people with whom the inhabitants of it have long had close contact and connections, and in part still do, and to whom they are therefore undoubtedly [121] indebted for much cultural influence. Just as we had to study the distribution of the Manchu and Chinese there, here it is first of all of interest to us to learn the area which the Japanese occupy on Sakhalin, or did occupy up to a short time ago (3). Control

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3. I again call attention to the fact that my observations refer to those conditions and situations that I myself found in the Amur region and on Sakhalin in the 1850's.

by the Japanese has at all times extended only over the southern half of Sakhalin; it has thus only embraced, even at the time of its greatest expansion, practically all of the Ainu area, but never touched the other two peoples on Sakhalin, the Orok and the Gilyak. Since it is of relatively recent origin and, from modest beginnings, did not reach larger proportions until recent years as a consequence of events which were taking place at the very time when I became acquainted with the island, but at the present time, as a further consequence of these events, has again completely ceased, I believe that its scope could not be delineated better than by my sketching a few features of its history.

175 When, in 1785 and 1786, the Japanese, Mogami Tok'nai,
654 traveled over the island of Sakhalin or Krafto (Karafuto) -- as
361 it is called in Japanese -- (4), there were not yet any permanent Japanese settlements on it.

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4. This was the first Japanese-sponsored journey for the investigation of Sakhalin after the expedition undertaken at the beginning of the seventeenth century by order of the governor of Matsumai,

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4. (cont.)
Prince Kinfiro (Siebold, Nippon, I, pp. 126-127).

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Japanese settlements on it. /73/ It was not until a year later, when the vessels of La Pérouse were seen off the west coast of Sakhalin and in Aniwa /Aniva/Bay that the Japanese government, as Golownin /Golovnin/ relates, out of fear that Europeans might take possession of the island, decided to colonize the southern part of it, which until then the Japanese had visited only for trade, but to leave the north to the Chinese (1). Although this decision

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1. Zapiski fl. kap. Golovnina o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Naval Captain Golovnin's Notes on His Adventures during the Period of His Captivity among the Japanese/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 168. It is therefore not quite correct when N. Busse (Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ekspeditsiia 1853 i 1854g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 72), reproducing Golownin's statements, says that the Japanese government established the first settlement on Sakhalin at the beginning of this century and, to be sure, out of fear that the Russians might annex the island.

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was not carried out immediately, the subsequent appearance of Laxmann in the harbors of Jesso /Yesso/ and the southern Kuriles soon afterward, in 1792 and 1793, probably contributed to the realization of it. At any rate, the reason given for the first settlement of Japanese on Sakhalin is quite trustworthy, because, as we shall see, the later expansion of their settlements came about for similar reasons (2). Soon afterward we in fact learn of

2: Schrenck--149 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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2. For example, it is said that not until the occupation of the northern Kuriles by the Russians were the Japanese stirred to colonize the southern Kuriles located closest to them, Kunaschir /Kunashir/ and Iturup (Golownin, op. cit., p. 157; cf. also Siebold, op. cit., p. 127).

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Soon afterward we in fact learn of the first Japanese settlements on Sakhalin: Krusenstern and his companions visited two of them in Aniwa Bay in 1805, at the points called Salmbai and Tomari-Aniwa by the Dutch (3).

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3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, St. Petersburg, 1810, Vol. II, pp. 62 ff. Langsdorff, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt /Comments on a Trip around the World/, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, pp. 289 ff.

The latter settlement is called Kussun-kotan by the Ainu. In both there were Japanese officers as well as traders, and both appear, judging by the conditions of the buildings and by the statements of the Japanese, to have been established only recently (4). It is highly probable that the settlements of the

4. Krusenstern (op. cit., p. 65) came to this conclusion with regard to the settlement in Salmbai because the dwellings for the Japanese officers as well as the warehouses were still very new, and, indeed, some were not yet finished. The Japanese officers in Tomari-Aniwa (Kussun-kotan) told Langsdorff (op. cit., p. 293) that one of them had been living on Sakhalin

2: Schrenck--150 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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4. (cont.)
for six years, the other for eight. This settlement is therefore perhaps the older of the two, just as at that time it was also the larger one. According to Polonskij ("Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 559), the settlement of the Japanese in Aniwa Bay was established seven years before the first attack by Chwostof, therefore in 1799.

Japanese were confined at that time to Aniwa Bay lying closest to them. One would think it most likely that there was another Japanese trade settlement in Ssiranussi on the west coast directly above Cape Crillon, an old trading post undoubtedly also visited by the Japanese, which will be maintained frequently below; in fact, however, this does not seem to have been the case, as we shall see in a moment. In 1806 and 1807, Chwostof and Dawydof directed their raids only against Aniwa Bay, raids which they had to carry out against the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin upon the orders of the Russian envoy, Resanof, who had been rejected by the Japanese (5). The devastations that they

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5. A detailed discussion and elucidation of these events was given by Admiral Schischkof in the preface to Dawydof's description of the voyages undertaken by Chwostof and himself (Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitser. Khvostova i Davydova /The Repeated Journey to America by Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1810, Part I, Preface, pp. XIII-XXVI.

2: Schrenck--151 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

175 the devastations that they
636 /74/ committed there made necessary greater alertness and
648 prudence for its colonies on the part of the Japanese government
[654] and prompted it a year later to send the skillful and reliable
man, the surveyor, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, to Krafto, in
order to explore this island, as well as the neighboring Amur
[361] region, for their purposes (1). In the following we shall repeatedly

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1. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 129; VII, p. 197. From the above one can easily see how Newelskoi's assertion stands in absolute contradiction to all the historical facts -- but he nevertheless repeatedly comes back to it (cf. his posthumous work, Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krainem" vost. Rossii, pp. 152, 256, 275, 302) -- namely, that the Japanese did not begin to come to Sakhalin and to settle there until after the Russians, and, to be sure, not until from 1810 on, and therefore also after the visit to Amwa Bay by Chwostof and Dawydof. This assertion is just as incorrect as a second one asserted by him in the same sentence (op. cit., p. 256), namely, that Sakhalin was first described by the Russians, and, to be sure, in 1740 (as though there had been no Vries a century before!), and even a third one, that the Orok are Russian Tungus who emigrated from the Udj /Uda/ area at the beginning of the sixteenth century. I shall discuss this last one in greater detail later and on that occasion shall point out the tendency lying at the basis of all these assertions.

refer to this journey, which is also highly interesting

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /74 cont./
175 ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for
636 its publication (2); I mention it now only because one can gather
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2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

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Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

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laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 106.

2: Schrenck--153 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466

/74 cont./
originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

A 175 648 466

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (I),

F.J. 175 636 361

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 648 469 221 A 175 162 464 648 /75 cont./

During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

F.J. 175 636 439 443 648

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

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2: Schrenck--155 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan A82
Sakhalin Island

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636 Liman and along the Amur, that their boats had advanced as
648 far as the Gilyak village of Pilja-wo and wintered there, that
195 they threatened that no Gilyak who let himself be seen among
them would come away with his life, etc. There is no doubt
that some of these reports were circulated by the Ainu who were
fleeing from the Japanese and, in order to preserve their inde-
pendence, were seeking refuge in the border villages of the Gilyak.
Since similar things must have repeatedly happened earlier,
when the first Japanese settlements were founded on Sakhalin, and
especially along the west coast, this explains the above-mentioned
mixed population in the southernmost Gilyak villages bordering
Ainu territory.

195 Now the Japanese also seized the east coast of Sakhalin,
636 on which, up to 1854, they had had no settlements at all, and
361 their expansion proceeded rather evenly along both coasts.
In 1857, their northernmost settlement on the west coast was
in Naioro, only slightly to the south of the Kussunnai River (1).

1. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 77.

195 In the following year the Russians founded the posts of
648 Kussunnai on the west coast and Manuë on the east coast (2),
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2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 106.

whose location is of special importance inasmuch as the narrowest
part of the island, with the shortest and easiest road running
across it, which has served from the beginning for communica-
195 tion between the two coasts, is found between them (3). As a
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3. In January, 1854, Rudanofskij had already used this road.

countermove, the Japanese soon afterward erected their settle-
ment of Kussunnai and Wari close by (4). When Schmidt

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4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the
FJ Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in
[226] Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended
[251] even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

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5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

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Sakhalin Island

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175 636 361 the places richest in fish at the western mouth of the Ty or Poronai River and founded there their settlement of Ssisska where they kept a few men even during the winter (2). From there

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2. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 53. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostrova Sakhalina, p. 119.

they demanded that the last, easternmost Ainu, those of Taraika, who were still independent and therefore the wealthiest, recognize their supremacy. In the same year a Japanese official was to go to Taraika for this purpose, and a Japanese settlement was to be founded in this village, and now, writes Brylkin in 1864 (3),

3. Op. cit., pp. 36, 53.

this has undoubtedly been carried out. And Schmidt (4) reported

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 106, 114.

later that this had actually been done. According to Mizul (5),

5. Op. cit., p. 120.

during the fishing season the Japanese are said to go from Taraika even to Nyi. Presumably, however, these were not regular trips, but rather only individual ones made by the Japanese in order to investigate the rest of the coast, since Nyi is far from Taraika and already in Gilyak territory, and the coast is uninhabited almost up to it. At any rate, it is not to be presumed that the Japanese ever intended to extend their rule over Sakhalin beyond the Ainu territory, for they must have known that they would find the Gilyak to be a people not as servile and as easy to subjugate as the Ainu with whom they were already acquainted on Jesso. The knowledge of the Japanese concerning the language and the nature and customs of the Ainu people

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Sakhalin Island
Southeast Siberia RX1

F.J. 175 633 648 F.J. [647]

/77 cont./ substantially helped in the extension of their rule over the southern half of Sakhalin. Also, the Japanese colonization of Sakhalin naturally continually proceeded from Jesso. It was, of course, carried on by the two princes of Matsumai and Hakodate, to whom the sixth districts of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were subject for administrative purposes: the three southern districts, Ssiranussi, Kussun-kotan, and Tunaitscha, recognized the supremacy of the prince of Matsumai; the three northern districts, Tunai (Endungomo), Kussunnai, and Manuë, or Wari, the last of which extended to the Gulf of Patience, the supremacy of the prince of Hakodate (6). These conditions were brought to an end

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6. Brylkin, "Statist. und topogr. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin," op. cit., pp. 278-287. One also finds there an exact listing of all the Japanese settlements and the Ainu villages on Sakhalin.

by the treaty concluded between Russia and Japan in 1875, as a consequence of which all the Russian Kuriles from Urup to Schumschu /Shumshu/ were ceded to Japan, and the latter, on the other hand, gave up the possession of southern Sakhalin in favor of Russia.

SS 121 179 648

/78/ Besides the distribution of the civilized peoples from East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, the position that the Russians occupied in the Amur region at the time when I became acquainted with its peoples is to be sketched here. It has already been mentioned in the introduction how rapidly the occupation and colonization of the Amur region on the part of Russia advanced in the past decades; it has been pointed out that along with this the national peculiarities of the Amur peoples quickly began to disappear, and therefore it must be called a favor of circumstance that we had the opportunity to study these peoples before the loss of their individuality. Only the first beginnings of the Russian occupation and colonization occurred at the time

/78 cont./

121 of my stay in the Amur region or immediately preceded it.
179 Therefore only these will be discussed in detail here. It is well
648 known, however, that the first contacts of the Russians with the Amur peoples date from more than two centuries earlier and have demonstrably also taken place continually since then. Hence we should obviously first give an account of them.

175 From the writings of Siberia's historiographers, G. Müller,
648 J. E. Fischer, and others, we are sufficiently informed about the wars and raids carried out in the Amur region during the seventeenth century by the Russian Cossacks and freebooters, who went along the course of the Amur River down to its mouth and to the adjoining part of the Sea of Okhotsk and at many points set up temporary winter camps, fortified camps, stockades, villages, and even a city, Albasin, on the upper Amur. Many of the details of these events will be referred to later, many of their consequences, of great importance ethnographically for the Amur region, will be discussed in detail, and hence a description of all these events repeated in full would be out of place here, and all the more so since the contacts of the Russians with the Amur peoples were of too short a duration and too exclusively hostile to exert a demonstrable influence, aside from destruction and devastation, upon the life, views, usages, and customs of the latter. It is well known that the treaty concluded at Nerchinsk in 1689 put an end to the Russian undertakings of the time, with China being given control over the entire Amur region. It should not be thought, however, that with this the contacts of the Russians with the Amur peoples in their own regions ceased completely. The motives that had guided the first Russian Cossacks to the Amur River, the hope of a rich booty in precious furs, in precious metals, and who knows what as yet unknown treasures in this vast and still unknown region, and along with this the prospect of free, unrestrained, and uncontrolled operations among its peoples, acted strongly and were not to be suppressed by a treaty. Though the treaty of Nerchinsk as well as the later one in 1728 concluded by Count Ragusinskij with China provided for severe punishment for any transgression of the Russo-Chinese

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648 border, nevertheless such took place over more or less the whole stretch from the Argunj /Argun/ and the Schilka /Shilka/ to the Sea of Okhotsk. Russian fur-hunters, traders, Cossacks, adventurers, and fugitives of all kinds, even escaped prisoners and the like, went deep into the Amur region, sometimes only temporarily, sometimes for a prolonged stay; indeed, /79/ some settled there permanently. The vague and unfamiliar course of the border line in those forested and mountainous wildernesses, as well as its complete indefensibility against the Russo-Tungusic mountain nomads, contributed in part to the continual violations of the border treaties. Middendorff has described these conditions very exhaustively and, from manuscripts, papers in archives, and his own inquiries and experiences, has given a long series of facts which are the best proof that the contacts between the Russians and the Amur peoples, even though nothing was known about them, took place here and there almost uninterruptedly (1).

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 100-106, 142-175.

He even believes that an influence on the facial formation of the inhabitants of the lower Amur region may be ascribed to it (2).

2. Op. cit., p. 157.

In individual cases, especially in the border districts through which Middendorff traveled, such an influence may actually be noticeable, but by and large I cannot share this view; I rather believe that the national peculiarities of the Amur people could scarcely have suffered through that intercourse, since at that time the Russians visited the Amur region only more or less individually, temporarily, as strangers, and under conditions which did not permit them or at least did not make it appear advisable to emphasize their origins but rather forced them to accommodate themselves to the customs and way of life of the natives.

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At any rate, the Russians had the most contact with the peoples of the upper Amur region, the Orochon, Manegir, and Birar. The first were closest to them simply because, along the upper Lena tributaries, along the Olekma, along the Tungir, etc., they inhabit undisputed Russian territory, and along the Schilka and Argunj they are their immediate neighbors. Moreover, they occupy that part of the Amur region where, prior to the treaty of Nerchinsk, the Russians had had actual settlements, villages with agriculture (3), and a town, Albasin, repeatedly and

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3. Müller, Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Vol. II, pp. 391, 392. Stuckenberg, Hydrogr. des Russ. Reichs, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. II, p. 778. Cf. also Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 150.

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heroically defended. It goes without saying that after the treaty they held the view that this was actually their country which the Chinese had snatched away from them, and that the Orochon along the upper Amur and its tributaries, just as along the Olekma, the Tungir, etc., should pay tribute, not to China, but to Russia. And, finally, in addition to everything else, there lay before the Russians the broad and inviting Amur route, used by them successfully so often, which led into the center of Orochon territory, and it lay before them open and unguarded, for the Manchu-Chinese guardposts on the Amur do not begin until much farther down, in Manegir territory, and the trip made by Chinese officials once a year at a certain time to inspect the border markers at the mouth of the Gorbiza could not possibly bar the river to them. No border treaty could have prevented the enterprising and profit-seeking Russian fur-hunters, Cossacks, and adventurers /80/ from penetrating into the neighboring Amur region from the Schilka and Argunj. Their most productive hunting grounds were there, from which they obtained the prized sable furs and, as these became rare, numerous squirrel pelts.

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/80 cont./

195 648 224 Every year in the fall, they came in groups, equipped with everything that was needed, for these hunts, which, with reference to their principal booty, were plainly named "squirrel hunts" (bielkov'e, and from it the verb bielkovat'). According to Middendorff's data, they did not merely go to the Stanovoi Mountains and along the left bank of the Amur to the Ur, not merely down the Amur on rafts almost to the Albasicha, but in particular also along the right bank of the Amur into the area of the Albasicha, Panga, and even to the Komar (1). In

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 160, 168, note 2.

October, 1856, I saw the Cossacks in the villages along the lower Argunj in part still occupied with preparations for the "squirrel 195 hunt," in part already on the point of departure. For months 648 they stay in those wildernesses, and many contacts take place there between them and the forest nomads, be they Russian Tungus or Chinese Orochon and Manegir. Traders, who take [443] what the Tungus have bagged in exchange for liquor and other wares, and Russian border Cossacks, who take it as tribute for the government, are also found there. Middendorff, for example, met on the Uritschi, on unquestionably Chinese territory, according to treaty, a whole division of these Cossacks with their immediate commanding officers, who collected tribute from the Orochon and, naturally, at the same time carried on a profitable fur trade (2). Some of the hunters and traders stayed

2. Reise, etc., loc. cit., p. 160.

more permanently on the Amur or went even farther downstream. Müller, for instance, reported that around 1738 the son of a Nerchinsk Cossack, Danilo Ssoldatof, lived with his whole family at the mouth of the Albasicha and once even went as far as Aigun, where he was arrested by the Chinese, who,

2: Schrenck--163 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RXJ

/80 cont./

175 however, released him when he said that he had lost his way (3).
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3. In Büsching's Magazin für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part II, 2nd edition, Hamburg, 1769, pp. 491, 503. Cf. also Middendorff, op. cit., p. 167, note 2.

Fugitives in particular may have often sought refuge in the Amur region and wandered far in it, or remained there entirely, but,
175 as a rule, without leaving any trace. In rare cases, however, we are indebted to them for some reports about the Amur region. Especially remarkable are the travels of the fugitive Gurij Wassiljev, who went down the whole Amur River to its mouth by water. According to Ladyshinski, these voyages took place between the years 1815 and 1826 (4). According to a letter

4. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 156, note 1.

by Baron Schilling von Cannstadt from Irkutsk (5) and based upon

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5. To the Director of the Asiatic Department in St. Petersburg, dated January, 1832 (D. Romanov", "Prisoedinenie Amura k" Rossii /The Annexation of the Amur by Russia/."-- Russkoe Slovo, St. Petersburg, 1859, June, Sec. I, p. 364. P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amerik. Komp. i dieistv. eia do nastoiashchago vremeni /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present Time, Pt. II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 43).

information by Wassiljef himself, he did not reach the Amur mouth until the last-named year. From there he first turned

S.S. 175 /80 cont./ southward, spent the winter on the border between the Gilyak and the Ainu (that is to say, /81/ on Sakhalin), and then in the spring of 1827, since he had often heard from the former that Russians lived to the north of the Amur, he went back to the mouth of this river and on north of it along the coast. Before he reached the Tugur, however, about 35 versts from it, he had to spend another winter among the Gilyak. Then, in the spring of 1828, he went with them by dog sled to the mouth of the Tugur and, finally, from there, with Reindeer-Tungus, to Udskoi Ostrog, where he surrendered to the Russian local authorities. The accounts based on Gurij Wassiljef's testimony contain so much of ethnographic interest that we shall refer to them repeatedly below (1).

S.S. [114] [113]

1. Middendorff, in his travel account (Vol. IV, pp. 156-160), published the most important data from Ladyshinskij's handwritten notes. He also points out that Iakinf in his description of the Amur River (Statist. opis. Kitaisk Imperii, St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, p. 216 f.) made liberal use of Wassiljef's data.

T S.S. 175 648 179 Scarcely less than from the west there was also contact from the north, beyond the Stanovoi Range, between the Russians and the Amur peoples. Here they came in contact chiefly with the Manegir and the Birar. And just as there it was the Russian Orochon, here it was the Russian Tungus who arranged and brought about these contacts for the border established by the treaty of Nerchinsk was always indefensible against them since it did not take into account the natural conditions determining the life of the mountain nomads. They came down from the Stanovoi Mountains on their hunting trips into the Dseja /Zeya/ and Bureja /Bureya/ system far into Chinese territory, roaming to and fro up to the Amur. Yakut

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S.S. /81 cont./ Yakut
195 traders often appeared in their wake. Why, then, in spite of
648 all the border restrictions, should Russian fur-hunters, Cossacks,
177 and the like not advance over the same route? Müller, in fact,
224 reported that in 1737 the surveyors Skobelzyn and Schetilof
[437] repeatedly came across the hunting huts of Russian fur-hunters
Y
[439] from Nerchinsk along the Gilui and its tributaries (2). Else-

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2. In Büsching's Magaz., op. cit., p. 491. Cf. also Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 168, 169.

where (3), and perhaps only generalizing from those reports, he

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3. Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Vol. III, 1758, p. 509.

mentions the "forbidden sable hunts that take place from
S.S. Nerchinsk to the Seja /Seya/ River." To the many proofs offered
195 by Middendorff (4) that Yakut as traders frequently followed the
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4. Op. cit., pp. 165 ff. Also see above, p. 79.

Russian Tungus into the Dseja and Bureja area and even took up more permanent residence there among them, we can add, according to L. Schwarz (5), that Russian traders, Cossacks from

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5. Podrobnyi otchet" o rezul'tatakh" izslied. Matematich. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksped. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. /Detailed Account of the Results of the Research of the Mathematical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society/, 1864, Ch. III, pp. 69, 76.

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439 /81 cont./
175 Udskoi Ostrog and elsewhere, utilizing the unsettled border
648 situation, annually undertook long journeys in those regions that
443 by treaty were Chinese. Occasionally, Russian priests, too,
175 would go there in order to minister to the spiritual needs of this
797 dispersed orthodox population and at the same time to spread
[36] Christianity among the pagan Tungus (6). Later, after
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> 6. In 1826, for instance, the priest, Germogen Djatschkovskij, with the same Yakut (Wantscha) who had served as a guide to Middendorff, went into the Bureja territory as far as Jorach, below the confluence of the Niman and Bureja.

Middendorff's /82/ journey, Russian chapels were erected there at several points, for instance; the Inkanj Chapel on the small Myni River near where it empties into the Ssilimdshi, in the Dseja territory; the Bureja Chapel at the sources of the Dolnikan, a left tributary of the Bureja; and the Burukan Chapel
175 on the Tugur. In time these points became regular trading
797 centers where Russian and Yakut traders, Russian and Chinese
443 Tungus (Manegir, Birar, and Negda, respectively), and Russian
439 priests regularly appeared, as well as Cossacks from Udskoi
648 Ostrog to collect tribute, which, incidentally did not bar trade (1).
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> 1. Schwarz, op. cit., p. 76. It has already been noted above, according to Middendorff's statement, that in former times the Daur, too, went to Inkanj to engage in trade, which was later discontinued.

In 1852 Schwarz visited all three chapels and defined their geographic position; the Inkanj Chapel by the way, was destroyed the year before by the Manchu who this time, as an exception, had extended their inspection tour beyond the border marker farther to the south to the Udj Valley, but he found the other

SS 175 439 443 799 648 346

/82 cont./ two still wholly intact (2).

2. Later -- Schmidt says "a few years before" in the description of his trip of 1862 -- a chapel was built on the Ssuluk, a source river of the Amgunj /Amgun/, which took the place of the Bureja Chapel as a trading center for Russian and Yakut traders dealing with the Tungusic tribes of the surrounding area. Occasionally a priest from Udskoi Ostrog also went there (cf. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 161).

SS 175 443 439 346 799 648 [361] [487]

The Burukan Chapel and the trading station of the same name are themselves located on the other side of the Bureja Mountains, on the Tugur, which is separated there from the Nemilen, the main northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a narrow and low watershed (Ukakyt) provided with a towpath. This brings us into the lower Amur region, and just as to the west of the Bureja Mountains there were Russian contacts with the Manegir and Birar, so are there likewise some here with the Negda and their nearest neighbors to the south and east, the Samagir and Gilyak. And here as there we again meet Russian Tungus, Yakut, and Russian traders and Cossacks roaming in what is allegedly and presumably Chinese territory (3). The

G. SS. 175 439 799 SS. 443

3. Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 164, 165, and elsewhere Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 331-333). Schwarz, op. cit., p. 69.

most active intercourse was with the Negda in particular, thanks to the nearness of the Tugur and of the trading station of Burukan to the Amgunj. This trade center is the most important

Gi SS 175 439 177 SS 443 /82 cont./ one of the three mentioned and is regularly visited by Russian and Yakut traders from Udskoi Ostrog and Yakutsk, who bring their commodities on many beasts of burden, horses and reindeer (4). As was mentioned above (5), several Negda had

4. In the forties and fifties the rich merchant Nowgorodof from Yakutsk went there himself every other year (Boschnjak /Boshniak/, op. cit., p. 332).

5. See above, p. 63.

SS Gi [197] settled down there altogether with their families; others came temporarily to trade. Along with the Russian wares, many a Negda also took, from the priest as well as from the merchant, the Christian religion (6). From what motives remains undecided.

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 175.

Gi 175 356 797 000 Lieutenant Boschnjak, however, asserts that he /83/ noted greater cleanliness in the houses of the five baptized Negda families whom he met (1852) on the Amgunj than among their pagan countrymen (1). From Burukan the Russians, like the Yakut, went

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1. Op. cit., p. 333. In the village of Wjachtu on Sakhalin, an old Negda woman, who had been brought there in her youth from the Amgunj, showed him a few small sheets of Slavonic church songs given to her there by Russians, one of which she relinquished to him for some tobacco; similarly, a few sheets of a Slavonic calendar, which, however, she cherished so much that she would not deprive herself of it (Boshniak", "Eksped. v"

Gi 175 356 797 113

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1. (cont.)
Pri-amursk. kraie."--Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 12, Unofficial Part, p. 192).

From Butukan the Russians, like the Yakut, went
S.S. 175 439 648 361 unhindered to the Amgunj, which they navigated, engaging in trade, and on whose banks one or another of the latter presumably settled (2). With the Amgunj, however, there lay open to them

2. Lieut. Boschnjak (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 331), for instance, discovered that the village of Mangi consisted of only one Yakut family (the old Yakut Ssawa and two Yakut women) and one Tungus.

the route to the lower Amur, which they undoubtedly often used, and all the more since Chinese rule over the peoples there, the Gilyak and Olcha, as over the Negda, was scarcely more than nominal. For example, Mania Rinsô mentions in his travel account (1808) that on the Mankô (Amur) between the villages of Horomô and Harmê (evidently the Gilyak village of Kalm) he saw four vessels that struck him because of their strange appearance. When he inquired as to where they might be from, he was told that they were Russian vessels which had been on the Hongô (Amgunj) River for some time, had erected bark tents on the bank, and were engaged in fishing (3).

55. 175 439 648 361 114 104

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177). In Rinsô's account, as rendered by Siebold, it is said that they had set up "karias" on the bank. No explanation of this foreign word is given, and when instead of it I say bark tents, this is only a presumption. Or, could it actually be that the traveler was given the Russian word "karjo" (kor'e, tree bark)? /In a "Correction and Supplement" to this note (see the foreign text, p. 777), the author states, "In a couple of places in "Tô-tatskiko" (pp. 172, 173) overlooked by me, Siebold translates "karia" simply as tree-bark hut. My interpretation of the word ("bark tent") is therefore quite

175 /83 cont./
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3. (cont.)
correct. But is the presumed borrowing of it confirmed with regard to the Russian?"/

175 Finally there was another circumstance which inevitably
484 brought about many a contact between the Russians and the Amur
648 peoples along the extreme northeast boundary of the Amur region, especially the Gilyak: the almost continuous expeditions which were carried on during the past century by the Russians from Udskoi Ostrog to the Shantar Islands. Middendorff has described the history of these undertakings in great detail and, on the basis of notes which he discovered in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog, has made a long series of them known (4). Here, too, the hope

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 97-114.

of a good yield in precious furs, in precious metals, perhaps also of abundant tribute from as yet unknown peoples was the principal motive that sometimes drove individual enterprising persons to the Shantar Islands and sometimes induced small trading companies to send expeditions there. The government did not look with disfavor upon these expeditions since they might eventually enrich its tribute collections and extend its influence. The difficult navigation around the Shantar Islands, however, the poor vessels, their inadequate equipment, and probably also very often unskilled leadership, as well as a motley, ill-disciplined, greedy, and adventurous crew, frequently caused the ships to land, purposely or by accident, not on the islands, which proved to be uninhabited, but on the coast of the mainland within sight of them and inhabited by Gilyak. /84/ There, however, more densely populated and by the same tribe, lay the banks of the lower Amur, the Amur mouth, and even the island of Sakhalin in tempting proximity. How many of the Shantar voyagers might therefore, yielding to temptation, have sought their fortune there? We learn, for instance, that the Udskoi peasant, Kudrjaschef (1), who stayed in the Shantars in 1817, was allegedly

2: Schrenck--171 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

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/84 cont./

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 157. Romanof ("Prisoed. Amura k" Rossii." -- Russkoe Slovo, 1859, June, Sec. I, p. 362) calls him Kudrjawzof.

driven by hunger to the Amur mouth and remained there until 1821. The physician Stankewitsch, in a handwritten report of 1841 from Udskoi, mentions another Russian settler at the Amur mouth (2). Much earlier, in 1789, the Yakut citizen, Terentjef,

2. Middendorff, loc. cit.

spent the winter with twelve companions not far from the mouth of the Amur, that is, among the Gilyak, on a voyage which he had undertaken from Udskoi Ostrog to Sakhalin Island (3). There

3. Mention of earlier winterings by the Russians in Gilyak territory will be made later.

is repeated mention of fugitives, chiefly Yakut, who were in the service of Russian trade companies and were sent to the Shantar Islands, but instead fled to the Amur or to Sakhalin. Through them Udskoi received the news of a seagoing vessel, possibly Russian, stranded on Sakhalin in November, 1790, which was visited in great numbers by the Gilyak and hairy Reindeer-Tungus (Orok) (4). Mamia Rinsô, too, heard (1808) on Sakhalin

4. Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.

that Russian vessels frequently visited the waters west of the island and that formerly Russians had come to Noteito (in the region of Cape Ljak) and Usijoro (around Bay d'Estaing) until finally, on account of their rapacious behavior, they were in part driven away by the concerted action of the natives, and in part were killed. Mamia Rinsô even gives the names of these

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/84 cont./
Russians: Kamutsi, Simena, Momu, and Wasirê (5). The last

5. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 181).

three names are easily recognizable as the Russian Christian names, Ssemjon, Foma, and Wassilij. The first one seems questionable at first, but we shall obtain information about it later. As a result of the frequent escapes to Sakhalin, the view that there were Russian settlements on the island became established among the Russians (6). In 1852, therefore, when

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6. Admiral Schischkof, in speaking of the motive that led the Russian envoy Resanof, who had not been accepted by the Japanese, to order the well-known Chwostof-Dawydof raid on Sakhalin, even presents the view that around the middle of the previous century the Russians intended to take possession of this island and had brought in a colony, which later disappeared (Dvukr. putesh. v" Amerikumorsk. ofits. Khvostova i Davydova, St. Petersburg, 1810, Preface, p. XIV).

Lieutenant Boschnjak visited northern Sakhalin, he inquired among the Gilyak there as to whether Russians had settled anywhere on the island and finally received the following information in the village of Tangi on the west coast. Some 35 to 40 years ago, it was said, a vessel was stranded near the village of Ngabi (evidently Ngabil) on the east coast of Sakhalin; the crew remained for some time in the village, built a new vessel there, and went on it around the southern tip of the island to the west coast. There they were shipwrecked again near the village of Mgatsch, /85/ and all perished, with the exception of one man

/85 cont./

175 named Kämz, who was rescued near the village. He was soon
484 joined by two Russians who came from the Amur, Wassilij and
648 Nikita, who were greatly afraid of the Russian tsar -- fugitives no doubt. All three then settled down in the village of Mgatsch and, like the Gilyak, lived by trapping and trade with the Japanese, until all three died on Sakhalin (1). In view of this

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1. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 12, Unofficial Part, p. 192). One of the Gilyak showed Boschnjak a mirror which his father had received as a present from the above-mentioned Kämz and which he cherished so highly that he would not part with it at any price.

information Lieutenant Boschnjak seems to have known nothing about the above-mentioned, very similar report by Mamia Rinsô. But in the Kamutsi of the latter one immediately recognizes the principal hero of his account, so faithfully has tradition preserved even the names of these foreigners inhabiting the island for a time among the Gilyak. It has already been mentioned above that the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, spent a few years among the Gilyak, on Sakhalin as well as on the mainland coast.

175 In any case, however frequently Russian traders, Cossacks,
179 fugitives, and other persons visited the Amur region in spite of
648 the existing treaties, they could not have had any major influence upon the customs of its peoples simply because they always stayed among them more or less individually and briefly. Such an influence could not and would not appear until major, fixed, and permanent settlements were established on the part of the Russians in the Amur region, and thus the colonization and
175 occupation of it began. A beginning was made shortly before
648 my visit to the Amur region, and first at the mouth and along
361 the lower course of the Amur River. The unfavorable climatic
[133] conditions in the Sea of Okhotsk, the great distance and isolation
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175 of its harbors from all the major Siberian centers, made it neces-
648 sary to advance southward, and the obvious importance of the
361 Amur River as the only natural and comfortable water route from
133 the interior of Siberia to the Russian possessions along the Pacific
487 Ocean -- an importance which was recognized more and more after the voyages of the Russian freebooters and was emphasized again and again (2) -- argued /86/ irresistibly for the occupation of this river.

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2. To the long list of such references in Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 175, 176) I can add the following. As early as 1791, the academician Erich Laxmann, in the instructions that he gave concerning the equipment for a new expedition to Japan, put great emphasis on the extreme importance of the Amur River for Russian navigation in the Pacific and the colonization of Siberia, on the necessity of annexing it. He suggested that for this purpose two vessels be built above Gorbiza in order to go down the Schilka and the Amur on them under the pretext of searching for deserters from the crew. The expedition to Japan, as is well known, took place under the leadership of Adam Laxmann (the son of Erich L.); the proposal to occupy the Amur was rejected, however, by the Empress, Catherine II, so as not to bring about any conflict with the Chinese government and thereby prejudice the aims of the Japanese expedition (see Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otd. Emogr., Vol. IX, 1871, pp. 470, 474). J. D. Cochrane (Narrat. of a pedestr. journey through Russia and Siberian

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2. (cont.)
Tartary, London, 1825, Vol. I, p. 418) also stressed the commercial importance of the Amur River for Siberia.

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of this river. On June 29 (July 10), 1850, the Petrovski post (actually, Petr. Winter Quarters -- "Petrovskoje Simowjo") was established in a bay of the Sea of Okhotsk, which was given the name "Bay of Good Fortune," by Captain (later Admiral) Newelskoi /Nevel'skoi/, who the year before had explored the coast from Tugur Bay to the Amur-Liman on board the brig "Baikal," and Ensign Orlof (1). This post, in the immediate

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1. D. Romanov", "Prisoed. Amura k" Rossii" (Russk. Slovo, 1859, July, Sec. I, p. 117). Tikhmen'ev", Istorich. obozr. obrazov. Ross.-amer. Komp., Pt. II, p. 72. Nevel'skoi, Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, p. 107.

vicinity of the northern passage into the Amur-Liman and only about 45 versts in a straight line from the Amur, was to be nothing more than a crossing point to the latter. And actually, in the same year, Newelskoi occupied the mouth of the Amur by going from Petrovskoje by boat to the Amur and there on August 6/18 he founded the Nikolayev post in a bay of the left bank, about 35 versts above where the river empties into the Liman, close to the Gilyak winter village of Kuĭk (or, by Russian designation, Kuëgda) at a point called Tschorbach by the Gilyak, (2) by raising the Russian flag of war (3). This

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2. I. e., "fish rock," from "tscho" -- fish, and "pach" -- rock, stone. The initial (b)

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2. (cont.)
letter in the latter word is about midway between p and b, and in compound words it is closer to the latter.

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3. In Newelskoi's posthumous work (Podv. russk. i pr., p. 111), August 1/13 is given as the date of the founding of Nikolayev Station; according to Romanof ("Pris. Amura."-- Russk. Slovo, 1859, July, Sec. I, p. 118) and Tichmenjef (Istor. obozr. i pr., Part II, p. 72), however, it was August 6/18. The latter date is also given in my journal on the basis of Newelskoi's own statements.

establishment, however, was only a temporary one inasmuch as the six men left behind there were ordered to return to Petrovskoje after the Amur and Liman were frozen and were not to return to it again until the last winter passage, in order to proceed with the construction of houses. The latter failed, however, because of the resistance of the Gilyak and could not be started until August 9/21, 1851, when Captain Newelskoi came with a larger force and left 25 men there under the leadership of Naval Lieut. Boschnjak. With this, therefore, the definite founding of the Nikolayev post, or the later town of Nikolayevsk, first took place (4).

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4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 12, Unofficial Part, p. 180). Romanov", "Pris. Amura" (Russk. Slovo, 1859, July, Sec. I, p. 123).

/86 cont./

175 361 103 Although there were only a few log houses erected there at first, a firm foothold had nevertheless been gained along the Amur. From there the lower Amur region, the adjacent coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the island of Sakhalin were explored more closely, and in 1853 other small posts were founded with the same limited means: the Mariinski post at the entrance to Kidsi Lake, at the site of the small Olcha village of Choto (5), the Alexandrov post in de

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5. On August 7/19 (Romanov", "Pris. Amura." -- Russkoe Slovo, 1859 July, Sec. I, p. 130). Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes: a journ. of Siber. trav. and explor., London, 1872, p. 86) erroneously gives 1851 as the year for the erection of the Mariinski post. It should be noted in passing that in the same work (p. 89) there is the statement that the Amur was first discovered by the Russians in 1843(!).

Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay (6), the Konstantinov post in Hadshi Bay,

6. On August 5/17, according to Romanof, (op. cit.), and according to my notes based on Newelskoi's statements.

/87/ which was given the name Kaiserhafen (1), and the Murawjof

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1. On May 23 (June 4), 1853, Hadshi Bay was discovered by Lieutenant Boschnjak and named "Harbor of Emperor Nikolai" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, pp. 205, 206). In the same year, on August 1/13, Newelskoi founded

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1. (cont.)
the Konstantinov post there. (The above date is to be found both in Romanof [op. cit., p. 130] and in my notes, whereas in Newelskoi's above-mentioned posthumous work [p. 237] August 6/18 is given for it--obviously through confusion with the date of the founding of Nikolayevsk). Not until three years later (on May 11, 1856) was the same bay discovered by Captain Fortescue on the English warship "Barracouta" and named after his ship (Tronson, Person. Narr. of a Voyage in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, pp. 267-271).

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post in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin (2). The last three posts, however

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2. According to Boschnjak ("Zaniatie chasti o-va Sakhalina i zimovka v" Imperatorskoi gavanii /The Seizure of Part of Sakhalin Island and Wintering in Imperial Harbor/"--Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 10, Unofficial Part, p. 397), on September 21 (October 3); according to Newelskoi's posthumous work (pp. 252, 255), on September 22 (October 4). In the same year a post was founded by Ensign Orlof, and named Iljinski Post, on the west coast of Sakhalin near Kussunai, and, to be sure, according to Romanof (op. cit., p. 129), on July 21 (August 2), according to Newelskoi (op. cit., p. 269), on August 30 (September 11) -- and in this case the latter statement is probably the more nearly correct -- but it was immediately abandoned again and was not definitely occupied until

2: Schrenck--179 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

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2. (cont.)
several years later (1857). The same dates as those in Romanof concerning the founding of Russian posts in the Amur region can also be found in Ssgibnef's article: "Amurskaia ekspeditsiia 185[illegible] Razskaz" ochevidtsa /The 1854 Amur Expe[illegible]n. Narrative of an Eyewitness/" (Drevniaia i novaia Rossiia, St. Petersburg, Vol. III, 1878, p. 222).

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The last three posts, however, located on the seacoast, could not at first withstand an attack from the sea, and therefore in the following year, with the outbreak of the Crimean War, had to be temporarily evacuated again. On July 22 (August 3), 1854, when I visited Aniwa Bay on board the corvette "Olivuza," I found the Murawjov post already deserted (3); in Kaiserhafen and in de Castries Bay, which

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3. This had happened on May 30 (June 11).

we visited on July 25 and 30 (August 6 and 11), only small guard units of ten and seven Cossacks, respectively, each with one noncommissioned officer, had been left behind.

Up to this time, the two posts on the Amur were likewise very insignificant, for the Nikolayev post when I first set foot in it on August 7/19, 1854, that is, exactly three years after its founding, only contained about half a dozen small log houses, and the Mariinski one was even smaller. As a result of the necessity to leave the coast and to gain a firmer footing along the lower Amur, both of them grew considerably from then on. A few weeks after my arrival in the Nikolayev post, Captain Newelskoi settled there with almost the total crew of Cossacks and sailors from the Petrovski post, thus making this place the seat of the government for the effectively occupied lower Amur region. At almost the same time there arrived the crew of the

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175 frigate "Diana" which had been sent to Vice-Admiral Putjatin
361 to replace the now useless frigate "Pallas" and also was given its crew (4). Thus for the winter there was already a whole series

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4. The discarded and disarmed frigate "Pallas" was brought into Kaiserhafen in order to be destroyed there in case she should be discovered by the enemy, which actually happened in the spring of 1856 (cf. Tronson, op. cit., p. 270).

of large and small houses in the Nikolayev post, quickly built
[122] out of the timber felled on the spot. Among them was my modest log cabin, which was attached to the so-called Sslobodka, the row of Cossack houses, as the last one toward the forest.

/88/ The year of 1855, however, brought a much greater expansion of the Nikolayev as well as the Mariinski posts, with the simultaneous rise of new settlements. As early as that spring all the naval and official personnel from Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka, with the Governor, Rear-Admiral Sawoiko, at their
[731] head, came to the Amur. They were soon followed by two-thirds of the crew of the frigate "Diana," which had been destroyed by an earthquake on December 11/23, 1854, in the ooo Bay of Simoda on Nippon (1). In the meantime, immediately

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1. A detailed description of this event by eyewitnesses may be found in the official reports of Vice-Admiral Putjatin and the captain of the frigate, Lessovskij, to the Russian government in Morsk. Sborn., 1855, No. 4, Sec. IV, pp. 293-296; No. 7, Sec. II, pp. 231-257. Cf. also Hawks, Narrat. of the Exped. of an Amer. Squadron to the China seas and Japan, Perform. in the years 1852-1854, und. the comm. of Commod. M. C. Perry, New York, 1856,

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p. 587. The last third of the "Diana" crew was taken prisoner aboard the American brig "Greta" on July 29, 1855, by the English warship "Barracouta" (cf. Tronson, op. cit., pp. 139 ff.).

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In the meantime, immediately after the Amur had shed its icy coat, Governor-General Murawjof had brought down the Amur half a battalion of Transbaikalian Cossacks on foot and a ssotnja (one hundred) Cossacks on horseback, besides the first agricultural colonists with their families. In this way many Russian elements poured into the lower Amur region from the land and from the sea. Anyone who was a [912] member of the Navy or was connected with it took up residence in the Nikolayev post, which now grew considerably and from which two smaller guardposts were erected, one at Cape Lasaref, at the southern entrance into the Liman, the other next to the Gilyak village of Pall-wo, to guard the war and transport vessels that had been disarmed and were sheltered in the Amur. The land troops, on the other hand, were settled around the Mariinski post: the Cossacks on foot near the village of Kidsi, and those on horses on the island of Ssutschu within sight of the latter. A part of the former was also stationed in de Castries Bay at some distance from the seacoast. Finally, the agricultural colonists were assigned several places between the two posts, in part in the Olcha area, in part in the Gilyak area: there arose in this way near the village of Aure, the settlement of Irkutskoje; near Tentscha -- Bogorodskoje; and near Chylk, the large village of Michailovskoje; a small part was settled near the village of Angkalm, but within a short time fell victim to typhus, with the exception of one man; and, finally, a fifth settlement developed on the Litsch River, slightly above the Nikolayev posts.

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As can be seen, up to this time the Russian settlements were confined to the lowermost course of the Amur River; there were as yet no beginnings of them above the Mariinski post.

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Even during the summer of 1856, when I went up the entire

S.S. 175 131 36 712 [114] /88 cont./ Amur on my return trip to Europe, on the whole stretch from the last-named place to Ustj-Strelka I found only five small temporary guardposts at the places where depots of food supplies had been set up for the troops returning to Transbaikalia from the lower Amur. At the first of these guardposts (Sungarijskij Piket), lying opposite the mouth of the Sungari, going upstream, /89/ these food supplies had not yet arrived at the time when I reached it on July 15/27. The second was immediately above where the Amur River enters the Bureja Mountains (Chinganskij Piket) and, like all the others, on its left bank; the third and largest was near the mouth of the Dseja (Ustjseiskij Piket), on the site of the present town of Blagoveshchensk; the fourth was opposite the mouth of the Komar (Kamarskij P.), and, finally, the fifth was on the small Kotomanga River (Kotomandskij P.) (1) Thus,

S.S. 175 361 636

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. XIX-XXI, of the present work.

during the time of my stay in the Amur region only the first steps toward the occupation and colonization of a part of it had been made by the Russians. Not until after the end of the Crimean War, when the Amur region was again accessible to the Russians from the sea, and especially after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858), by means of which the present boundaries between Russia and China were established and the major part of the Amur region came into Russian possession de jure, did there begin that energetic, almost feverish colonization mentioned at the beginning and which inevitably had the greatest influence upon the ethnographic conditions in this region. But these events are already outside the scope of our description.

S.S. [648]

G S.S. 114 128 In concluding this survey I am taking the liberty of presenting a few remarks, in part historical and critical and in part general and summarizing, concerning the appended map figuratively illustrating the geographic distribution of the Amur peoples discussed above. It is the first ethnographic map

[This map appears on pages 418-423 of this translated source; facing p. 310 in foreign text.--Author]

/89 cont./

G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

S.S. [113]

2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peoples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

S.S. [167]

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1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

/90 cont./ 1. (cont.)

GS. 101 114

this map as far as the Amur region is concerned. In spite of the fact that the Gilyak are sharply distinguished from all their neighbors by their language, their territory is correctly shown on the map by Wenjukof only on Sakhalin, but on the continent is delimited incorrectly on all sides. In the north, for instance, it does not begin at Tugur Bay, but to the east of Ulban Bay; in the south, along the Amur River, he has it extend beyond Lake Kidsi toward Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (where the Olcha village Dshaĭ is located), that is, toward the center of the Olcha territory. From there he draws the southern boundary of the Gilyak to de Castries Bay, where La Pérouse had already quite correctly shown Orochi. On the other hand, he moves them away from the Liman coast, from the mouth of the Amur, and from the adjacent parts of the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and puts a Tungusic tribe there, while in reality the Amur-Liman is inhabited all around only by Gilyak.-- On Sakhalin, the map gives too large a territory in the north to the Ainu, in that it is supposed to include the whole Ty or Poronai River area and to extend to the Tym' sources, whereas actually it stops at the Gulf of Patience, and an uninhabited territory frequently visited by Gilyak and Orok lies along the Ty. -- The Orok, which curiously are called "Orokapen" on the map (more about this later), are shown only in that part of Sakhalin in which there is no population at all and are missing at their actual sites. -- The designations for the individual Tungusic tribes of the Amur region

2: Schrenck--185 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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S.S.
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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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S.S.
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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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S.S.
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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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S.S.
114 Our map virtually ignores this
128 last factor completely, since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Anahist]

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SS. /91 cont./
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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

SS. /92 cont./
101 questions concerning the peoples of the Amur region will only
121 rarely be found in the following pages. There are only very
SS. few definite, undeniable, self-evident facts in this direction,
174 but many appearances and circumstances which can be connected in combinations and surmises that have a certain degree of probability.

SS. There can hardly be any doubt but that in the Amur region
174 in the historical period, too, many changes and shifts in the
167 habitation sites of its peoples have taken place. How could
648 the great movements of peoples which demonstrably took place all around the Amur region not have sent waves also into the Amur region? And how is it conceivable that the many wars for which the Amur region has been the theater or in which many of its peoples have taken part would not also have caused many a change in their areas of distribution? One need only remember that before the Manchu conquered the imperial throne of China in the seventeenth century, their ancestors had already risen through successful warfare to be the rulers of this mighty empire twice: the first time as Khitan or Liao in the tenth century (907-1125) and then in the twelfth century (1125-1243) as Jutschi /93/ (Njutschi, Dschurdschi) or Kin /Chin/, as their dynasty called itself on the throne. Of necessity the entire southern Amur region was involved when these warlike hordes broke out of their forests and mountains. The immediately subsequent movement of the Mongols under Genghis Khan and his successors, which itself arose in the source area of the Amur River and, among other things, broke the power of the Kin in China, in turn brought forth a series of migrations of peoples that must have extended from the west and north even into the Amur region. When the Buryat, a Mongolian tribe, advanced to the
Y
174 source country of the Amur River and beyond, to Lake Baikal,
167 they came into contact at the latter with the Turkish-Tatar
648 original dwellers on it, the Yakut, who, retreating before the intruders, descended into the Lena Valley and spread northward

174 167 648 /93 cont./
along this river (1). There, however, they in turn encountered

174 167 648 113 1. According to Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743 /Journey Through Siberia from 1733 to 1743/, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. II, pp. 344, 345), even in his time there was among the Yakut an old story about the pressure that they had suffered from the Buryat, which had caused them to move down the Lena Valley. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. VI, 1761, p. 147; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. /Siberian History/, St. Petersb., 1768, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109; Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the Northland/, Halle, 1771, p. 416; Stepanov", Eniseisk. gub. /Yenisei Province/, St. Petersburg, 1835, Part II, p. 45; Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 5; Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibir. /A Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, pp. 1542, 1545. Even the name "Baikal" is said to be of Yakut origin and to mean something like "abundant waters" (cf. Laxmann, Sibirische Briefe /Letters from Siberia/, ed. by Schlözer, Göttingen, 1769, p. 37, note).

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174 167 648 many Tungusic tribes who put up a stubborn resistance against them and, as it still survived vigorously in the last century in their traditions, only retreated after many bloody battles (2).

2. Gmelin, op. cit., p. 345; Müller,

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2. (cont.)
op. cit., pp. 150, 151; Fischer, op. cit., p. 110; Schlözer, loc. cit.

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While part of the Tungus retreated to the west, to the Yenisei (3),

3. Stepanof (Eniseiskaia gub., Part II, p. 43) shifts the time when the Tungus came to the Yenisei to the twelfth or thirteenth century, which is probably too far back, since they were not pushed out of their sites on Lake Baikal by the Buryat until the fourteenth century (see Middendorff, loc. cit.).

another part was pushed toward the extreme north up to the Arctic Sea, and still others moved eastward along the right tributaries of the Lena to the Stanovoi Mountains, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Amur region. Since the tough and vigorous

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Yakut did not stop their expansion until they had reached the shores of the Arctic Sea in the north, the northwest, and the northeast (4), the migrations among the Tungus and other

4. See Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1324, 1467, 1543, concerning the gradual advance of the Yakut in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into the Lena Valley up to the coasts of the Arctic Sea, as well as in the northwest to the Taimyr region and in the northeast to the Jana /Yana/, Indigirka, Kilyma, and in our century even up to the Sea of Okhotsk. Their many advances into the Amur region have been noted repeatedly above.

Yakut RV2
Yukagir RV3
Southeast Siberia RX1

Y 174 167 648 /93 cont./ peoples (5) occasioned by it must have continued for a long time

YR [174] [167] [113]

5. For instance, among the Yukagir, the Tschuwanz /Chuvan/, and others. Some also see in this the cause that led the original inhabitants of the extreme north, such as, for example, the Omok, relatives or the ancestors of the Yukagir (see above, pp. 2 and 3), to leave the mainland, according to legend, and to emigrate to a still unknown polar region; for example, Markham (see Whymper, Trav. and advent. in the territ. of Aliaska, London, 1868, p. 251), Neumann (Izv. Sibirsk. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. III, Irkutsk, 1872, p. 34; Vol. IV, p. 155), and others.

SS 174 167 648 in the directions indicated. But these waves had not yet subsided when a new movement of even greater consequence began from the west -- the advance of the Russian conquerors, which, /94/ of course, exerted the greatest and most lasting influence upon the ethnographic conditions throughout Siberia. Advancing relentlessly, the stream of these not so numerous, but extraordinarily bold conquerors poured from the north and the west during the seventeenth century into the Amur region, passing over it like repeated tidal waves, and frequently ravaging it from one end to the other. Finally, many such movements on the mainland must have been felt on nearby Sakhalin, where, moreover, also from the south, through events like the gradual expansion of Japanese power toward the north, many changes in the original delimitation of its people had to follow.

SS 175 169 Now, what shifts in the habitation sites of the Amur peoples actually took place as a consequence of those events we can gather from the historical reports concerning the Amur

2: Schrenck--192 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

/94 cont./

175 region that have been preserved among the adjacent civilized
169 peoples participating more or less in the events mentioned, the Russians, Chinese, and Japanese. Unfortunately, however, these reports, insofar as we can use them here, do not go back very far. The oldest reports concerning the Amur region would expectably be found among the directly adjacent Chinese, but these reports deal only with Manchuria proper, the ancestors and relatives of the present Manchu, who, as indicated above, have repeatedly played so prominent a role in the history of China, and not with the hunting and fishing peoples of the northern and eastern Amur regions, who are the subject of our investigations. Also, the examination and utilization of these reports, even if they did indirectly deal with one or another of the latter peoples, lies in the field of linguistic and historical research on China and its border countries, which is quite foreign to me. On the other hand, the few reports concerning the peoples under consideration here that are found in Chinese sources and have been made generally available by the Sinologists through translation into European languages do not go back beyond the beginning of the reign of the present dynasty. The oldest Russian reports on the Amur peoples are approximately just as old, for they date from the time when the Russians were approaching the Amur region during their conquest of Siberia, which occurred almost simultaneously with the ascent of the Manchu dynasty to the throne in China. The reports on Sakhalin and the Amur region which we owe to the Japanese are much more recent and do not go back beyond the end of the previous century.

175 No very extensive changes in the habitation sites of the
169 Amur peoples could be expected in so short a period of time --
131 about 200 years. If, nevertheless, some very marked shifts
648 have occurred during this time, the cause for them lies in the important, highly disturbing events which happened during it in the Amur region, in those frequently mentioned raids and warlike expeditions of the Russian Cossacks and freebooters and their conflicts with the Manchu-Chinese authorities.

175 Minor shifts in the boundaries of the territories of individual
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2: Schrenck--193 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

S.S. /94 cont./
175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
167 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

G 175 [121] [113] Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak. The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map published by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the North-
S.S. G 175 114 [113] eastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

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/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)

"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

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1. (cont.)
sure, on a map!) it said: otsel' poshel" Amur (that is, from here, from the confluence of the Schilka and Argunj, begins the Amur); in the lower course of the Lena and east of it are likewise found the regions "Otmore" (from ot" morya -- from the sea), "Nasabate" (na zapadie -- in the west), and "Wostok" (vostok" -- east). The mountain range that separates the tributaries of the Lena from those of the upper Amur (Stanovoi) bears in Witsen the inscription "het /the/ gebergte /mountain range/ gori," or in Allard "montes /mountains/ Gori" (Russign: gory -- mountains), etc. With regard to the Amur region in particular, there is also repeated on the Allard map the peculiarity of the Witsen one in having so many rivers designated on it twice because of the direct posting from the various reports; thus, the Ussuri as Schur or Usiur and as Uschuri, the Dseja /Zeya/ as Sia and as Zija, the Urkan as Urka and as Urki, etc. The Allard map, however, gives the course of the Sungari River differently than the Witsen one: on the latter this river goes under the name of Singal to the Amur and at the same time in a further bifurcation as Schingal or Quentung to the sea; the Allard map, however, pulls it apart and has the Singal flow into the Amur, the Quentung -- which, as is well known, is the Chinese name for the Sungari -- into the sea. Incidentally, there should also be noted here a small map that is appended to the third edition of Witsen's work Noord en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/ of 1785 (Vol. I) and on which the Amur is entered twice: once under the name Amur, with its tributaries Schur (Ussuri),

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1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amûr), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

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1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

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175 elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and
114 along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as
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3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally,

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

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6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

175 from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at
131 three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur
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175 mouth ("Zemle Gilʹetskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high
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8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples
114 on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the
[101] Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their un-
[103] doubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

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/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowitsch /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest maps

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(Ssibirskij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, but a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

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/Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24 handwritten

3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia kniga... vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook... of All Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. cit

sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was discovered in 1842 by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Although Remesof did not complete the entire work until 1701, the first map (the last one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is ethnographic in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberia, which shows the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples in bright, strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendorff, who was

4. According to Middendorff, loc. cit. I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

the first to put the significance of the Remesof work in the proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the most important one, which contains the survey map of Siberia as a whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account, with the scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one finds the inscrip-

5. Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri /A Journey into Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map bore the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirskikh" gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All Siberian Towns and Lands/."

tion "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the mouth of the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like the "Zemle Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares this map with the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but that, as far as Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not merely with the help of, but directly based on the above-mentioned first "Siberian sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and the later revised

2: Schrenck--201 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

and completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the Amur region from the information that the Russian military expeditions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it was set down in the reports of the leaders and participants in those expeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian archives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

accompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, published in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

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1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

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175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Yshrams Ides obtained on his travels and gave to 175 114 13 him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the [101]

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the 175 114 101 Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave [113]

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

/99 cont./
Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 for them, like so many peoples on a similar, lower level of culture, the concept of human being coincides with the one of an individual of their tribe and their language and the more general, abstract concept is still lacking. According to this information, the Gilyak were first named to the Russians by the Witim-Tungus. If one leaves off the Russian ending of the name as it was rendered by the Cossacks, it may sound like the Tungus Kilor or Kiler. The Tungus got it from the Daur along the Witim and Schilka, with whom they are in contact, and they in turn from the Chinese, who trade with them, as well as with the peoples of the lower Amur region, by traveling to the latter, though not by sea, as the Tungus reported or as the Russians may have understood, but nevertheless by boat down the Amur. The designation Kilor or Kiler must thus be of Chinese origin, with a Tungusic foundation and perhaps also with some Tungusic modification. Actually there is a people of that or a similar name among those mentioned by the Manchu-Chinese geographers or Manchu-Chinese sources from the lower Amur region. For example, the Chinese imperial /100/ geography of the Tsing dynasty (1) mentions the following peoples, besides the Manchu

(113)

1. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Peking, 1818, Vol. XI, 2; according to Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part I, p. 168. -- L'Univers) mentions from the Chinese work named the same peoples in the same sequence, but in a somewhat different version inhis French transcription; they run: Tchi-tché, Feï-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun, and Go-khe-la.

and Chinese, for the Ssan-ssin district, which includes the lower Amur region and the coast: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka),

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101 Lerkoje, Oruntschun, and Kiyakla. In Timkovski's Journey to Peking, edited by Klaproth (2), the Kileng and the Fiaka are

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2. G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J Klaproth. Paris, 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

mentioned from the lower Amur and the seacoast. The archimandrite Palladij (3) enumerates from the province of

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3. "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska chez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

Girin the following peoples who paid their tribute in sable pelts to the Peking Court before the Russians occupied the lower Amur region: the Chädshä or Chädsin, the Fiaka, the Kiler, the Kuä, the Orontscho, and the Kjakala. These are not by far all the enumerations of the Chinese names for the peoples of the lower Amur region, but only those in which the names Kiler or Kileng occur; others will be mentioned later on. One should not expect, however, that the peoples distinguished by the Chinese would always coincide exactly with those now known to us in this region. With their very limited knowledge of the lower Amur region, it could and must have happened, on the contrary, that occasionally the Chinese did not distinguish the various peoples from one another, especially those that were more remote, or included them under a collective name, and in other

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101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements
114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

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4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany-
[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

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361] The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

[113] 2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

[113] 3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

[113] 4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

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101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

[113] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there [197] that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andā." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalā."

himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

G 101 114 /102 cont./ there were others who mixed them up with the neighboring Tungusic tribes, in that wherever their ethnographic knowledge of the lower Amur region stopped, which occurred sometimes sooner, sometimes later, they had the area of the Fiaka, this people of their ultima Thule, begin.

Gi 101 114 The situation was similar for the Ketscheng and Kileng. I shall later try to show that under the former for the most part the Goldi, at least a part of them and the Olcha were included. It is likewise to be seen from the above statements, however, that this term was occasionally extended, for reasons similar to those in the case of the Fiaka, to other peoples living farther down the Amur and along the seacoast, down to the Gilyak. Finally, concerning the Kileng or Kiler, a proof of the collective notion that was given to this term, and still is, on the part of the Chinese lies in the association of it with the Ketscheng or Chädshe, as is found in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing. The Kiler-chadshi mentioned there include the peoples of the lower Amur region who extend from the Chadshi (Goldi) inclusive down to the Fiaka of the seacoast. The use of the designation Kileng, Kile, or Kil on the part of the Chinese, however, can be shown specifically for almost every one of these peoples. Thus, the Kileng of the Amgunj have already been mentioned above, and, on the basis of their place of residence and description, the Negda are meant by this. When in the report concerned it is said that they also call themselves "Kileng" (3),

3. Klaproth, in the atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, p. 25.

this is correct only insofar as they designate themselves, when dealing with the Chinese, in the way they are named by them, just as the Gilyak do with regard to their designation when confronted by the Russians. The name which they have more or less accepted when dealing with those foreigners who to them are the most important and the most authoritative, they will, of course, readily use in dealing with all the others. When I

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inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 /Vol. II/, pp. 216-223.

From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen.

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they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tungusic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

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/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tungusic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Olcha area; according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Ussuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

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vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are, how generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Ussuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russians as a collective name for all the dwellers along the lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the
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common man it is almost always customary to call the Olcha, the Goldi, and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi of de Castries /De-Kastri/ and Kaiserhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, therefore, who based his statements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could give nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschnjak /Boshniak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries between the Gilyak and the Olcha for him, Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their respective languages, nevertheless in the same article speaks of "Kidsi-Gilyaken," though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidsi at all (2). The use of this designation

2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors, just as is the case, for the same reason, for all the Chinese reports concerning the Kile or Kileng.

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While, according to the above discussion, there appears to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people around the mouth of the Amur arose from the Chinese Kile or Kileng, the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

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designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research, I shall permit myself in this connection only to express a surmise to which I have been led by several facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes, or kin groups have a final syllable gir. Disregarding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (3), I

3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1775, pp. 244-246).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Manegir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, some kin groups of the Negda, such as the Muktegir, Tschutktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir (1), etc(2).

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1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523) erroneously writes the final syllable "Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njãssekagr, Tschemakogr."

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as "Yukagir," then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

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It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left, northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know the meaning of this final syllable gir. The Tungus vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, linguistic atlas, Paris, 1823, pp. XLII ff. Castrén's

2: Schrenck--216 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And thus there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

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After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Ussuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutscheren (Dyuchery) people come an end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

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175 131 648 the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred cannot be ascertained with certainty -- perhaps on the left bank of the Amur at Cape Tschnyrrach, or Tschchyrkrach, as the Gilyak themselves call it, for there in the ground overgrown with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw unevennesses which could very well have been the remains of 175 former earth huts. In the summer of 1645, Pojarkof went from there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Ulya/ River, which he /106/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he again wintered, not to return to Yakutsk until the following year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, 1736, pp. 302, 303. The same, "Nachrichten von dem Amur-Flusse," in Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 505. Cf. also Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see Dopolneniia k" aktam" istoricheskim", sobr. i izdann. arkheograf. Kommissieiu /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. III, p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

[121] voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successors insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. There were still Djutscheren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschanen (Achany) people began, in whose territory, several days' journey farther down, Chabarof

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195 stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort, Atschanskoi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a [131] ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them,

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.: Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutscheren and Atschanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Iwan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Banbulajev gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks; then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther 195 downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a 648 guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

[114] 3. Acc. to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. Here Müller gives June 26 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur,

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3. (cont.)

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and at another place (Büsching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natken, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

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175 [648] well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2),

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

[114] [133] 2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Okhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

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2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Sér. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

175 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

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3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Okhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (4).

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4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

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The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

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5. Müller, Samml., loc. cit., p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "v" Dyucherskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie zemli, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

"Ssyn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355; Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Okhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

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7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 367; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Russians among them.

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So run the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3),

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3. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

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3. (cont.)
was forced to a second and likewise unacceptable assumption, namely, that their "Tugur" referred to the Utschur, a tributary of the Aldan. But then how did they reach the ocean, going down it in boats? And how incorrect this hypothesis is ethnographically: the Gilyak would have lived along the Udj!

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but there is scarcely any doubt that it is to be sought in the east and perhaps not far from the great bays -- Ulban and Ussalgin -- which cut deep into the land and which probably caused Nagiba and his companions to give up any further travel along the coast, about whose nature they had heard from the Gilyak and the Tungus, and instead to wait for the winter, in order to go inland along the Tugur, probably in the company of and guided by the Tungus. Neither Nagiba nor Uwarof mention the Gilyak along this river, but only numerous Tungus, although, as their reports show, they could perfectly well distinguish these peoples from each other. Hence it seems that at that time the Gilyak had not yet spread to the Tugur River. This is confirmed by the fact that in the account of the first trip of the Russians to the Shantar Islands, on which they spent the whole summer of 1712 and the winter until May of the following year at the mouth of the Tugur, the Gilyak are not mentioned at all (4), whereas

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4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 98.

during the later trips by the Russians along the coast farther to the east conflicts with the Gilyak did take place. There is further confirmation in the fact that in 1737, on the basis of reports collected in Yakutsk, Müller wrote that along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk the Tungus did not extend much beyond

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131 the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at
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5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

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175 But even at
131 that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the
487 mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian hand-written map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports
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concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

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purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is pôllo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 When The Russians
131 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
648 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second

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trip, in 1718, under the Ssyn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

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3. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Ssokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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175 [13] Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. On the 175 648 return-trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

175 648 114 [13]

4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Ssokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

/110 cont./ 4. (cont.)

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to the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: zhit'ya ikh" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilp v" tu zemlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

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It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

175 /110 cont./
131 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
484 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands. The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Krascheninnikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar

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1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

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2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it; just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

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2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

175 Krascheninnikof
114 however, must have obtained this information from traditions
[103] and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its
[361] credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Boljschoje he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (3) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed
[484] these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the very first report concerning these
175 islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are
131 primarily hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish,
484 the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly surmised (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

/111 cont./

175 131 484 they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, densely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and later did not go beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Bear Island (Medwäshij) located beyond [103] Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorbak," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (6), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngarbach" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga -- animal, and pach -- stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 2). Similar Gilyak place names are Tschcharbach, Tschorbach, Tebach, etc.

175 174 648 131 [133] But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing currents, the floating masses of ice, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars, wintered there, and in fact took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, just as later, in 1829, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur when a party of Russians took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Uikon (2). It is very probably

2. Kosmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog,

2: Schrenck--233 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Golδi RX3

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2. (cont.)
Djatschkovskij, who learned of it while traveling through his diocese in the winter of 1829/30 (Zap. Gidr. Dep., Part VI, p. 36).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Shantars by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater number and simply killed off the intruders. Now since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Shantars took place almost without interruption, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that while in the course of time they lost territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they advanced on the mainland somewhat more to the west.

G; 175 101 Much less can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports from the lower Amur about possible border shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory, along the Amur River. In them only the adjacent neighbors are named, and at most the number of days required to cross their respective territories is given. Moreover, all of the statements run differently, in that, according to Pojarkof, the Natken border the Gilyak upstream, according to Chabarof the Atschanen, and according to Stepanof the Djutscheren. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amur region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled?

G; 175 101 114 As Müller (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

Gi 175 101 114

/112 cont./ Pojarkof with the designation Natki referred to the same people as Chabarof later did with the name Atschany. Fischer's conjectures in explanation of these different names, however, are altogether wrong (5). The difference is explained very simply

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> 5. Fischer thought that perhaps these people, called Atschani in their own language, were named Natki by the Djutscheren, or that the one might be the name of the entire people, the other that of a particular family, or finally, that the Natken and Gilyak were one and the same people. The last seemed to him the most probable because in the later accounts, in Stepanof's report, the Natken were no longer mentioned at all, and the Djutscheren were named as neighbors of the Gilyak. In this case, however, the Atschanen would likewise have to be eliminated, being identified with the Gilyak. Both are entirely inadmissible. Later on we shall find another explanation for Stepanof's statement.

/113/ if by "Natken" and "Atschanen," not one people, but rather, according to our distinction, two peoples, the Goldi and the Olcha -- as often happened later on -- are understood, with Pojarkof borrowing the name of the former for the allegedly one people, and Chabarof the latter.

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I believe that one can conclude that the name Natken actually refers to the Goldi for the following reasons. Mention of a people of this name is made in the oldest account that the Russians received from the Amur (1). Namely, when Tomsk

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

2: Schrenck--235-E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3

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/113 cont./ Namely, when Tomsk Cossacks in 1639 reached the Ulja River emptying into the Sea of Okhotsk and erected there a tribute hut (Jassaschnoje Simowjo), Tungus came there from the Udj and told them, among other things, that along the river Omut -- which Müller thought might be the Amgunj (2) -- there were Tungus who

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2. On Witsen's map the river whose location corresponds to the Amgunj bears the name "Chamul." In his work Noord en Oost Tartarye (ed. of 1692, Pt. 2, pp. 32, 520; ed. of 1705, pp. 86, 838) it is also called "Gamun" and "Chamuna," the latter being only the Russian genitive form of "Chamun" (Khamun"), as it is called in the Russian reports and stories of the seventeenth century ("Skazanie o vel. r. Amurie /The Story of the Great Amur River/," in Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 19; Dopoln. k" akt. istor. Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 220, 221). This latter name of the river is already very close to the one used today. Müller, too, recognized it as the Amgunj (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 378). In passing it may be noted that the Amgunj is called "Nepkon" ("Nepkon") on Posnjakof's Russian map (General'n. karta Aziiatskoi Rossii, izd. voenno-topogr. depo, 1825 /General Map of Asiatic Russia, published by the War Topography Depot, 1825/), but on the German Weimar map "Hinkan," which led Middendorff (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 238, note, and the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Pt. 2,

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2. (cont.)
p. 622, note 1) to surmise that the Russian designation probably was the correct Chinese name of this river, while the German one was only a copy in which the Russian letters were given as French. It is actually, however, precisely the reverse: the Russian designation in Posnjakof originated from the copying of d'Anville's map ("Carte génér. de la Tart. Chinoise, 1732," in Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, etc.), on which the Amgunj is called "Henkon," by reading the French letters as Russian ones. Müller (op. cit., p. 378) identified the Henkon of the "Chinese map" with the Amgun and Chamun.

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traded with the "Natkani" people settled along the lower Amur. This people spoke its own language. The latter Tungus exchanged their sables for silver, copper pots, glass beads, and all kinds of silk and wool fabrics, objects which the Natkani, however, did not manufacture themselves, but received from elsewhere. The Natkani also obtained flour, conveyed on the river, from a people who likewise lived along the Amur -- which the Udj Tungus called Mamur -- but practiced agriculture and animal husbandry and distilled spirits. Thus we meet here a people living above the Amgunj on the lower Amur, whom the Amgunj Tungus, that is, Negda, and, following them, the Tugur and Udj Tungus, designated with the name "Natka" for ni or ny [Нъ /in Russ./] at the end is obviously only the Russian suffix

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for the plural). I want to add immediately that Middendorff, too, heard of the Ngatku" in the same regions among the peo- with whom the Tungusic tribes on the southern slope of the Stanovoi Mountains had contact, and, to be sure, as a people who lived along the Amur above /114/ the Amgunj and spoke

Gi 175 101 /114 cont./
a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

Gi Gi 175 101 [113)

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

Gi 175 101 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples Gi 101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

/114 cont./

101 etc. as different peoples, and to regard different dialects as different languages, and to give them separate names. If one
101 considers that the Goldi dialect differs much more from that of
174 the Negda and adjacent Tungus than does the Olcha dialect,
197 there can be no doubt but that the Tungus must have meant the Goldi rather than the Olcha when they referred to the Natka speaking their own language. Moreover, what was said in the
101 aforementioned Tungus story about the role of the Natka as
439 intermediaries in trading fits the Goldi very well. The former
174 took the sables of the Negda in exchange for all sorts of Manchu-Chinese products and, on the other hand, obtained flour, conveyed downstream, fr[illegible]ir agricultural neighbors, among whom at that time we[illegible] Djutscheren. Finally, it might
101 also be possible to explain the origin of the name Natka for the
174 Goldi on the basis of their language. They do not refer to themselves with this name, to be sure, but "nai" means "men, peo-
[103] ple" in the Goldi language and is added to a specific place name in order to designate the inhabitants of that place (2). There is a

2. For instance: Dondon-nai -- people or inhabitants of Dondon, etc. In the Olcha language the same word is "nei."

relatively large place in the middle of the Goldi territory which bears the name "Naiche," but I am unable to say whether the etymology of it is connected with this word.

If "Natka" is the Tungusic designation for the Goldi, then
101 it is understandable why we find this name in Pojarkof's and
114 later in Nagiba's reports, whereas it does not appear in Chabarof
185 and Stepanof. The first two made their return trip from the mouth of the Amur more or less through the territory of the coastal Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk, among whom that designation for the Goldi is customary. Pojarkof wintered chiefly at the mouth of the Ulja, that is, in a place where the Russians /115/ had received their first information about the Natka people from the Udj Tungus, and did not write the report on his expedition

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in the Amur region until after his return in Yakutsk (1). This

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320. Müller viewed this circumstance as a reason, whenever there is a considerable difference in Pojarkof's and Chabarof's reports, to give preference to the latter, which seem to have been written on the spot. With regard to the Natken and Atschanen, however, the difference can be adequately resolved, according to the above, without having to give preference to either author.

explains why he used the name customary among the adjacent Tungus for the people that he met on the Amur. Likewise Nagiba, who on his return trip spent a winter among the Tugur Tungus, the closest neighbors of the Negda, with whom that designation for the Goldi seems to have originated. The fact that both men overlooked the difference between the Goldi and the Olcha and carried the name used for the former over to the latter, so that the Natken, according to them, extended up to the Gilyak, need not surprise us if we recall the many similar instances in recent times mentioned above (2). In contrast to

2. See above, p. 53.

these two, Chabarof and Stepanof did not touch the territory of those Tungus at all, but returned upstream from their winter quarters on the lower Amur, so they never encountered the name Natka for the Goldi.

It is even more obvious that the name Atschany, which Chabarof used for all the Amur inhabitants between the Djutscheren and the Gilyak, that is, in the sphere of Pojarkof's Natken, for our Goldi and Olcha together, is borrowed from the latter. Indeed, one need only remove the Russian final

G. /115 cont./
101 syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha
114 only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives
175 itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), how-

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

ever, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

G. Although we learn about the present neighbors of the /116/
G1 Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing
101 can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries
114 between these peoples were at that time because the statements
175 of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

2: Schrenck--241 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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/116 cont./ do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

G. G1 [103]

G. G1 [113]

1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

2: Schrenck--242 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

/116 cont./

vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

F.J. G 114 175 103 [113]

/117 cont./

1. (cont.) VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the *l* sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

F.J. 175 G 175 361

coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

G F.J. 175 177 G [13] Gi [439] F.J. G [101]

2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk. There was no village there in my time.

G [361]

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

GFJ. A 101 /117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the A G [197] Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

A G [113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

A G [113]

4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

A G 101 439 so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175] [113] [291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsò's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103] ooo

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

F.J.
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/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

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Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tokunai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

> 2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

A FJ Gi 101 [113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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A Gi [113] [175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J 101 175 A [101] F.J. [114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

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/119 cont./ Gilyak and the Olcha. He did not go beyond the latter to the south. He also met isolated Goldi there and learned a special name for them, to which we shall return later. His S'janta, therefore, are exclusively Olcha. And, going downstream by boat, he indicates with great precision where the S'janta end and their northern neighbors, the Smerenkur, begin. In most of the villages which he mentions in his travel account or the map (1), one can still recognize the villages of today. In

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1. Apart from the map reproduced by Siebold (Nippon, VII, Pl. XXV), labeled with Mamia Rinsô's name, the Tok'nai map of the part representing the Amur region and the west coast of Sakhalin opposite it, which is given at the same place, likewise comes from Rinsô, as Siebold (Nippon, I, p. 170, note 162) remarks. All the details concerning the Amur region are to be found on this latter map.

Aorei (Aure) he still found himself among the S'janta; at Horomo or Horo, whose distance from the first he estimates at four ri (about 15 versts, the territory of the Smerenkur begins, and from there on, he says, men, dwellings, tools, and the way of life are the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). Horo is undoubtedly

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2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

Chjare, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsô's map is shown the village of Furu, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Olcha village of Pulu. Thus, in Rinsô's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the Olcha was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).

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3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and elsewhere.

2: Schrenck--249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 G 13 36 [103]

/119 cont./

Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinsô the southern boundary of the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tsjomen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Smerenkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (4).

4. "Tô-tats ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tschomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last is shown by the dotted line that on Rinsô's map runs from Horo on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tsjomen and undoubtedly is supposed to designate the southern boundary of the Smerenkur area on the mainland. From there southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast, as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinsô's statements: on his return trip to Sakhalin, he sailed around Cape Wasibundi (Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/, called Wasfun by the Olcha) and into the channel which Siebold rightly named after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Taba and named on it a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

F.J. 175 G 131

5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

/120/ Rinsô's time, too, the boundary situation between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors was the same as it was in my time.

G 175 131

In general, then, no shifts at all along the entire southern boundary of the Gilyak on the mainland are observable from the time of our first acquaintance with this people, that is, in about 200 years. The oldest reports are so inadequate, however, that one cannot with certainty deny that there may have been changes; they permit us to know scarcely more

/120 cont./

175 131 than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

175 131 If we now go back to the island of Sakhalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the earliest expeditions that the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from

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2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sakhalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibiriae veteris," Pl. II).

the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, is it said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Gilyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

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3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

2: Schrenck--251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Manchu AG4

G /120 cont./
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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1692, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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175 Elsewhere Witsen
131 remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said
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4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast
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175 inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do
177 not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

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G The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as
175 slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli
177 drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

GM 175 179

/121 cont./

carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

FJ G 175 178

We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinsō (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

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F.J. /121 cont./
175 to Krafto under the governor Kinfiro, in order to draw up a map
177 of this country, but they did not advance very far, and they supplied hardly any information about its peoples; Siebold, at any rate, to whom we are indebted for the information (2),

2. Nippon, I, p. 126.

has nothing to say about it. There were no further expeditions to Sakhalin by the Japanese until Mogami Tok'nai and, soon after him, Mamia Rinsô set foot on the island. To be sure, Sakhalin was geographically explored at about the same time by European seafarers -- La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797), and Krusenstern (1805) -- and the Hollander Vries had landed on its east coast about a century and a half earlier, but they came into contact with its population only at odd coastal points, and therefore could give no more than odd bits of ethnographic information, which shall be mentioned later. The Japanese, however, studied not only the two coasts -- the west coast almost to its northern end, and the east coast to the Bay of Patience -- but even a part of the interior of Sakhalin (3). We

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3. Mogami Tok'nai, for instance, went from the Bay of Patience along the Poronai (Ty or Plyi River) across the island to Otsisi (in the vicinity of Duĭ). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

are indebted to them for the first information about the three indigenous peoples living on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Ainu, and
F.J. 175 Orok. Since their reports, however, and especially the one by
G Mamia Rinsô, are not very old, and since, as we have seen,
181 there has been no subsequent border change on the mainland
175 between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors, /122/ we cannot expect any considerable border changes on the island within this short space of time. In fact, Mamia Rinsô states that the area of the Smerenkur territory on the west coast of

2: Schrenck--254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 G 131 175 [361] [563]

/122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648]

A G 131 175 [198] [563] /122 cont./ began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G 131 175 In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether G [174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A 175 131 184 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half A 175 131 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan E.J. 175 187

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1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de omdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

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1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

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2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

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in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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E.J./123 cont./Many
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E.J.
[361]
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EJ
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of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast. It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the

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5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

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6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

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6. (cont.)
ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

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The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

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2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

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in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

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4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

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4. (cont.)

175 101 113 themselves are said to call this island (A Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp. 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

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4. (cont.) Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaï, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

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Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

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1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

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1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

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Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

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3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

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3. (cont.)

175 103 119 [113] under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832), in which (p. 187) there is also mention of the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariïn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity [113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

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3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

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It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

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175 103 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands, Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

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3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï," whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

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3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokĭ, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

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Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

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175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

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1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

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/127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

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2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

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Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

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Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them; for many years they have entered into marriages

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/127 cont./ with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

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5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

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6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

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6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K 103 175 And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A 101 175 114 As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A 175 114 101 103 113 1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

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1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A K 101 175 Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A K [114] He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, OP Cit., P. 248, note a.

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3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

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Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

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4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

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general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

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6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

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Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

2: Schrenck--273 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

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7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kurumisi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakä, Eluntschun, and Kuä," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuä as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

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1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648] Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuă" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

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2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

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3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

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5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yĕ," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyĕ" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

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6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101

after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

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[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

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174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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2: Schrenck--277 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Orok
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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174 /130 cont./
184 where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap
433 animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and
131 roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

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175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after
Gi [231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J.
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175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers,
F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them.
[101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them,
[103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

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F.J.
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[126]

3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The
[114] line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

Goldi RY3
Orok
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

Gi 175 131 FJ 175 /130 cont./ and runs in an arc embracing the river system of the Poro-nai or Ty, back to the east coast where it ends somewhat to the north of Cape Delisle de la Croyère, but still to the south of the Tymy /Tym'/ River. This boundary line corresponds only in its southern part to its present course, and also it is only there /131/ that it could have been drawn by the Japanese on the basis of personal observation. Mogami Tok'nai traveled along the east coast of Sakhalin up to the Gulf of Patience and from there on his trip crossed the southern part of the Orok territory Gi [36] along the Poro-nai to Otsisi on the west coast (1). In the

1. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

eighties of the last century he found this area only scantily populated, precisely as is still the case today, since it is a land of passage for the Gilyak and the Orok, in which at most only a few isolated and temporarily occupied yurts of the latter are found (2). The boundary of the Orok territory in the west and

Gi 131 175 FJ 175 114

2. See above, p. 38.

north as given by the Japanese does not correspond at all with the present one, since it does not merely exclude the entire Gi [221] [361] Tymy Valley, through which their annual migrations go, but also their chief settlements much farther north along the coast around Käkr-wo; indeed, along the seacoast to the north of the Cape of Patience it claims for the Orok only that part which today, as shown above, is almost completely uninhabited. It may F.J. [124] not be concluded from this, however, that the Orok in the meantime have spread as much farther to the north and west; rather, the discrepancy is due to the fact that that part of east Sakhalin located north of the Gulf of Patience and the Poro-nai was visited neither by the Japanese travelers named nor by earlier ones, and their statements are therefore based only upon information which was elicited here and there from the natives and which in the case concerned could give all the less an

2: Schrenck--279 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

Goldi RX3
Orok
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

Gi 131 175 FJ 175 [114] [124]

/131 cont./

accurate and trustworthy result since in large part a nomadic people is involved. The boundaries of their habitation and wandering areas are even today known to us only by their principal features primarily!

Gi 175 101

There is practically no historical information concerning the Orok from any quarter other than the Japanese. Prior to my journey nothing at all was known of this people on the part of the Russians. To be sure, various members of the so-called Amur Expedition, Boschnjak, Orlof, Rudanofskij, had met them before me, but their reports did not appear in print until after my written communications to the Academy. On the part of the Manchu and Chinese they were known only by name. In the Chinese imperial geography (3) they are mentioned among the

Gi [648]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, 1818, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

peoples paying tribute in the district of Ssan-ssin under the Manchurian name, "Oruntschun," or, in a garbled Chinese version, "Golun-tschun" (4). Likewise following Chinese sources,

4. In the same imperial geography, according to Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

Iakinf calls them "Eluntschun" and erroneously places them, among the three peoples living on Sakhalin, in the southern part of the island (5). Finally, quite recently Palladij, on the

Gi [648]

5. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, p. 30, note.

basis of Manchu-Chinese statements, mentions them under the name "Orontscho" as one of the peoples which in ancient times had to take their tribute to the Peking court in sable skins to Girin (6).

Gi [113]

6. "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch.

648 /131 cont./
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[114]

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399). Palladij, to be sure, adds "Orotschonen /Orochon/" in parenthesis in explanation of the name, but insofar as the people of this name from the upper Amur is to be understood by this, the explanation is wrong, for this people belonged to the province of Helong-kiang or to the upper Amur region. In the province of Girin or the lower Amur region there are only the Orochi of the seacoast and the Orok of Sakhalin with similar names; the former, however, are mentioned in the enumeration specifically under the name Kjakala, and so only the latter remain as the Orontscho.

101 /132/ On the part of the Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese, therefore, the Orok were designated with the same name, merely slightly changed here and there. The names that they have among their nearest neighbors, the Ainu and the Gilyak, also sound quite similar: by the former they are called "Orochko" (1), and by the Gilyak I have heard them called

[113] 1. Brylkin": "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" /Letters from Sakhalin/ (Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, p. 21).

"Orongta" on the west coast of Sakhalin, and in the Tymy Valley, where I met them repeatedly, "Orokó" (2). As is

2. It was only among the Amur Gilyak that I also heard the name

/132 cont./

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2. (cont.)
"Tosong" for the Orok, which, however, I am unable to explain. Should it not be "Trosong" and be connected with Tro, the Gilyak designation for a part of Sakhalin, which will be discussed later?

known, however, several Tungusic peoples on the mainland bear the same name, with insignificant variations, for example, in particular the Orochi on the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan and the Orochon along the upper Amur; indeed, the name Oltscha /Olcha/, too, in view of the common exchange of r and l among the Tungus, must likewise be regarded as the same as Ortscha or Or(o)tscha. Moreover, the Olcha are called "Orongr" and "Orongsch" by their neighbors, the Gilyak (3).

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3. It has already been mentioned above that on the above-mentioned ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/, as in the work that it accompanies (Opyt" voennago obozr. russk. granitsy v" Azii, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 58), the Orok are mentioned under the name of "Orokap" (Orokapy). In earlier publications I have come across this name only in an excerpt from the Alaska Herald reprinted in the Paris Bulletin de la Société géographique (sixth series, Vol. IV, 1872, July-December, p. 172). This, however, is characterized by the fact that it renders the names of the three peoples of Sakhalin in a form that hardly allows them to be recognized:

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3. (cont.)
it repeats in the French the exact manner of writing that the author of the English Alaska Herald article believed necessary in order to render faithfully the Russian designations for these peoples. "Les indigènes (de l'île de Sakhaline)," it is said in the Bull. de la Soc. geogr., "forment trois races: les Heelyakee, les Orokappee et les Oyeene" (according to the Russian designations: Giljaki, Orokapy (?), and Aĭny). It is not surprising, therefore, that Hellwald ("Das Volk der Aĭnos." -- Ausland, 1873, p. 913) recognized none of the three peoples in this statement, with reference to which he said: "The Ainu are not mentioned at all, and, moreover, it is not said whether these names designate, say, Ainu tribes, which is unlikely." But now concerning the strangely distorted name "Orokapy" in Wenjukof and in the non-Russian articles mentioned, I should note the following. In Tichmenjef's /Tikhmen'ev/ history of the Russo-American Trading Company (Ist. obozr. obraz. ross.-amer. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Development of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, p. 117) this people is mentioned, in the first reports that the company received from the officials whom it had sent to Sakhalin, under the names "Orokaty" or "Orngory," in which

Goldi RX3
Orok
Tungus RU5
orochon

Gi 175 101 113 114

/132 cont./

3. (cont.) the above-mentioned Japanese and Gilyak designations, "Orotsko, Orikata," and "Orongr," respectively, are easily recognized. With a hasty rendering, "Orokapy" could easily be produced from "Orokaty."

Gi T 101 Gi T [192] T [113]

The etymology of all these similar-sounding names is obvious and has already been pointed out with respect to one of them (the Orochon) by various parties (4). Among the

4. First by Gerbillon (see Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 37); later by Klaproth ("Orig. de la nat. des Mandchoux," in the Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, Paris, 1824, p. 453; Asia polygl., p. 289), and others.

Tungusic peoples of the Amur region (5), /133/ as well as

5. See Vol. I, p. 167, of this work.

among those of Siberia (1), the reindeer, especially the do-

T. Gi [113]

1. A. Schiefner, Alex. Castrén's Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre, nebst kurz. Wörterverzeichniss /Castren's Outline of a Tungusic Grammar, with a Short Vocabulary/, St. Petersburg, 1856, pp. 76, 109, 130.

mesticated one, is called "oro" or "oron," and all those names, therefore, only mean "reindeer people" or "reindeer keepers."

Tungus RUS
Orochon
Gold RX3
Orok

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/133 cont./

To be sure, at the present time the latter designation is applicable to only two Amur peoples, the Orochon in the extreme west of the Amur region and the Orok in the extreme east of it, but the fact that they are preserved among several others serves as proof that these tribes, too, were formerly reindeer nomads and only after the loss of their reindeer became fishing peoples by settling along the Amur and the seacoast (2). But who was

2. Such changes in the lives of peoples are commonly known from the history of Siberia. Thus, to give only a few examples, according to Wrangell /Vrangel/ and Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/, the present, though not large population along the large and small Anui consists of Tungus, Lamut (coastal Tungus), Yukagir, and Tschuwanz /Chuvan/, all of whom were formerly reindeer nomads, but lost their reindeer at various times through epidemics or wolves and thereupon settled down as fishermen and hunters along the rivers named (Vrangel', Putesh. po Sib. i Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along Siberia and the Arctic Ocean/, St. Petersburg, 1841, Pt. II, pp. 7, 26, 138, 175).

it who first gave these peoples the name "reindeer keepers"? For it is hardly conceivable that they would have named themselves after a domestic animal, even one so important to them. Klaproth expressly states that the Manchu use the general name "Orotschon" /Orochon/ for all the other Tungus (3). Arguing

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3. Asia polygl., p. 289. Recently Prince Kostrof /Kostrov/ ("Ocherki Turukhansk. kraia /Sketches of the Turukhanskii Krai/." -- Zap. Sib.

Tungus RU5
Orochon
Goldi RX3
Orok
Olcha

T 101 114 [113]

/133 cont./

3. (cont.) Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. IV, 1857, p. 81) stated that the Mongols call the Tungus "Orotschonen" or "Orontschonen," but, according to Klaproth (loc. cit.), their name among the Mongols is "Cham-nojon." At any rate, the name Orochon is not of Mongolian origin.

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Arguing in favor of a Manchurian origin of this name is the fact that it occurs only among the Tungus of the Amur region and was not known to the Russians until they came in contact with a reindeer-keeping Tungusic tribe that was under Manchurian domination, the present Orochon of the upper Amur region, which happened relatively late (4). It is easily understandable that the latter

4. We shall come back to this below.

people, living close to the Manchu, to whom they paid tribute until recently, and keeping reindeer to this day, were given a generally accepted Manchurian name. The question becomes more difficult with respect to the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha and the Orochi, for whom the Manchu today have other designations, as well as with respect to the Orok of Sakhalin, with whom, as mentioned above, they did not come in contact until a relatively very late date, in the first quarter of the previous century. If for the moment we put aside the Orochi, who will be discussed separately later, and now consider only the Olcha and Orok, it is not to be assumed that the Gilyak borrowed the names customary among them for these closest neighbors of theirs from the Manchu. On the other hand, even less probable is the assumption that they independently arrived at the same designation for these peoples that the Manchu had given to the Orochon, especially since, according to its etymology, it is not of Gilyak, but of Tungusic origin.

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Goldi RX3
Orok
Olcha

/133 cont./

101 174 On the basis of all this, I believe that the one /134/ solution to this problem is to be found in the assumption that these tribes accepted the designation given to them by the Manchu or their ancestors at a time when they were still living as reindeer nomads in the mountains, far from their present habitation sites, or at least took it as their own when dealing with strangers, so that it also became customary, naturally in a somewhat changed form, among their later neighbors, the Gilyak. In fact, during repeated inquiries the Olcha told me that they designated themselves with this name (1), which I first heard from them them-

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1. As a rule its sound is between Ôltscha and Ôltza, so that I, making allowance for this intermediate sound, would have to write the name properly as Ôltsch(z)a, which is not done only for the sake of brevity.

selves, since the Russians had another designation for them (Mangun), which will be discussed later. Glehn (2) also calls

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2. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from Sakhalin Island/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 196 and elsewhere).

the Orok of Sakhalin simply Olcha, without mentioning that this is the name that they give themselves. But since he seems to know nothing about the fact that the Mangun (Olcha) along the Amur also call themselves this, and instead occasionally uses for them the above-mentioned name used by the Russians (3),

3. Op. cit., p. 197.

he must have heard the name Olcha among the Orok themselves. And this seems to me all the more probable since the

/134 cont./

101 Orok, as was pointed out above (4) and as their language and
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4. See above, p. 38 ff.

their entire habitus demonstrate, are most closely related to the Olcha, indeed, are probably only a tribe of the latter that perhaps not so long ago migrated from the mainland to the island by way of the route indicated above (5). Hence, like

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5. According to Schmidt ("Historisch. Bericht," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 121), they also maintain that they and the Olcha belong to one and the same tribe. The assertion by Newelskoi /Nevelskoi/ in his posthumous work (Podvigi Russk. morskikh" ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Exploits of Russian Naval Officers in the Far East of Russia/) and repeated innumerable times (for instance, pp. 151-153, 256, 275, 293, 295, 299, 302, 305, and elsewhere) and in various versions to the effect that the Orok of Sakhalin are descendants of the Tungus of the Odskoi region is quite erroneous and only prejudiced. The circumstance that gave rise to this view may have been the fact that they, like the latter, use reindeer, which is not the case for any other people on Sakhalin or in the lower Amur region. Moreover, it suited the views of the head of the Amur Expedition who strongly desired annexation. On the basis of it he thought that the Orok, as emigrants from a region occupied by the Russians (even though not

/134 cont./

5. (cont.)

101 until later), were to be regarded as
174 Russian subjects. It was spun out more
114 and more; soon it was thought that it
648 could be deduced from specific statements by the Orok, and indeed it was thought that from them even the date when the emigration took place could be learned. But the assertions concerning this vary to such an extent that it can clearly be seen from them that each one obtains the statement that he himself presumes is the correct one, for sometimes it is supposed to have happened at the beginning, sometimes at the end, of the sixteenth century, or sometimes at the beginning and sometimes around the middle of the seventeenth century, depending on each person's idea of the date of the conquest of the Lena and Udj regions by the Russians. Some even went so far as to interpret the Orok of Sakhalin as a mixed people of Russians and Tungus, and, to be sure by reason of both their external appearance and, again, their own assertions (op. cit., pp. 305, 306.) Finally, to top everything, it is said that the Orok on Sakhalin, having arisen from a mixture of Russians and Tungus, further mixed with the Ainu (p. 306) and spread to the southern tip of the island. With such a similar sham reasons already mentioned above (see p. 151, note 1), Newelskoi tried to justify his actions in the Amur region

Goldi RX3
Orok
Olcha
Orochi

/134 cont./

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5. (cont.)
and on Sakhalin, actions which, though bold, energetic, and meritorious, did not coincide with the wishes of the government at that time.

101 the Gilyak, there were also Amur and Sakhalin Olcha. Since,
174 however, the two tribes, the one /135/ remaining on the main-
[184] land and the one migrating to the island, have moved completely
[197] apart in their way of life since the separation and, in addition to other differences, as is inevitable, also certainly show linguistic ones to perhaps no less an extent than between many other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region, we continue to designate the Sakhalin Olcha as a special people with the name Orok. If, then, "Olcha" is the name that the Mangun on the Amur give themselves and sounds like the one that the Orok on Sakhalin use for themselves, the origin of the Gilyak designations Orongr or Orongsch for the former and Orongta or Oroko for the latter is easily explained. From the Gilyak, who first came in contact with the Orok who had migrated to Sakhalin, their neighbors, the Ainu, then borrowed their similar-sounding name Orochko for this people, and the Japanese, in turn, owe their designation for these reindeer nomads, Orotsko, to the Ainu. We think that we can thus explain the strange fact that the Orok were given one and the same name, with only minor modifications, by peoples living far apart and quite different linguistically.

In spite of the similar-sounding name, I believe that a situation quite different from that of the Olcha and Orok prevailed for the Orochi of the continental coastal area, both with regard to their gradual expansion and the origin of the name
[131] which is now customary for them. With their broad extension
[197] meridionally, up to the borders of Korea, the Orochi present an analogy with the Ainu in that they were known much earlier in the southern part of their area of distribution than in the north, as a consequence of contact with a civilized people of East Asia, The Chinese.

/135 cont./

101 174 [563] East Asia, the Chinese. South of 46° latitude, where the farther south, the more the Chinese mix with them, they bear among the latter the name "Ta-dse" (Ta-tse, Ta-tsche, and Ta-dshe), which at present the Russians, too, have adopted for them (1).

1. See above, p. 45.

According to Klaproth (2), however, "Ta-dshe" merely arose

2. Klaproth, Asia polygl., p. 203.

from "Ta-ta," a designation which the Chinese originally (from the ninth century on) gave to the Mongolian peoples living northwest of them which later, however, became a collective name and was carried over to the Tungusic peoples, or, as Ritter expresses it, to the ethnic mixture in the northeast (3).

3. Cf. Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, pp. 274 ff.

Thus, there are "Schuï-tadshe," Water Tatars, the ancestors of the Manchu for the Chinese authors, "Jupi-tatse," Fish-skin Tatars, the peoples of the lower Amur region who clothe themselves in fish skins -- perhaps more correctly, Fish-skin Barbarians, since Ta-tse is said to be synonymous with the Chinese [177] "Pe-ti," barbarian or, properly, northern barbarian (4). The

4. Klaproth, op. cit., p. 260; Ritter op. cit., p. 277.

Chinese, however, probably did not come into close contact with the southern Orochi, now simply designated by them as Ta-dse, until after the installation in China of the present ruling /136/ Manchu dynasty, which opened up the Amur region to their sometimes voluntary, sometimes involuntary immigration and settlement.

/136 cont./

101 175 131 [997] [114] The Jesuit missionaries who at the beginning of the eighteenth century traveled through a part of the lower Amur region upon the orders of Emperor Kang-hi thought that the seacoast east of the Amur, which they themselves did not visit, was inhabited by the same Ketscheng (Goldi and Olcha) whom they had met along the Amur (1). This corresponds with the state-

1. Du Halde, Descrip.. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 12.

ment in d'Anville's atlas (2) that the Ketscheng people lived on

[113] 2. Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Maps 1 (1734) and 18 (1732).

the seacoast facing the island of Sakhalin -- a statement which 101 175 was repeated on many later Russian maps (3). In the Chinese

[113] 3. Especially on the map by Posnjakof, General'naia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii, 1825 g. /General Map of Asiatic Russia, 1825/, published by the Depot of Military Topography.

imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing, however, the Orochi are mentioned under a Manchurian name as "Kiyakla" (4) or, with

4. Cf. Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

a greater Chinese distortion, as "Go-khe-la" (5). Palladij, too,

5. Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

following Manchu-Chinese sources, names the "Kjakala" among the tributary peoples of the province of Girin and applies this name to the Ta-dse of the seacoast (6). This people was

[113] 6. Arch. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. i pr."

Gi 101 175 [113]

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lămuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

Gi Gi 101 175

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

Gi Gi [114]

8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

Gi Gi [113]

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

Gi 101 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the G [115] Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kăkal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times G [36] above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at G Gi [162] present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kăkr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192] 10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kăkal or Kăk(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with G. Gi 101 177 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two G [439] [484] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown G Gi [133] to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

/137 cont./ If one
101 now also considers the fact that even today the Orochi are more
174 numerous in the southern part of their area of distribution and
[131] become ever more scarce toward the north, one inevitably gets the idea that they have spread from the south, perhaps from the borders of Korea and the source area of the Ussuri, and gradually northward along the coastal mountains and the seacoast. If this were the case, however, they could not have been reindeer-keepers originally, like the Olcha and Orok, but rather they must be thought of immediately as simple hunters and fishermen, as they are still. But then how can their present name, which indicates just the opposite, be explained?

101 As is known, the Orochi first became known to Europeans
175 under this name, and, to be sure, through La Pérouse, who
[197] came in contact with them in 1787 in de Castries Bay (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Vol. III, Paris, Year V (1797), pp. 62 ff.

Since he at the same time drew up a clear and interesting, though brief description of them and we are indebted to him for the first knowledge of this seacoast, the name "Orochi" used by him found general acceptance. Undoubtedly La Pérouse heard it from the natives of the bay themselves. Hence one might think that this was the designation that the Orochi gave themselves, and which
[114] therefore rightly belonged to them. And yet this is by no means the case, and the name Orochi was erroneously transferred to
[162] this people. As mentioned above (2), de Castries Bay, thanks

2. See above, pp. 41, 55.

to its geographical position, has a mixed population made up of Olcha and Orochi. So it was even at the time when La Pérouse
175 /138/ discovered this bay. This is shown without any doubt from
101 the fact that he found houses and in particular many graves of
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/138 cont./

175 quite different construction there. La Pérouse, to be sure,
101 thought that the one of the latter might have belonged to the
342 rich and the other to the poor individuals of one and the same
764 people, but according to his descriptions and illustrations (1)
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1. La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 67; Atlas, Pl. No. 53.

one immediately recognizes them as the basically different graves of the Olcha and the Orochi. During my second stay in de Castries Bay in the summer of 1855, I saw for myself the
101 presence of the two types of graves there. Hence I do not doubt
175 for a moment that La Pérouse was informed about the name
114 of the people not by Orochi, but by Olcha. Since they in fact
[194] call themselves this, he must have heard from them a designation which, in view of the very common exchange of the consonants l and r among the Tungusic Amur peoples, may have sounded like Oltscha, as I heard it, or Or(o)tscha. La Pérouse, by the way, did not extend the name Orochi to the inhabitants of the coast to the south of the Sea of Japan, since he did not visit it anymore after his stay in de Castries Bay.
101 This did not happen until later, when the Russians took possession
175 of the Amur region and the entire coastal area along the northern
[648] part of the Sea of Japan. And it happened, of course, because, on the one hand, the spread of this coastal people to de Castries Bay became known, but, on the other hand, the mixed character of the population in this bay and the affiliation of one part of it with the Olcha remained unknown, as, indeed, in part did the existence of this latter name for the so-called Mangun (2).

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2. In my travel reports to the Academy I used the name Orotschen /Orochi/ for the coastal people along the northern part of the Sea of Japan (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersbourg, Vol. XIV, 1856, pp. 43, 45, 188, 220; Vol. XV, p. 245 and elsewhere; Mél. phys. et chim.,

/138 cont./

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Vol. II, pp. 350, 353, 452; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 63, 350, and elsewhere); I did it because at that time this name was already established on the part of the Russians, and also because at the time I still lacked the correct insight into the conditions described above.

And so there was transferred to the coastal people along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, with only slight modifications, the name of another people living along the Amur, a name which is completely foreign to them and their immediate neighbors to the south and north, the Goldi and the Gilyak. It is all the more deplorable, since because of this the number of the very similar and easily confused names of the Amur peoples -- Orochon, Olcha, Orok -- has been increased by one more, Orochi, and furthermore since there might be drawn from the etymology of this name conclusions concerning the former way of life and the expansion of the people concerned which would [233] not be at all applicable to them. It has already been pointed out above that the present so-called Orochi have never been reindeer nomads and, as such, have spread, not from the north, but from the south into the coastal territory along the northern part of the Sea of Japan. It would therefore be best simply to drop the name Orochi and to replace it with another, perhaps with the name Käkar, or the one /139/ that they give themselves, if there is such a one for all the Orochi and Ta-dse from de Castries Bay down to the Ssuifun. But how the Orochi designate themselves is as yet unknown. And for this reason, and also to avoid further misunderstandings, I have preferred to retain here the name which is now customary and merely to point out its inconvenience.

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Before going further, I must mention in passing that in de Castries Bay La Pérouse met, besides Orochi, also several individuals belonging to another people which, on the basis of information from the former, he called "Bitschi" (1). They

1. In the French spelling: "Bitchys"

/139 cont./

101 175 114

1. (cont.)
(La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 62 and elsewhere.

were said to live farther south along the Amur River and to have now come to de Castries Bay, in four boats which La Pérouse himself saw coming in, only to visit. There is, however, no people of this name either along the Amur River or in the Amur region. But two localities there with this name are known to [103] me: a river Bitschi, which empties into Lake Udyl and which is mentioned by Boschnjak in his travel report (2), and a village

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2. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unoff. Part, p. 123).

of Bitschu at the place where the Gorin empties into the Amur, 101 which I visited in the winter of 1855. Considering the fact 174 that in answer to a question as to which people individuals are from, the place from which they come is readily named, one may assume that these were natives from one or the other of these localities, therefore either Samagir (or Negda)(3) or Goldi.

3. See what was said above (p. 66) concerning the inhabitants on the shores of Lake [487] Udyl. According to Boschnjak (loc. cit.) a winter route leads from the Bitschi River to the Amgunj /Amgun/.

The former, however, are not true Amur dwellers; furthermore, the Bitschi River does not lie to the south but to the north of de Castries or of Kidsi, by way of which, on the route from the bay one reaches the Amur; finally, I do not know that Samagir or Negda undertake such long trading trips. The boats of the [501] Bitschi, however, according to the description and illustration [439] given by La Pérouse (4) were rather large vessels with many oars [484]

4. Voyage autour du monde, loc. cit.; Atlas, Pl. No. 62.

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/139 cont./ and laden with various commodities, cloth, grain, etc. It is therefore highly probable that they were Goldi from Bitschu, who, on a trading trip to Sakhalin and after traveling from the Amur by way of Lake Kidsi to the sea at Taba, made a little detour to nearby de Castries Bay in order to do some incidental trading there. So in the Bitschi of La Pérouse we meet the S'janta of the Sakhalin Ainu and Japanese, who have been discussed above, on their voyage to the island. As is known, their account of the route they had to take in order to get from the Amur to de Castries Bay confirmed the famous navigator's opinion concerning the innavigability of the so-called Gulf of Tartary. Since he had no idea of the approach of the Amur River to the sea through Lake Kidsi and could not think otherwise but that the Bitschi reached the sea through the mouth of the Amur, he took their statement that they had had to draw the boats overland for a stretch as referring to an isthmus, albeit narrow and low, /140/ between Sakhalin and the mainland, and from this drew the conclusion that the supposed island, at least at the time of low tide, turned into a peninsula through the exposure of the bottom of the sea (1).

1. La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 72.

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The Olcha have already been mentioned so often in the foregoing, especially in the discussion of the Orok and Orochi, that now, when the discussion is to be about them specifically, there is only a little to add and to summarize. From the beginning none of the Amur peoples has been so frequently confused and confounded with its neighbors, both those living above them and below them on the Amur, as the Olcha. At the outset, therefore, one should not expect to be able to learn anything about any shifts in their boundaries from a comparison with the oldest historical reports. On the part of both the Manchu-Chinese and the Russians they mentioned in these reports only under common names, usually with the Goldi, but sometimes also with the Gilyak, so that neither the southern nor the northern boundary of their territory can be ascertained.

Gi /140 cont./

101 The Olcha are lumped together with all their neighbors in
175 the vaguest manner by the old Jesuit missionaries, who used the collective name of "Ketsching, Ketscheng," or "Ketscheng-tatse" to designate all the peoples along the lower Amur River
G from Dondon down to its mouth, and even the inhabitants of
[101] the coast which faces Sakhalin (2). The Manchurian name in the
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[113] 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12, 13, and elsewhere. In the French spelling: "Ketching," etc.

1722 writing of the Chinese U-tschen (3) has a somewhat more

Gi
[113] 3. Translated by Wassilyev /Vasil'ev/: "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, pp. 90-93).

limited and definite meaning and a more correct form: his "Cheidsin" or "Chädshen" people on the lower Amur does not extend as far as its mouth, where instead another people, the Fei-ja-cha (Gilyak) (4), has its habitation sites. It appears with

4. At least for the most part; see p. 210 above.

somewhat more precision, though still collective, in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing insofar as there, besides the Gilyak, the people on the coast, the Orochi, is mentioned under a special name (Kiyakla). Only, according to Ritter's translation (5),

5. Erdk. von Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

we find it there, combined with the Chinese designation for the Tungusic peoples along the left tributaries of the lower Amur,
000 as "Kiler-chadshi. Finally, in the listing of the peoples

101 /140 cont./ Finally, in the listing of the Peoples
175 formerly paying tribute to Girin given by the archimandrite
[648] Palladij likewise from Manchu-Chinese sources, the Kiler are
[114] separated out, and so the name Chādshā or Cheidsin is limited,
as the author thinks (6), to only the Goldi, or, as I must add,

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6. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

to the Goldi and Olcha, for /141/ he does not give any special Manchu-Chinese name for the latter and does not distinguish them in any way from the former. There is no doubt that in fact, on the part of the Manchu-Chinese, both people are included under the name mentioned. Further discussion is hardly
[131] needed with respect to the Goldi. Even the Jesuit missionaries
[103] state that the Ketscheng people begin with the village of Dondon on the Amur; this village, however, still exists under the same name, and from it downward the Goldi still extend almost two
[197] degrees of latitude along the lower Amur. These are the lower Goldi, or, as I have differentiated them in the first volume of this work, the Goldi living below the Geong Mountains, which run down to the Amur near Dondon, and who show many dialectal differences from the upper Goldi living along the Ussuri, but stand much closer to the Olcha linguistically than
101 to them (1). I learned from the Olcha themselves that they

1. Cf., for instance, the animal names given in the first volume of this work in the discussion of the individual mammals and birds of the Amur region.

bear the same name among the Manchu: the often mentioned, widely traveled Olcha in Tyr, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, told me that his countrymen were called "Chýdsha" by the Manchu. This minor modification of the

101 /141 cont./ This minor modification of the
[192] same name clearly betrayed its origin to me, for in the Olcha
[197] language "chydji" or "chydshi" means "below" or "downstream." It is probably similar in the Goldi language, which in turn is closest to the Manchu. In the Olcha language, therefore, "chydshi-nei" would be simply "people from below," and all the above-mentioned modifications of this ethnic name up to the Ketscheng of the Jesuit missionaries may have arisen from it.
101 The lower Amur peoples were still very alien to the Manchu
648 at the time of the Russian military expeditions along the Amur,
175 Emperor Kang-hi, and the travels of the Jesuit missionaries.
[439] Only when members of these nationalities came to Ninguta themselves did they bring a fixed tribute in furs to the Manchu-Chinese authorities in order to obtain permission to trade, as the Olcha and Gilyak also did in Ssan-ssin when I was there. From
[194] Dondon downward the Goldi did not have the Manchurian hairdo (2),
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2. Du Halde, op. cit., p. 12; U-tschen, see Wassiljev, loc. cit.

which had been introduced throughout China by the Manchu -- which is the best proof that the peoples of the lower Amur region living from there downward were not directly under Manchu-Chinese domination, like the Olcha, Negda, Gilyak, and northern Orochi at the time of my travels. In view of all this, it is understandable that the Manchu designated these peoples still so unknown and foreign to them simply with only a collective name taken from their geographical position, the "people living below or downward (along the Amur)" -- a designation which later, after they had become acquainted with the Gilyak and Orochi and named them as separate peoples, was limited to the Goldi and Olcha, to whom it had been applied in the first place.

101 Just as on the part of the Manchu, so also in the oldest
175 Russian reports /142/ the Olcha are mentioned with the Goldi
114 under a common name as one people, whom Pojarkof calls "Natken" and Chabarof, "Atschanen" (1). The former name

1. The third of the old Russian Cossack

/142 cont./

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1. (cont.)
leaders, Stepanof, who knew them personally, simply classed the Olcha and Goldi with the Gilyak; see p. 241 above.

has already been derived above from the Tungusic name for the Goldi, and I believe that in the latter one can again recognize the name "Olcha," which these people call themselves. I cannot agree with the view expressed by Plath (2) that "Atschani"

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2. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1830, p. 63.

and "Ketschen" were pretty much the same people. It would follow that Chabarof borrowed this name from the Manchu. But since "Ketschen" itself is only a form of "Chädshä" or "Chydsha" distorted by the later Jesuit missionaries, the Russian designation for this people would in this case, be something like Chädsheny, which, aside from the insignificant last syllable, has nothing in common with the one used by Chabarof (3). From "Olcha," on

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3. Among Russian writers of recent times there is repeated mention of a "Chodseny" and "Chodsheny" people, by which the Ussuri Goldi in particular are meant, for instance, in Maack /Maak/ (Puteshestv. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 159 and elsewhere; Putesh. po dolinie r. Usuri /A Journey in the Valley of the Ussuri/, St. Petersburg, 1861, p. 9 and elsewhere), Brylkin ("Kratkii ocherk" o tuzemts. Usuriiskago kraia /A Short Essay on the Natives of Ussuri Krai/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1 and elsewhere), and others. With what justification we shall see later. Just like Plath,

/142 cont./

3. (cont.)

101 175 113 114 Maack, too (in his first-named book, loc. cit.), identifies the "Chodseng" (Khodzeng") with the Atschony (Achony, sic!) of Chabarof /Khabarov/ in that he regards the latter name as only a distortion of the first one. As reasons for it, he says that the alleged habitation areas of the two coincide and that nowhere on the Amur did he hear of an "Atschonen" people. How untenable these reasons are can be seen from the fact that he places Chabarof's "Atschanen," living only by fishing, far above the Ussuri, where, at that time, the agricultural Djutscheren lived. He insists that he found there traces of Chabarof's winter fort, Atschanskoi gorod, and, to be sure, on the steep mountain spur Kyrma, that is, on the right bank of the Amur, whereas Chabarof (Dopoln, k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 364) expressly stated that he built the fort on the left bank.

101 114 175 On the other hand, as was noted above, the Russian form "Altschany," and therefore also "Atschany," as is found in Chabarof, follows quite automatically. If our interpretation is correct, in Chabarof's report is found the oldest mention of the name Olcha, though in a somewhat distorted form and extended to the southern neighbors of the Olcha, the Goldi.

The first differentiation of the Olcha from the Goldi and therefore the first mention of them under a separate name is found in Iakinf's statistical description of the Chinese Empire (4).

[113] 4. Statistich. Opisanie Kitaiskoi Imperii, Pt. II, St. Petersburg, 1842, pp. 222-224.

In a discussion of the Amur River, it is said that from the Ussuri down to the mouth three peoples live on it, the "Jant (5), Orlik,

5. On p. 220 of the work named they are also called "Ant."

Gi /142 cont./
101 and Giljaken," concerning which many pertinent and characteris-
114 tic details are given. We already know the former as the Gilyak
195 designation for the Goldi, and there can be no doubt but that "Orlik" refers to the Olcha. According to Iakinf's own statement (6),

6. Op. cit., p. 224, footnote (**).

since he himself had not visited the Amur, as is known, the above-mentioned description of it in his work was drawn up on the basis of accounts by Chinese traders and a Chinese /143/ topographical map. I must say that to me, judging by the peoples' names mentioned, this statement seems at least questionable. Recently, Middendorff has actually offered proof that those reports concerning the Amur did not come from Chinese sources at all, but from Russian ones, since Iakinf had relied on the handwritten report of the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, who, according to Ladyshenskij, was repeatedly in the Amur region between the years 1815 and 1826 and had navigated the river down to its mouth (1). Middendorff's

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 156 ff. Cf. also pp. 163, 164 above.

quite detailed information from Wassiljef's account puts the
G matter beyond any doubt. Judging by the names that the latter
[101] gives to the lower Amur tribes, it can be seen immediately that he spent some time among the Gilyak and received from them various items of information concerning their closest and more distant neighbors, for "Jant," as has been mentioned several times, is the designation which the Gilyak give the Goldi and which up to this time and afterwards never appears in either Russian or Chinese reports on the Amur region (2). From this it can be

2. When Iakinf asserts that along the Amur below the mouth of the Ussuri there lived Tungus who were called "Jant" by the Russians, this is explained by the fact that

Gi 101 114 175 G [101]

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2. (cont.)
he himself drew on the statements of a Russian and so thought himself justified in making such an assertion. Nothing similar appears in Wassiljef's report, so far as Middendorff gives it.

presumed that the name "Orlik" or "Orlich," as Middendorff following Wassiljef, spells it, is of the same origin. In fact, I believe G [101] that it may be regarded as a distortion of the Gilyak designation "Orongr" or "Orongsch" for the Olcha, which is easily understood, coming from the mouth of a Russian fugitive (3). In spite of the

Gi [113] [231]

3. Sgibnef ("Amursk. Eksped." -- Drevn. i nov. Rossiia, Vol. III, 1878, p. 314) applies the name "Orlik" to the Goldi; strangely enough, however, he thinks that they were named this by the Manchu, for they greatly esteem eagles and frequently keep them in cages. "Orjol," dimin. "orlik," is, to be sure, the Russian word for "eagle," but by no means the Manchu or the Goldi word.

various names for the three peoples living along the lower Amur, Wassiljef still gives nothing with which to distinguish them from one another, be it in external habitus, way of life, or language. In fact, he even in part confuses their habitation areas when he has the Jant live only from the Ussuri to the Dondon River, the Orlik from there down to Zikdochi, which is said to lie above the mouth of the Gorin (4), and the Gilyak still farther down to the

4. At present no place with this or a similar name is found there.

mouth of the Amur. According to this demarcation, Wassiljef's Jant would be only the upper Goldi living above the Geong

/143 cont./

101 Mountains, and the Orlik the lower Goldi, whereas the Olcha
114 are put with the Gilyak. All this confirms my opinion that
175 Wassiljef only later inquired about those designations for the lower Amur peoples from the Gilyak and interpreted them erroneously in his own way.

[648] It was not until the fifties, when the Russians once more took possession of the Amur region and advanced upstream from the Gilyak at the Amur mouth, that people learned to distinguish the Olcha, so completely different from them linguistically, although even later, as we /144/ have seen, they were sometimes, as a consequence of the collective interpretation of the name Gilyak, confused with the latter, and sometimes with the Goldi, who were related to them (1). The accepted Russian name for

1. See p. 51 above.

them was "Mangun," which, however, only means "Amur people," for among the Olcha, Goldi, and Orochi the Amur River is called "Mangu." This designation for the Olcha is also found elsewhere and in even earlier times, in particular in the writings of the Japanese traveler Mamia Rinsô, who, however, reversed the matter to a certain extent with regard to the derivation of the name. When he visited the Olcha on the Amur, he acquired the view that they were called S'janta by only the Ainu and Japanese, but were properly called "Mankô," and now thought that as a consequence of this the river which flowed through their territory bore the same
101 name (2). I myself have been able to see repeatedly how easily

2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 178).

one could arrive at the erroneous opinion that this is the name that the natives give themselves. From the Olcha as well as the Goldi, in answer to the question as to who they are, one is told not infrequently, "bu Mangu-nei," or "Mangu-nai," with which,

/144 cont./

101 however, they only want to say that their dwelling place is on the Amur and not on one of its tributaries. In the same sense both peoples are sometimes simply designated by the Orochi as "Mangu-nai," Amur people, whereas the latter, on the other hand, call the Orochi "Lamuka," sea dwellers (3). Thus the

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3. Korsun (Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bks. IX, X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 379), says that the Orochi who came in from the seacoast and live along the Ima, a tributary of the Ussuri, call themselves "Lamukan" and are also called this by the Chinese, which, however, does not apply to the Orochi along the Biki -- evidently, I think, for the reason that the latter did not come from the seacoast before their eyes, but are ancient inhabitants of the interior.

name "Mangun" has been borrowed from a designation used among the natives of the Amur region, which is neither an ethnic name generally nor does it apply to the Olcha specifically (4).

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4. From "Mangunen" there has also been made "Manguten," for instance, in Fr. Müller, Allgem. Ethnographie /General Ethnography/, Vienna, 1873, p. 343.

Moreover this name is still little used among the Russians as a consequence of their above-mentioned inadequate differentiation of the people concerned. In this work, therefore, I have [128] preferred to use the name Olcha for them throughout, which at the present time the people call themselves. There is no doubt [114] but that this is so; I myself became convinced of this immediately on my first trip through the Olcha area in the winter of 1855 (5). By means of this name, whose etymology has already

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5. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de

Gi 101 113 /144 cont./

5. (cont.)
St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 188; Mél. phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 451.

Gi 101 174 233 By means of this name, whose etymology has already been discussed above (6), we gain an insight into the prehistory

6. See above, pp. 280 ff.

of the Olcha tribe, in that, thanks to it, it seems more than likely that formerly they lived as reindeer nomads in the mountains to the west, just as one tribe of them, the Orok, still does today on Sakhalin, and only through the loss of their reindeer herds were they forced to settle along the Amur River and live as fishermen. Indeed, something similar, in general as well as in the details, happened to many a Tungusic /145/ tribe of Siberia. With regard to the Olcha, however, I may add that, however far back this event was for them, the memory of it is said to have been perserved in their legends to this day.

Gi [193]

SS, 103 In connection with the above-mentioned designation used by the Olcha, Goldi, and Orochi for the Amur, I must here touch upon in passing the much discussed question as to the origin of the Russian name for this river generally used today. Various and in part far-fetched interpretations of this name have been given. Sometimes it is said to have been borrowed from a small right tributary of the Amur, the Emur or Emuri (Albasicha), emptying opposite the former Russian fort of Albasin (1); some-

1. Iakinf", Statistich. opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, Part II, 1842, pp. 5, footnote (**), 216, footnote. A view shared almost generally at the present time by Russian writers.

times reference is made to the Mongolian designation "Karamuren" for the upper Amur, which has the same meaning as the Manchurian name "Sachali" or "Sachalin-ula" (black river) (2);

2. Iakinf, op. cit., p. 5.

/145 cont./

103 and sometimes even a greeting of the Tungus, with which they met the first discoverers of the river and which in their language sounds like "amur," that is, Happy Peace! is said to have given
103 114 rise to the name of the river (3). All these explanations are

3. Stuckenberg, Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 782; according to the memoirs of General d'Auvray, who personally traveled along the Chinese border. According to Iakinf (op. cit., p. 5), in Mongolian "amor" means "calm, peaceful."

untenable because they refer to the upper Amur which initially did not bear this name at all among the Russians, but rather Schilka /Shilka/, after the corresponding designation which all the Tungusic peoples living there give it and which sounds like "Schilkar, Schilkir, Ssilkar, Ssilkir," even "Ssirkal," as its northern source branch is still called today. At first the river was given the name "Amur" only for its lower course, according to Pojarkof, from the Ussuri down, since it was regarded as a continuation of it, whereas above it was called Schingal or Schungal (4). Chabarof used the name Amur from the mouth of

4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302. Pojarkof's designation "Schungal," for "Schingal" current later clearly points to its origin from "Sungal, Sungari." On the basis of the above, it is also understandable when it is said in the old Russian reports that the Dseja /Zeya/ empties into the Schilka /Shilka/ (upper Amur), the latter into the Schingal (Sungari), and, finally, this into the Amur.

Sungari down (5), and still later, as Ritter correctly remarks, it

5. Müller, op. cit., p. 320.

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103 /145 cont./
114 was shifted to the height of the plateau, to the confluence of the Schilka and the Argunj /Argun/ (6). One can therefore seek the

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6. Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 298.

origin of this name only on the lower Amur. And in fact it is to be found unmistakably and immediately in the first report that the Russians received concerning this river. When, as Müller relates (7),

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7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

Tomski Cossacks wintered at the mouth of the Ulja River in the Sea of Okhotsk in 1639, they learned from Udj Tungus that "Mamur" was the name of a river along which lived the Natkani (Goldi) (8), who took sables from the Amgunj /Amgun/ Tungus

8. See above, p. 236.

(Negda) in exchange for silver, copper kettles, glass beads, silk and woolen materials, and the like, which they themselves in turn obtained from a people /146/ living farther up and engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, and distilling (Djutscheren, Manchu). One easily again recognizes in the story of the Udj Tungus the name that the lower Amur bears among the Tungus living on it, the Olcha, Goldi, Negdal indeed, even among the Orochi of the seacoast, and which sounds like "Mangu (1),

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1. "Manko," according to Mamia Rinsó; see above, p. 306.

Mamgu" (2), also "Mamu" (3). On the other hand, it is

2. This among the Negda, according to Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1524.

3. As Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 155)

SS. /146 cont./
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3. (cont.)
claims to have heard at times.

SS. On the other hand, it is
[105] perfectly conceivable that the Russian Cossacks made "Amur" out of Mamur (4). Thus, this name owes its origin to the Tungusic

4. Just as they later, for example, made Ussura, Uschura, Schura, and the like out of "Ussuri."

SS. peoples of the lower Amur region. I do not know the etymology
Gi of their above-mentioned designation for the Amur River. In any
[114] case, however, according to the above, it is quite inadmissible to look to it for the word "amur" or to regard the latter as of Gilyak origin, as Fischer and, following him, Ritter and others
G have done (5). The Gilyak have nothing to do with those
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5. Fischer (Sibirische Gesch., Part 1, p. 433; Part 2, p. 793) maintained that the Russians first heard the name "Amur" from the Tungus along the Udj and later from the Natken and Gilyak, among whom any large river is called "amar." Ritter (Erdk. von Asien, Vol. II, p. 298), evidently repeating this, says that "amur" or "yamur" means "large water" among the peoples named as well as among the Tungusic inhabitants along the shores of the eastern sea. This is not correct for either the Tungusic Amur peoples or for the Gilyak. In the language of the latter, "large water" would be "pilja tschach," and "large river," "pilja erri," the latter of which they actually use for the Amur occasionally.

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103 designations for the Amur River; they call it, as we have already seen, quite differently -- "La" or "La-erri."

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175 Whereas it has not been possible to point out any marked change or shift of habitation sites during the historical period for the peoples discussed so far, matters are different with regard to the Goldi. We meet them first under quite different, more or less collective names, on the part of the Russians as Natken and Atschanen, on the part of the Manchu-Chinese as Ketscheng, Chädshen, Cheidsin, etc. -- designations whose etymology, origin, and scope have already been discussed above in detail. They all refer to the Amur Goldi; the Goldi from the Ussuri, on the other hand, remained entirely unknown to the Russians in the beginning, for the latter did not reach this river at all on their military expeditions in the seventeenth century, and they were mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries who visited the lower Amur region in 1709 upon the orders of the Peking Government only under the Chinese name "Yupi-tatse," that is, Fish-skin Tatars or Barbarians (6), which, according to the testimony of the

6. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 10 f.

Chinese themselves (7), was extended to other peoples with a

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7. U-tschen, trans. by Wassiljef ("Zap. o Ningutie." -- Zap. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, pp. 90-93).

similar way of life along the lower Amur as well as along the sea-coast. More recent Russian travelers, such as Maack and Brylkin, chose to designate the Goldi from the Ussuri and from the Amur above the Ussuri mouth, although they /147/ likewise called themselves Goldi when confronting the Russians, as a separate people, and, to be sure, under the name "Chodsen" or "Chodshen," in the opinion that this was the name that they used for themselves (1).

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1. Maak, "Putesh. na Amur," St. Petersburg,

/147 cont./

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1. (cont.)
1859, pp. 145 ff.; the same, Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, St. Petersburg, 1861, Vol. 1, p. 9; Brylkin", Zamiech. o svoistvakh" iazyka Khodzenov" i Khodzenskii slovar' /Observations on the Nature of the Khodzen Language and a Khodzen Dictionary/ (in the appendix to the last-named work by Maack); the same, "Kratkii ocherk" o tuzemts. Usuriisk. kraia" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1). The same designation, *manifoldly varied, as one* can see from the above, can also be recognized in the "Khoadsongen" mentioned by Fr. Müller in his Allgem. Ethnographie, p. 343.

101 114 175 In it, however, one easily recognizes the designation discussed above in detail, which the Manchu give to the Goldi and Olcha living farther down the Amur and which is identical with the designation "Ketscheng" used by the Jesuit missionaries. Linguistically, too, it seems to me, such a separation of the Ussuri Goldi from their countrymen is not justified. Undoubtedly, [197] dialectal differences exist among the Goldi in the various parts of their broad area, and in particular those living closest to the Manchu will also be closest to them linguistically, as has already 101 114 been noted by the old missionaries (2). The differences, however,

2. Du Halde, op. cit., p. 12.

may not be great enough to serve as a reason for separating part of the Goldi from the rest under a special name (3), entirely

[113] 3. Wenjukof /Veniukov/, too ("Obozr. r. Usuri /Survey of the Ussuri River/." -- Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXV, 1859, Sec. II, p. 233, the same, Putesh. po okrainam" Russk. Azii i zap. o nikh" /Journey through the Outlying

/147 cont./

101 114 [113]

3. (cont.) Districts of Asiatic Russia and Notes on Them/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 86), expresses himself in this sense.

within the limits accepted by Maack. It seemed to me that the [197] dialectal differences between the Amur Goldi below and those above the Geong Range were greater than those between the latter and the ones living along the Ussuri or on the Amur above the Ussuri. I therefore see no reason why this name, now generally accepted and adopted, should be replaced, even in part, by another one, and especially one that, as a consequence of its more or less collective interpretation, can easily lead to misunderstanding and confusion.

101 The name "Goldi" has been known for only a short time. It perhaps appeared in print for the first time in my travel report (4).

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4. Dated from the Nikolayev post May 7, 1855, submitted to the Academy on November 9/21 of the same year (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XIV, p. 188; Mél. phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 451). Independently of my travel report, the name Goldi is found somewhat later in Permikin, in his "Putevoi zhurn. plav. po r. Amuru /Journal of a Voyage on the Amur River/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. II, St. Petersburg, 1856). This name, however, was still so strange to the Russians that in the translation of my travel report, done without my knowledge, in the Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, Bk. I, the Goldi were rendered as "Zolote plemya" (golden people), for which, curiously enough, Mr. Romanof makes me responsible (Russkoe Slovo, 1860, Map, Sec. III, p. 36).

Gi 101 114 175 /147 cont./
I found it already in use among the few Russians at the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts. Nevertheless, it is certainly not of Russian origin, as Maack (5) and Brylkin (6) seem to believe. At any rate, I have

5. Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, Vol. I, p. 9.

6. Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1.

no idea how the Russians would have arrived at such a name, whose etymology is wholly unknown to us. /148/ What argues quite decisively against the Russian origin of this name is the circumstance that we find it, though in a form which at first glance is hard to recognize, outside and earlier than any connection with the Russians, from a wholly different party, the Japanese. On Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1809) heard of a people on the mainland named "Kordekke"; in the following year he met a few individuals from it, and, to be sure, as foreigners on the Amur (Mankô) above Kidsi and in Deren, that is to say, in Olcha territory, to which they had come downstream to trade. He found them dressed exactly like the Santan (Olcha). They are the ones, according to him, who manufacture the armor consisting of iron disks fastened together, which is so highly prized by the Smerenkur (Gilyak) and which will be discussed later, they build vessels for the Smerenkur, etc. (1). Siebold is of the opinion that the

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1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 172, 174, 194, 195).

Kordekke are "undoubtedly Koryak" (2), but he evidently decided

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

on this only because of a fortuitous similarity of sounds, for how did the distant Koryak, living on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Kamchatka, get to the Amur River? And what

Gi /148 cont./
101 do they have to do with the Amur peoples at all? In order to
114 explain the "Kordekke" of Mamia Rinsô one need only remember
175 that the Japanese substitute an r for the l sound, which they lack;
if one restores the latter and at the same time considers the relationship between the k and g, he arrives at "Koldekke" and "Goldekke" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Kordekke on the basis of Mamia Rinsô's report fits the Goldi.

Gi This correspondence in the designations for the Goldi on
101 the part of the Japanese and the Russians points to a common origin
174 for them. But what could this origin be? The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to who they were or what they were called, they repeatedly designated themselves to me as "Goldé." Nevertheless, I do not mean to say that they also do this among themselves. This
G [101] may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, just as the Gilyak call themselves Gilyak when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nib(a)ch. Perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely.
G: In any case, Mamia Rinsô did not hear it from the Goldi, but
Gi from the Gilyak during his stay on Sakhalin. It remained foreign
101 to the Russians in the beginning, in the seventeenth century, when
175 they went downstream and visited the Goldi area; it was not until
174 they again occupied the Amur region in the fifties of our century and advanced from the mouth of the Amur by first establishing themselves among the Gilyak that the name Goldi appeared among them for the former Natken and Atschanen. This situation sug-
G: gests the conjecture that the name Goldi /149/ in the Russian
Gi version and Kordekke in the Japanese version may be of Gilyak
101 origin. Now, to be sure, as has already often been mentioned (1).
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1. See above, pp. 245, 303, 304.

the Gilyak designation for the Goldi is "Jant", but if one asks the Gilyak about the peoples living upstream from them along the Amur, they enumerate them in the following order: "Orongsch,

2: Schrenck--317 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

Gi 101 174 G [101] [174]

/149 cont./

Jant, Tscholdok or Tscholdoch (2), Manchu." Now since the

2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff also heard of a "Tschjoldó" people living on the Amur (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same in the Beitr. Zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618).

G [113]

habitation sites of the Goldi are immediately adjacent to those of the Manchu, both the Jant and the Tscholdok fall to them, in that the former are evidently the lower Goldi, the latter the upper Goldi, perhaps reckoning from the Geong Range or from Dondon. From "Tscholdok," however, it seems to me, "Kordekke" in the Japanese version and "Goldi" in the Russian could easily have arisen. Just like the names "Janty" or "Anty" among some Russian writers (3) for the Goldi and "S'janta" or "Santan" among

3. Iakinf, according to Wassiljef; see above, p. 302 ff.

the Ainu and Japanese, so, too, may these designations for the same people, "Goldi" and "Kordekke," owe their origin to Gilyak mediation.

Gi 101 175 [184] Gi [131]

There is a causal connection between the frequently mentioned difference between the lower and the upper Goldi, which has even brought them different names from several sides, and the changes which have taken place in the historical period in the boundaries of their area of distribution. Whereas at present time the Goldi occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the Gorin mouth, up the Amur and the Ussuri almost to the sources of the latter, and into the Sungari region,

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this was not the case at the time when we first become acquainted with the Goldi. When Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ (1644), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Stepanof (1655) undertook their bold

Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

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military and raiding expeditions down the lower Amur, the stretch from the Sungari to far beyond the mouth of the Ussuri was inhabited by the "Djutscheren," or "Shjutscheren" and "Dshjutscheren," as they were also called -- a people who, unlike the Natken and Atschanen living only by fishing, practical agriculture and animal husbandry (4). Their many villages, each consisting of from 60

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4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, 302, 320, 355; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 55, 364, 524, Vol. IV, pp. 82, 95; "Skaz. o velikoi riekie Amurie i pr. /Tale from the Great Amur River/" (Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII. stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/." -- Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 18, 19).

to 80 houses, extended along both banks of the Amur River as well as along the lower Sungari. Pojarkof has them begin on the upper Amur from the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/, but Chabarof only from the Sungari. It cannot be learned with any preciseness from the reports named how far they extended down the Amur, since in them distances are given only in terms of days of travel: according to Pojarkof, they extended over an area requiring four days of travel below the Ussuri; according to Chabarof, who did not notice the Ussuri mouth, a 7-8 days of travel below the Sungari. The Jesuit missionaries, who visited these regions in 1709, expressly state, however, that Tondon /150/ was the first village of the Ketscheng (1) -- evidently the present Dondon, where, as we saw

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 7.

above, the lower Goldi begin. The Djutscheren, therefore, on the lower Amur were wedged in between the Ussuri Goldi and the (lower) Amur Goldi, a people engaged in agriculture, animal

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/150 cont./ husbandry, and other rural industries between half-savage tribes living exclusively from fishing and hunting. They were repeatedly designated as "Chinese farming people" (Kitaiskiye polevye lyudi) by the Russian Cossacks and free booters (2). There can be no

2. "Skaz. o vel. riekie Amurie" op. cit.

doubt but that the Djutscheren were a Manchu tribe and, to be sure, as the name itself indicates, descendants of those Jutschi, Njutschi, Dshurdschi, who in the twelfth century overthrew the power of the Khitan and, under the name of Kin /Chin/, made themselves rulers of the Chinese Empire, one of the tribes whose confederation in the seventeenth century gave rise to the Manchu (3). Advancing northward from their homeland along

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3. Klaproth, Descript. de la Chine sous le règne de la dynastie Mongole, trans. from the Persian of Rachid-eddin, Paris, 1823, p. 28; the same Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 449; Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey, Göttingen, 1830, Part I, p. 64; Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 404 and elsewhere. Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartar., ed. of 1692, Part 2, p. 103; ed. of 1705, p. 266), by the way, had already expressed himself in this sense, as did Gerbillon (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37) and others.

the Sungari they, on the one hand, reached the Amur above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, where, however, they seem to have gained little footing among the more numerous Daur there, as one might conclude from the fact that Chabarof, for example, did not meet them there at all; on the other hand, they spread from the Sungari down the Amur to beyond the mouth of the Ussuri where they advanced into the area of the Goldi. From the similarity and affinity of the Ussuri and the Amur Goldi pointed out above, one might, with great plausibility, draw the

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/150 cont./ conclusion that they occupied in a continuous stretch the Ussuri and a large part of the Amur below it, to about the mouth of the Gorin. This continuity of their area of distribution on both rivers was disrupted by the advance of the Djutscheren, and, to be sure, either wholly, in that the Goldi retreated before the superior enemy, or, what seems more likely to me, in large part, in that those remaining submitted to the rule of the Djutscheren, became subject to them, and adopted themselves to their customs and way of life, as they do to this day with regard to the Manchu and Chinese. A natural consequence of this was that the Goldi from above Dondon and the Geong Mountains found themselves exposed, linguistically as well, to different influences than their countrymen living below this boundary, through which those linguistic differences between the upper and the lower Goldi which we mentioned above probably arose in large part.

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The military and raiding expeditions of the Russians inadvertently brought to an end this expansion of the Djutscheren along the Amur deep into Goldi territory. Since the boldly advancing Russian conquerors neither devoted themselves to cultivation of the soil nor provided for /151/ a regular supply of food, but rather gained their livelihood by pillaging the villages and fields of the natives, the Chinese government decided to withdraw its farming peoples from the Amur and the lower Sungari and in this way starve out the Russians, as it were. When, in the spring of 1656, Stepanof and Puschtschin went up the Amur again from their winter fort, Kossogirskoi Ostrog, in the Olcha region, they no longer found the Djutscheren there, nor along the lower Sungari; their villages lay in ashes, their fields untended; there were only a few isolated persons -- presumably Goldi who had been in the service of the Djutscheren -- from whom they learned that an emissary of the Chinese emperor by the name of Ssergudai had brought orders to the Djutscheren to leave their dwelling sites on the Amur and lower Sungari, to burn their houses, to devastate their fields, and to migrate to the Churcha, a tributary of the

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Sungari (1). This measure by the Chinese government actually had

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 355, 356; Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. IV, p. 82. In Stepanof's original report, at the latter place, as in Müller, the river to which the Djutscheren were moved is called Kurga; it is not difficult, however, to recognize it as the Churcha (Chinese: Mu-tuan), which empties into the Sungari near Ssan-ssin.

the result that the lower Amur and the Sungari were no longer plagued by Russian freebooters, but at the same time it restricted the expansion of the Manchu (Djutscheren) and turned large, fertile, cultivated areas along the Amur and Sungari into wasteland. Instead of the agricultural Djutscheren, now ichthyophagous Goldi gradually spread along the lower Amur and the Ussuri into
Gi 131 175 [67] [439] the area abandoned by the former. Thus, the continuity in the distribution of the Goldi along the Amur and Ussuri, disrupted by the Djutscheren, although never entirely perhaps, was restored; indeed, they even gained a foothold along the Sungari, on which it appears, they had never lived before. The nearness of the Manchu and Chinese there, especially the latter, who supplied them in trade with many food and luxury items which had become necessities to them, and with whom they tried to assimilate as much as possible, seems to have principally lured even the Goldi to the Sungari, since, according to the reports of travelers (2), they

2. Maximowicz, Barabasch; see above, p. 60.

seem to be present there now, even though limited to the right bank, in relatively great numbers. On the other hand, along that part of the Amur River formerly inhabited by the Djutscheren, I found the Goldi exactly two centuries after their emigration in only small numbers in comparison with the area below Dondon and
000 the Ussuri. I was especially surprised to find only a few and for

361 /151 cont./ I was especially surprised to find only a few and for
133 the most part small Goldi villages along the mighty, much divided,
and island-rich river above the Ussuri mouth, where it flows
through fertile prairies interrupted here and there on the right
[433] bank by small mountain ranges. And though their occupants live
exclusively by fishing, one still comes across individual stalks of
grain along the bank of the river. These facts are explained by
the above-mentioned events connected with the distribution of
peoples along this part of the river.

174 /152/ On the basis of all the above, one is justified, I be-
184 lieve, in coming to the conclusion that, however close the Goldi
101 and Olcha are to each other where they have been living side by
side under the same conditions for centuries, and however often they
have been confused for each other, we nevertheless have to realize
that the history of their original expansion into the Amur region is
very different, for, whereas the Olcha were formerly reindeer
nomads who, after the loss of their reindeer, came down into the
Amur Valley from the mountains to the west and became fisher-
men, the spread of the Goldi into the Amur region most likely
[131] took place from the south. Their close relationship with the
Manchu leads one to conjecture that their original homeland neigh-
bored that of the latter, that is, was likewise located at the foot
of the Schan-alin or Tschang-pe-schan Mountains, and that
whereas the Manchu expanded from there into the river area of
the Sungari, the Goldi moved down to the Ussuri and, going down-
stream, reached the lower Amur River.

131 We lack any historical reports on the three remaining peo-
175 ples of the lower Amur region, the Negda, the Samagir, and the
174 Kile along the Kur, for judging possible shifts and changes in their
[101] habitation sites. Since they live closer to the Reindeer Tungus
of the Stanovoi Mountains and are more closely related to them
than the Amur tribes, it can be presumed that they descended
from those mountains on the mainland and into the appropriate
valleys of the Amgunj, Gorin, and Kur, and, to be sure, after
the Olcha had migrated to the Amur River.

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In the oldest Russian reports the Negda are designated simply as Tungus from the Amgunj (Omut) (1). I found the

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295. See also p. 236 above.

first mention of the name now current for them, though in a slightly different form, in the report of Naval Lieutenant Kosmin on his work of surveying the seacoasts of Udj Bay and on the Shantar Islands. It is said that the priest Djatschkovskij, having returned to Udskoi Ostrog in February, 1830, from an official trip, reported that in Burukan, with the arrival of Russians, a rumor had spread that a Russian ship was about to come to the mouth of the Tugur, and all the natives in the neighborhood, such as the Gilyak, "Negedanzen," etc., would have to submit to baptism (2).

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2. "Opis' Udsk. ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. v" 1829, 1830 i 1831 gg. /Description of the Seacoast of Udsk. and the Shantar Islands in 1829, 1830, and 1831/" (Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Ministr., Pt. IV, St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 36).

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Middendorff, who visited the Negda on the Nemilen, calls them "Nigidal" and "Nigidaler" (3), which, however, I

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3. Bullet. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 237; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 621; Reise in den Norden u. Osten Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 1523, and elsewhere. Occasionally he also spells the name of this people "Nigidahl," and adds that the plural is "Nigidatter."

/152 cont./

175 believe, is merely taken from the designation that the /153/
181 Russians on the Amur and in Udskoi Ostrog give to this people
114 and which sounds like "Neidalzy, Nigidalzy, "and "Nischdalzy" (1). These variations of the Russian designation,

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1. Orlof in particular mentions them under the first name in his report of 1848 to the administrative head of the Russo-American Company on his trip to Burukan on the Tugur, where in the company of many Tungus he also met 20 persons of both sexes belonging to this people living along the Amgunj (P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor, obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Development of the Russian-American Company/, Pt. II, p. 62, footnote). The same name, "Neidalzy, " is constantly found in Boschnjak /Boshniak/ "Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie"--Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unoffic. Part, p. 332). One finds the name "Nigidalzy," for instance, in the letters of the archpriest (later Archbishop of Yakutsk and still later Metropolitan of Moscow) Innokentij to the Metropolitan Philaret, in which he discusses, on the basis of the reports of the priest of Ukskoi Ostrog, the successful conversion to Christianity of several individuals from both this people and other tribes of the Amur region as early as 1845 (cf. Tichmenjef /Tikhmen'ev/, op. cit., p. 63). In Schenurin's article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikol. posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On the New Route from the Nikol. Post on the Amure River to Udskii Ostrog/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III, 1857, Misc., p. 11) the

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1. (cont.)
people is called "Nischdalzy," and the same name is found in Romanof's ("Pris. Amura k" Rossii /The Annexation of the Amur by Russia/." -- Russk. Slovo, 1859, June, Sec. I, p. 363) summary of the statements by the peasant Kudrjavzef or Kudrjaschef, who in 1818 and 1819 met several members of this people in Burukan and went along the Amgunj. But is not "Nishdal'tsy" merely a printing error for "Nigidal'tsy"?

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Negedanzy and Nei- or Nigidalzy point to the fact that the l was not part of the original name but is only a Russian addition. A man belonging to this people, whom I met during the summer of 1855 in the village of Tyr on the Amur, designated himself in front of me as a "Negda" from "Amhun." I repeatedly heard this name used in the Amur region, without however, my being able to give a more precise account of the individual cases at the present time. Finally, Middendorff, too, on the still unpublished map drawn up by him primarily on the basis of Chinese information ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade n. Br."), gives Lake Orel, inhabited in part by Negda, under the name "Negda - See /Lake Negda/" (2). On the basis of all this,

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2. See above, p. 27 ff. For more details about this map, see Middendorff's Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 142.

it seems to me that this form, which in any case is earlier, merits preference over the Russian designation derived from it, "Nigidalzen," and the "Nigidal" and "Nigidaler" used by Middendorff. After what has been said above, I am

Goldi RX3
Negidal

/153 cont./

195 inclined to believe that "Negda" is the name which the peo-
101 ple use for themselves, for otherwise I could not explain the
114 origin of the Russian designation at all. Middendorff, to be sure, asserts that they call themselves "Ylkán" (3), but is this

3. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1524. Also given here are the names with which the Negda designate various other peoples; for example, they are said to call the Russian Tungus "Dumgytka," the Gilyak "Giljäka," the Yakut "Jöko." These last names in any case indicate Russian mediation.

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not perhaps the name that their neighbors, the Tungus on the Tugur or in the Stanovoi Mountains, give them? The Gilyak name for the Negda, as I myself confirmed through repeated inquiries among the Gilyak (for instance, Judin in Tebach and others) is "Rhdy" and "Rhdyngu" (4). With the help of it, I

4. The h behind the r is supposed to indicate the burr sound of the latter.

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believe, the name of this people can be recognized in Mamia Rinso's travel report. When this Japanese traveler spent the winter among the Gilyak in the village of Noteito on the west coast of Sakhalin (1809), various peoples /154/ who meet in the Amur region were named for him, among
101 them the "Idâ" (1). Siebold, to be sure, tries to interpret
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1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

all these ethnic names, and does it, as we saw above, in part in the most fantastic fashion, for example, by regarding

Goldi RX3
Negidal
Samagir

/154 cont./

101 Kordekke (Goldi) as Koryak, thinking of the Mountain Kirgiz
114 for the Kiakkara (Orochi), etc., but, nevertheless, he knows of no way to proceed for the Idâ tribe (2). If one considers

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

however, that Mamia Rinsô obtained his information from the Gilyak and that "Rhdy" becomes "Rhda" in the Sakhalin dialect of the Gilyak, it is obvious, especially in view of the burr and somewhat indistinct pronunciation of the r, to regard the name "Idâ" as only a distortion of "Rhda" and thus relate it to the Negda people.

101 Even more recent than our information on the Negda is that on the Samagir of the Gorin. When Middendorff
[484] visited the Negda along the Nemilen, he only heard of the "Schamagren" people, who were said to live far beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/, but a few of whom came every year in boats up the Nemilen to Chambykan; unfortunately, however, in that year (1844) they did not appear (3). Not until the

[113] 3. Cf. Middendorff's travel report (Bulletin de la classe physico-math. de l'Acad. Impér. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 238; Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 622; the same, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536.

Russians had established themselves on the lower Amur at the beginning of the fifties did the Samagir become known.
[114] During the winter of 1855, I visited them in their dwelling sites along the Gorin, and my travel report (4) contains

[113] 4. Dated May 7, 1855; see Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XIV, p. 189; Mél. phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 452.

/154 cont./

101 [114] probably the first printed report on them based on a personal investigation. The name "Samagir," however, has long been known to us since it is only a Tungusic kin-group name, which, in view of the wide distribution and dispersal of the Tungus tribe, is also found in many other places. Thus, [175] Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ reported that on the Dseja /Zeya/ (in [648] the winter of 1644) he had taken a "Schamagir"-Tungus by the name of Topkuni as a hostage and had questioned him about the country (5). Georgi enumerated among the Tungus

5. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich, Vol. III, pp. 52, 53.

of the Baunt region the "Tschamagir" tribe and among the Bargusini the "Schamagir" tribe (6); Radde, too, was told of

[113] 6. J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russischen Reich, im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, St. Petersburg, 1775, Vol. I, p. 245.

a "Samagir" tribe in the Bargusin region and northern Angara (7).

[113] 7. G. Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien /Report on Travels in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXIII, p. 233, note); the same, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1857, Sec. II, p. 145).

101 174 177 This suggests the conjecture that it was dispersed members of the Tungusic Samagir kin-group, such as are still found in the Baikal region, who, after the loss of their reindeer, came down from the Stanovoi or Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains to the Gorin and there laid the foundation for the present

/154 cont./

101 Samagir people, who in the course of time through a changed
174 way of life and through intercourse and mixture with their
177 present neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, and Negda, as well as in consequence of Manchu-Chinese influences, acquired a stamp manifoldly different in language and customs from the original one. Thus, for them, as for /155/ the Olcha, a bit of their past and history can be deduced from the name which they
101 bear. I was unable to learn from the Samagir whether they designate themselves in their totality with this name. It is probable, however, since, on the one hand, their closest relatives and neighbors, the Negda, with whom they have many connections, likewise call them this (1), and since,

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1524.

on the other hand, I have also heard them designated by the Chinese as "Sama-kil." Through the mediation of the Negda, with whom the Russians came in contact earlier than with the Samagir, the Russian designation "Samagirzy" similarly arose
101 for the people along the Gorin. It is not a contradiction of the above when the Samagir, confronting strangers, call themselves
114 "Kile," as I myself have confirmed, since this, as was discussed above in detail (2), is the collective name that the

2. See pp. 211 ff. above.

Chinese have given to them, as well as to most of the other Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region, indeed sometimes even to the Gilyak. Finally, "Kil" is the name that I have heard the Gilyak use for the Samagir. Hence, I believe that there can scarcely be any doubt but that when Mamia Rinso, on the basis of information from the Sakhalin Gilyak, speaks of a "Kiren" people in the Amur region (3) the Samagir are

3. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Goldi RX3
Samagir
Kile

/155 cont./

101 114 being referred to, and not, as Siebold thinks (4), the tribe

4. Op. cit., p. 199.

which inhabits the "Kyrin-ula" district, that is, the Girin area along the Sungari.

Finally, concerning the Kile on the Kur, it has been mentioned above that our first knowledge of them did not come until my trip, although I myself did not visit them, as well as the fact that even their correct name is as yet unknown, for "Kile" is only a collective name used by the Chinese, and therefore also by the Goldi and others, for 101 174 [361] various Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region (5). As

5. See pp. 71 and 211 ff. above.

the present habitation sites of this people along the Kur, whose sources lie in the Wanda Mountains, a branch of the Bureja Mountains, lead one to conjecture, they have probably been hunters and perhaps formerly reindeer nomads in these mountains, who settled down as fishermen along the Kur and spread down this river to the Amur. But whereas the changed way [197] [439] of life, the trade and intercourse with the Goldi and Chinese, must have given them in the course of time an essentially different and more or less unique stamp, they, with their hunting, which provided them with the means necessary for trade, remained oriented toward those mountains, where they must also have come in contact with the Birar, certainly their closest tribal relatives, and, on more distant expeditions, with the Manegir and even the Russian Reindeer-Tungus, from all of whom they must have been difficult to distinguish 101 114 at first glance. I cannot help but assume, therefore, that when Middendorff among the Bural (Birar) on the Bureja River met a man who called himself "Guragr" (6), he was a

6. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1505.

Gi 101 114 /155 cont./ Kile from the Kur, for, /156/ in view of the fact that "gir" occurs so frequently in Tungusic kin-group names, "Kuragir," and, with a harsher pronunciation, "Guragir," would be the very name that one would expect for the dwellers along the Kur. When, however, in another place (1) Middendorff re-

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 167.

marks in connection with the Birar Tungus along the upper Ssilimdshi mentioned by Milowanof (2) that they are more

2. See p. 75 above.

properly perhaps Guragr who belong to the tribe of the Manegir," this does not at present stand in the way of that conjecture, in view of the close relationship of all these tribes to one another in general and the very meager knowledge available on them, especially on the so-called "Guragr."

S.S. 175 167 648 In the last century, shifts in the areas of distribution of the peoples in the upper Amur region have taken place to a far greater extent than in the lower Amur region, as far as the historical reports available to us show. This was because the upper Amur region suffered much more from the attacks and devastations of the Russian Cossacks and freebooters, as well as from the defensive measures against them adopted by the Chinese. To be convinced of this one need only compare the ethnic distribution that the Russians found on their first expeditions into the upper Amur region with the one that we found there, as described above, two centuries later.

S.S. 175 101 If one goes up the Amur from the mouth of the Sungari, the first to be mentioned here is a people who, according to the Russian reports, in the seventeenth century were settled on the part of the river that breaks through the Bureja Mountains, and traces of whom cannot now be found with certainty either there or elsewhere. They are the Goguli.

SS. /156 cont./
175 This is what they are called by Chabarof, who on his expedition
101 downstream in 1651 found their villages along the Amur, in the mountain range as well as above and below it (3). Today, as we

3. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 364.

saw, there stretches below the mountains an uninhabited prairie, on which only a few seminomadic Goldi from the Sungari appear from time to time to fish; in the mountain range itself, however, and above it only a few Birar live on the Amur.

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175 Who were these Gogul, and where are they now? The translator and supplementer of Ritter's Asien, Mr. Ssemenof /Semenov/ thought that this might be the same people who were later known under the name of Goldi (4). I cannot,

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4. Zemlevied. Azii K. Rittera /K. Ritter's Geography of Asia/, trans. and supplem. by P. Semenov, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 187, footnote (***).

however, agree at all with this conjecture, which is based only on a remote similarity of sound in the names concerned. Chabarof, in continuing his trip, became acquainted with the Goldi (for him Atschanen) (5), but not until after he had

5. See above, pp. 217, 233 ff.

traversed the whole area of the Djutscheren, i.e., the Amur for seven to eight days of travel from the mouth of the
G
[175] Sungari. Not until after /157/ the Djutscheren as mentioned above, had to abandon their sites along the Amur and the
[167] lower Sungari by order of the Chinese government could the
[648] Goldi expand westward from the Ussuri mouth and along the Sungari, though it remained forbidden to them, even in

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later times, to cross the place where the Sungari empties into the Amur (1). And just as on the basis of their habitation

1. See above, pp. 56 ff and 72 ff. Even the few Goldi whom one occasionally meets on the Amur above the Sungari mouth do not come up this river, but rather from the Sungari across the prairie with pack horses.

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SS. And just as on the basis of their habitation
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sites the Gogul could not possibly have been Goldi, so, too, on the basis of what can be learned about their way of life from Chabarof's report, because the Goldi at that time, as they still are, were exclusively fishermen, but it is said of the Gogul that they lived from agriculture and animal husbandry, like the Djutscheren, and only differed from the latter primarily because their villages were much smaller, in that, as a rule, they did not contain more than ten houses, whereas those of the Djutscheren numbered 60 to 80.

Merely on the basis of this latter reason, but even more for another reason which I shall mention in a moment, I should like to be allowed another conjecture concerning the nationality of the Gogul. It is noteworthy that Chabarof is the only one who mentions a people of this name. Neither before nor after him is such a one discussed. His predecessor on the Amur, Pojarkof, mentions only a village of Goguli, which was located at the confluence of the Ssilimdshi and Dseja and in which a small Daur fort was to be found (2).

2. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, p. 54.

Along that part of the river on which, according to Chabarof, the Gogul were settled, Pojarkof has the Djutscheren, and, to be sure, even from the Dseja. Thus, whereas Chabarof distinguishes these two peoples from each other and gives

SS 101 114 174 36 SS. 181 174 648 167 /157 cont./ the Sungari mouth as the boundary of their respective habitation areas, Pojarkof combines them under the common name of Djutscheren. We must leave undetermined which of them was right. But on the basis of what has been said it seems probable to me that in any case they were closely related tribes of the Manchu people who perhaps differed slightly from each other only dialectally, so that one could designate the Gogul as Djutscheren from above the Sungari mouth, just as, for example, we distinguished among the Goldi, on the basis of dialectal difference, Upper and Lower, or Goldi from above and below the Geong Mountains. Furthermore it is then probable that when the Djutscheren were given orders by the Chinese to leave their habitation sites on the Amur and to move to the Sungari region, this order probably also included their cousins living above the Sungari on the Amur, the Gogul, for the Manchu-Chinese government was determined to make their chief sites on the Sungari as inaccessible as possible to the Russians by depopulating the banks of the Amur. For this reason in later times, too, they kept the area immediately above the mouth of the Sungari on the Amur in a completely unpopulated state. Thus, the Gogul, like the Djutscheren, disappeared from the Amur River: where their villages and fields lay two centuries ago, there now extended /158/ below the Bureja Mountains a deserted, untrodden prairie covered with high grass, and only in that part of their former territory which lay in the mountains themselves and above them, have sparse, seminomadic, semisedentary Birar entered -- an analogy to the immigration of the Goldi into the area abandoned by the Djutscheren.

T 101 175 [131] In the seventeenth century, at the time of the first Russian invasion, the Daur territory extended above the Gogul along the Amur and its major tributaries and source rivers. As far as I know, the first mention of this name in print is found on Witsen's above-mentioned map of 1687 (1),

1. "Karte van het Noorder- en Oester-Deel van Asia en Europa," etc.

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101 175 on which the upper Amur region bears the inscription "Dauria," as well as in his work published soon afterwards, Noord en Oost Tartarye, in which the Daur are mentioned under various modifications of this name, such as "Daurianen, Dauhri, Daori," or sometimes -- since Witsen's information was based chiefly on Russian reports and accounts -- with a clearly recognizable leaning toward the Russian form, as "Daoertzen, Doursky, and Dawersky people," and the like (2). In part

2. For instance, ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 27 ff., 31 ff., 520, 528; ed. of 1705, pp. 64 ff., 85 ff., 92, 838, 847, and elsewhere.

the same and in part still other versions of this name also occur in the case of later writers and travelers. Ysbrants Ides, for instance, who in 1693 on his trip to Peking crossed the entire so-called Daur region to the south of the Amur, noted that the inhabitants of it were called "Daori" or, in the old language, "Dauri" (3), but elsewhere in his book,

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3. Driejaarige Reize naar China /Three-Years' Travels to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 70.

evidently following the Russian version, also calls them "Daorzi" and "Daourzen" (4). The old Jesuit missionaries

4. Op. cit., p. 129.

called them "Tagouri" (5); on the map accompanying

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5. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 15; d'Anville, Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, La Haye, 1738, Pl. Nos. 1 and 18. Father Gerbillon also remarked that the land of the Solon was called

2: Schrenck--336 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Dagr

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5. (cont.)
"Dauvré" by the Russians, which, however, was the name of the people rather than of the country (Du Halde, op. cit., p. 36).

Grosier's work on China (6), "Tahuri." Pallas calls them

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6. Descript. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. I. In the text of this work (pp. 148 ff.) the Daur are also called "Tagouri."

by the name that the Tungus now in Dauria are said to give them, "Daguren" (7), and they are mentioned under the

7. Reise durch verschiedene Prov. des Russ. Reiches /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, Vol. III, 1776, pp. 238, 428.

same name in a Russian treatise of 1780 dealing with the Nerchinsk mines and smelting works (8). According to Ritter,

8. In German translation in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beyträgen, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 200.

in the Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing of the year 1818, the "Dachor" are mentioned among the peoples of the He-long-kiang (Amur) district (9). From the same

9. Ritter, Die Erdkunde von Asien /The Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 442.

source, Pauthier (10) mentions them under the Chinese-

10. Chine moderne, ou descript. hist.,

2: Schrenck--337 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

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10. (cont.)
géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Part I, Paris, 1853, p. 168.

sounding /159/ name "Ta-hou-eurh." Finally, according to Klaproth, "Dachur" was the name under which this people was listed in a Chinese description of Russia (1), and it bears

1. Klaproth writes in French "Dakhour" ("Descr. de la Russie trad. du Chinois /Description of Russia Translated from the Chinese/." -- Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, 1824, pp. 93, 94).

the same name in Iakinf's description of the Chinese Empire (2).

2. Iakinf", Statist. opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/ St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 12.

One sees that these are but variations of one and the same name. And, to be sure, this is the name that they give themselves: they called themselves "Dauoro" before me (3);

3. See my travel report (Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 248; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 354).

Maack gives "Dauor" or "Dahor" as their designation for themselves (4), and it would be "Dahur" according to the

4. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 254.

statement of the archimandrite Palladij (5). I would not

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5. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki /Travel Notes/," etc. (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 444).

venture to express any opinion whatsoever with regard to the etymology of this name (6).

6. Only the remark in passing that Witsen derives this name from the Mongolian, in that daur is said to mean "border" in Mongolian, and therefore "Dauria," "border land" (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 89). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 273), however, the border in Mongolian is "sacha."

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The first information about the Daur came to the Russians, even before they entered the Amur region, almost simultaneously from two sides. In 1639, Tomsk Cossacks, who spent the winter in the Sea of Okhotsk at the mouth of the Ulja River, were told by roving Udj Tungus that they carried on trade with a people who had their permanent habitation sites along the rivers Tschia (Dseja /Zeya/ and Ssilkar (Schilka /Shilka/ and upper Amur) and lived by agriculture, and with whom they exchanged their sables for grain(7).

7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

To be sure, the name of the people is not mentioned in this report (8), but it is evident from the statements alone that the Daur were meant.

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8. The statement concerned in Ritter (Asien, Vol. I, p. 602), who overlooked this, should be corrected accordingly.

2: Schrenck--339 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

/159 cont./

175 the Daur were meant. On the other hand, the leader of the
101 Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, when he went up the
439 Witim /Vitim/ and its tributary Zypir (Zipa) in 1639 and
231 1640, learned from the Tungus there that the Daur people,
241 who lived by agriculture and animal husbandry, smelted silver
361 ore, and carried on considerable trade with the Chinese from whom they obtained silk fabrics and many other commodities in exchange for sable pelts, dwelt along the upper Witim from where the Karga empties into it up to Lake Jerawna, as well as along the Schilka to its mouth, that is, probably therefore along the upper Amur up to the
175 Sungari. (9) Four years later, during Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/
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9. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 296; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, p. 528; also see p. 203 ff. above.

expedition along the Amur, the first contact between the Russians and the Daur took place along the Dseja, which was peaceful in the beginning, to be sure, but was soon followed by those bloody and, for the Daur, devastating battles, are sufficiently well known from the history of the Amur region.
[131] Unlike their present dispersed distribution, at that time the Daur occupied a large, continuous territory which included the upper Amur and its tributaries, the Dseja, Komar, etc., extended far up along its source rivers, the Schilka and the Argunj /Argun/, /160/ and stretched eastward from the Argunj to the Nonni and its tributaries. Along the Dseja, going downstream, Pojarkof met the first Daur at the mouth
175 of the Umlekan (1). Undoubtedly at that time, carrying on
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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 298; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 52.

trade, they moved along the Dseja and its main tributary,

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175 the Ssilimdshi, as well as along other northern tributaries of
36 the upper Amur River to the Tungus, especially since they
439 obtained from them the sable pelts so necessary for trade
175 with the Chinese. From the Umlekan down, however, they
24 settled along the Dseja and far along the Amur in numerous
23 and large villages where they were occupied with various
36 kinds of tillage and gardening, as well as with animal husbandry
712 (2), their chiefs or princes in small fortresses protected by
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2. Pojarkof mentioned six fruits of the soil which the Daur along the Zeya and the Amur cultivated: barley, oats, millet, buckwheat, peas, and hemp; and as vegetables and garden products: cucumbers, the poppy, beans, garlic, apples, pears, walnuts, and hazelnuts (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 55). Müller (op. cit., p. 301) does not mention the pears and walnuts.

wooden fences, embankments, and ditches, which Chabarof /Khabarov/ even calls cities in his report (3), and which were

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3. Müller, op. cit., p. 308; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 359 ff. The Daur fortress, located where the Ssilimdshi empties into the Dseja, bears the name "Moldikitschid" in Müller (op. cit., p. 300) and in Fischer (Sibir. Gesch., Part 2, p. 783; also on his map, "Veter. Sibir. Pl. II), whereas in Pojarkof's original report it is called "Moldykiditsch" (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 53).

originally built by the Daur for defense against the power of the Manchu, which, with the conquest of China, was also expanding in this direction (4).

4. Müller, op. cit., p. 313.

/160 cont./

expanding in this direction (4). On the Amur, below the

4. Müller, op. cit., p. 313.

175 On the Amur, below the
131 Dseja, the Daur extended up to the vicinity of the Bureja
563 /Bureya/ Mountains, where, according to Chabarof, the area of the Gogul began. Here, however, they were already mixed with Manchu, whom Pojarkof simply calls Djutscheren (5), like the dwellers along the Amur River be-

5. Müller, op. cit., p. 302; Dopoln., etc., op. cit., p. 55.

low the mouth of the Sungari, whereas Chabarof, as we saw above, gives this name only to the latter. Pojarkof met one of these Manchu even along the Dseja; this was, as he calls him, the Djutscheren prince Tschinega, who visited him in his winter quarters at the Umlekan mouth (6) -- probably a

6. Müller, op. cit., p. 299; Dopoln., etc. op. cit., p. 52.

131 Manchu official who stayed among the Daur there to collect
175 tribute. On the Amur above the mouth of the Dseja lay
[648] purely Daur territory, though likewise tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government. A large population had settled
[712] there, and most of the Daur fortresses were there, among them those of the prince Lavkai, about whose riches the Russians had already heard through the Witim Tungus. In
[437] particular the mouths of the Amur tributaries were occupied by the Daur, since they offered them the best routes for reaching to the Tungus peoples roaming in the spurs of the Stanovoi Mountains and for gaining possession of their hunting booty in sables and the like by barter. The largest of the
[648] rivers emptying into the Amur here, the Komar, seems to

131 /160 cont./
175 have been occupied by the Daur along its entire course or, at
648 any rate, far up (7) -- a circumstance which probably /161/

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7. "Skazan. o velik. riekie Amurie," etc. (Spasskii, Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1853, Sec. II, p. 18). In the document reproduced by Gerbillon, which the Chinese mandarins sent to conclude a peace treaty with the Russians submitted to the authorized Russian agents in 1688, there is mention of the country of the "Humari," into which the Russians had moved as invaders from Albasin (Yaksa) (Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 121). Accordingly, one finds on d'Anville's map of Chinese Tartary (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Pl. 18) the "Humari" people along the Humari-bira (Chumar, Komar) -- a statement that is repeated on the map accompanying Grosier's Descr. génér. de la Chine, and which can only refer to the Komar-Daur.

was decisive for the Russians in building a fort (Komarskoi Ostrog) at its mouth, which, in addition to Albasin, played a great role during their battles with the Daur and their overlords at that time, the Manchu-Chinese (1).

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 333, 339.

131 At that time, the Daur were likewise indigenous still
175 farther up the Amur, along its source rivers, the Schilka and
[103] the Argunj, and, as is well known, this region, though later it completely lost its Daur population, retained the name Dauria up to the present day. The Daur there, thanks to their

/181 cont./ The Daur there, thanks to their
131 greater distance from the main seats of the Manchu, were
175 able to maintain greater independence; indeed, many of their
648 countrymen, in order to escape the expanding power of the Manchu, fled there from the southern and eastern parts of their territory, such as, for example, the prince Gantimur, who left his home on the Nonni River for this reason and
131 settled down with his entire retinue on the Nertscha (2). It
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2. F[illegible]her, Sibir. Gesch., Part II, pp. 774, [illegible] Cf. also Ritter, Erdk. von Asien, Vol. I, p. 610.

cannot be determined precisely how far the Daur territory extended along the source rivers of the Amur; it is certain that they were surrounded in the north and in the west, even along the tributaries of the Schilka, by roving Tungus and in the south by Mongolian peoples. Still more difficult is the question as to how far back in time it was when the Daur settled along the source rivers of the Amur? And whether and to what extent the many traces of an older culture which are found in Dauria and Transbaikalia, remains of former irrigation channels, ditches, and small trenches in the fields, cast-iron (not forged) plowshares, copper and iron weapons, stirrups and other apparatus, stone graves, old smelting hearths, mining excavations, slag heaps, etc., are to be traced back to the Daur? Without intending to give definitive answers to these questions, concerning which various and in part very unclear and confused views have been expressed, I should like to call attention here to a few facts which may make another solution necessary.

114 There is no lack of older and more recent geographers
174 who simply ascribe all traces of ancient agriculture and mining in Tranbaikalia and Dauria to one people, and, to be sure, to the Daur. Georgi, for instance, in his travel report, expresses the opinion that the ancient Bargut, whom legend designates as the originators of the many traces of ancient

/161 cont./

114 174 agriculture that are found along the Bargusin, along its tributaries, and northward up to the upper Angara, were presumably the same people as the Daur (3). Likewise,

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3. J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, im Jahre 1772, Vol. I, pp. 127, 128. Lopatin ("Kratkii otchet" o dieistviiakh" Vitimskoi Ekspeditsii /Brief Report on the Activities of the Vitim Expedition/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vols. IX, X, p. 509), who in 1865 investigated some of the old tombs around Bargusinsk, likewise reports that there today the people named as the one to whom they belonged is the Bargut. According to Kehlberg ("Polivn. polia v" Zabaik. kraie /Irrigated Fields in the Transbaikalia Krai/" -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book I, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 182), on the other hand, the ancient irrigation canals there are always called "Chinese."

in more recent /162/ times Hagemeister /Gagemeister/, on the basis of the traces of ancient agriculture and mining which are found scattered everywhere in Transbaikalia and which he ascribes to the Daur, regards the latter as the aborigines of the country (1). Much more probable, however, is the view

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1. Iu. Gagemeister", Statistich. obozr. Sibiri, sostavl. po Vysoch. E. I. V. povelieniiu pri Sibirskom" komit. /Statistical Survey of Siberia, Compiled by Order of His Highness E.I.V. of the Siberian Committee/, St. Petersburg, Part II, p. 23. Pawluzkij ("Kratkoe

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1. (cont.)
opisanie tak" nazyvaem. Chudskikh" drevnostei i pr. /A Brief Description of the So-called Chud Antiquities, etc./." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX and X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 480), on the other hand, thinks that, even if this opinion is in general correct, nevertheless only the remains of former permanent settlements (cities), old grave mounds, and graves can be ascribed to the Daur, but not the remains of the mines, since the objects found in them indicate much greater age.

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of Ritter, according to whom the Bargut were not Daur, but Buryat, and, to be sure, from the tribe of the Barga Buryat (Bargut-Buriat of the Chinese imperial geography) a tribe that still today inhabits the country north of Lake Baikal up to the upper Lena (2). This eliminates any reason for assuming a

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2. Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 116. Concerning the Barga-Buryat, cf. also Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 270. Spasskij ("Zabaik. Tungusy /Transbaikalia Tungus/." -- Sibirsk. Viestn., St. Petersburg, Part XVIII, 1822, Sec. II, p. 28) expressed an entirely different, but at the same time quite untenable opinion concerning the origin of the traces of ancient agriculture found near Bargusinsk: he thinks that they came from neither the ancestors of the Tungus nor from any other Siberian people, but probably from the first Russians who came in.

former distribution of the Daur beyond the river system of the Amur up to Lake Baikal, and only the traces of a former

/162 cont./

114 culture found to the east of the mountain barrier, in the
174 area still called Dauria, could possibly still be ascribed to
[131] the Daur. This was done and is being done with regard to
114 the remains of former mining, the old excavations, smelting
174 hearths, slag heaps, and the like; indeed, the view that they
316 are of Daur origin still seems to be the most plausible.
Georgi repeatedly maintains that the Daur, the ancient inhabitants of the country named after them, also worked mines there until, as a consequence of the occupation of their country by the Russians, they left it voluntarily and moved into the Chinese Empire, whereupon their mining and smelting
[648] industry was forgotten (3). Ritter is evidently of the same

[101] 3. J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, im Jahre 1722, St. Petersburg, 1775, Vol. I, pp. 406, 418; the same, Geograph.-physik. u. naturhist. Beschreib. des Russ. Reichs, Part I, Königsberg, 1797, p. 222. Both sources, to be sure, say that the ancient inhabitants of Dauria were also called "Dutscheren, Bogdani and Bogdochani," but Georgi regards all of these designations as identical to one another and with the Daur and Manchurians -- in that "Bogdani and Bogdochani" were only alternate names for the Manchurians, and the "Dutscheren" were only a tribe of the former Daur or Manchurians -- and thus finally stays with the name of Daur for the originators of the mine works.

opinion when he calls the Daur "a peace-loving people, not unskilled in mining, who retreated from their ore-bearing mountains almost without resistance before the first brutal discoverers, the Cossacks led by Chabarof and his successors,

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114 and left behind an almost deserted wilderness, which /163/
174 was colonized here and there for the second time, now by
648 Russian miners" (1). I cannot, however, in any way share
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1. Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, pp. 566, 595. One repeatedly finds this view among more recent Russian writers, for example, Sgibnef ("Amurskaia Eksped. Razskaz" ochevidtsa /The Amur Expedition. Narrative of an Eyewitness/." -- Drevniaia i novaia Rossia, Vol. III, 1878, p. 228), and others.

this view, but rather am of the opinion that the Daur did not do any mining in the period immediately preceding the Russian invasion, and that the remains of the ancient mining and smelting industry in Daur comes from an older period and from another people, probably from the ancient Jutschi, Njutschi, or Dshurdschi, who in the twelfth century under the name of Kin /Chin/ gained temporary control over the Chinese Empire.

114 In looking for a basis for this opinion, the only report
175 of this kind that appears is that frequently mentioned account
316 of the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus, through whom the Russians
[439] first learned of the Daur, and, to be sure, as a rich people who in its territory along the Schilka had various ores, copper, lead, and silver, smelted them, and traded them for sable. While Fischer gave this information in his Sibirische Geschichte /Siberian History/, he thought that it must refer to the Daur along the Argunj (2), since, as is well known, there were

2. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. Part I, p. 529, notes 58, 59.

remains of an old mining and smelting industry there and
175 Gmelin had found copper and lead ores. But how authentic
648 was the account of the Witim Tungus? As is well known,
316 it led to the first Russian advance into the Amur region: to

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175 316 648 seek out the people mentioned in it, to collect tribute from it for the Russian crown, to look for the silver, copper, and lead ores, and to erect forts at the points where they were found were the direct orders to the leader of the first expedition, Wassilij Pojarkov from the voivode of Yakutsk, Peter Golovin (3). And the more enticing the prospect of precious

3. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, p. 51.

metals, especially silver, was to the Cossacks and freebooters, the more eagerly they sought them. But they neither came across the ores themselves nor did they obtain any information confirming their occurrence from the natives, despite repeated questioning and not infrequently 175 violent, inquisitorial interrogations. Rather, it was said 316 again and again (4) that there were no silver, copper, tin, 648 439

4. Pojarkof's report (op. cit., pp. 52, 53) is full of such statements.

or lead ores along the Schilka and Dseja, or along the Sungari and Amur, or along any of their tributaries; that they merely obtained these metals, as well as various silk and cotton materials and other goods, from the Khan Borboi in exchange for sable pelts, but that this prince, too, did not obtain or have these metals and materials produced in his own country, but imported them from China in exchange 175 for sable pelts (5). Concerning the seat of Prince Borboi, 648 484

5. In addition to the original report by Pojarkof cited above (op. cit.), cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 300.

Pojarkof learned only that one would have to travel for six weeks on horseback from the Umlekan mouth across the mountains and beyond The Schilka To get there.

Tungus RU5
Daur

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648 /163 cont./ mountains and beyond the Schilka to get there. In Chabarof's report, it appears that this same prince, placed over all the Daur, /164/ was called "Bogdoi" (1) -- evidently a Manchu,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 310; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 259 ff. Chabarof received the first and very detailed account concerning Prince Bogdoi from a Daur woman named Mogoltschak, whom he had captured and who called herself a sister of Prince Lavkai; she herself had spent some time near Prince Bogdoi while in captivity, until her brother ransomed her. The prince is likewise named in the statement of the Tungus woman, Damansa, who had stayed among the Daur on the Amur, but, after her husband was killed, was captured by Chabarof's men and brought to Yakutsk (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 347).

since he supposedly spoke a peculiar language unintelligible to the Daur (2) -- his seat was in a town on the Nonni River

2. As Pojarkof had already stated (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 53).

(Naun-koton, Tsitsikar) (3); but, it is said, there was a still

3. See a later note concerning this town.

more powerful khan -- undoubtedly the emperor of China --
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648 over him. In Chabarof's second report a more definite account is given concerning the source of the precious metals, based upon the statement of a Nikan (Chinese) captured from

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175 316 439 648 the Bogdoi (Manchurian) army, to the effect that all the silver and gold, as well as the precious silk and cotton fabrics which one sees in the Bogdoi area, comes from the Nikani (Chinese) country; the individual sources are described in greater detail, the method and techniques for obtaining the ores, etc. (4). While these accounts collected by Pojarkof

4. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 367.

and Chabarof refer principally to the areas along the Amur, the Dseja, and the Sungari, where the theater of their travels and military deeds was, they also reach from the upper Amur, beyond the areas along its sources rivers, to the Schilka and the Argunj, and it is completely inconceivable that whereas diligent investigations brought the Russians information about precious metals from faraway China, smelting and mining activities were carried on by the same Daur in their immediate vicinity along the Argunj or the Schilka, about whom they received no information.

175 172 316 A closer examination of the later reports on Dauria leads to the same outcome. Ysbrants Ides, the ambassador of Peter the Great to the Chinese emperor, was the first European traveler to give more detailed information about this country. Though at that time (1693) not yet 40 years had passed since the departure of the Daur from their country, he found the ancient mining and smelting works in a condition which clearly indicated that they had been undisturbed for hundreds of years: the silver mines, for instance, which were not far from Argunskoje on the Sserebrjanka River and which still displayed large heaps of slag from the formerly smelted metal, had, as he said, in the many years of their neglect, been so covered by mountain slides and had caved in (5). Witsen's

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5. Ysbr. Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 63.

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175 information comes from the same period: Fedor Alexejewitsch
172 Golowin /Golovin/, the governor of Brjansk, who had been
316 sent to conclude a peace treaty with China, told him that he had visited the silver mines of Dauria and had seen there old pits which had been worked many hundreds of years before. The Mongols ("Mugalen"), too, he said, were of the opinion that these silver /165/ mines had been abandoned in ancient times. On several occasions Witsen obtained samples of these ores and had them tested in Amsterdam for their silver content (1). Gmelin expressed himself very much like

1. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, 1705, p. 83.

Ysbrants Ides concerning the condition of the ancient mines, when, in turn, he traveled through Dauria about 40 years later (1735): "There has been found," he says, "in the Argunski mines more than a thousand old hearths, but all were covered with earth, from which it can be assumed that it must already be a long time since the ancients smelted here, which is confirmed by the fact that in the Kultuk several birch beams used in the construction of the shaft were found, of which nothing was left but the outer bark" (2). Thus, the condition

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2. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien von dem Jahre 1733 bis 1743 /Travels through Siberia from the Year 1733 to 1743/ Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, p. 57. From the number of the hearths Gmelin feels able to conclude that the ancients (he leaves it indefinite as to who they were, and he does not mention the Daur at all) did not pay any attention to the lead, but mined only the silver.

in which the former mining and smelting works of Dauria were found undoubtedly indicates a very great age for them.

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316 There are still other grounds for this, however. If the Daur were the originators of these mining and smelting works, knowledge of it would certainly have been preserved among their former neighbors, the Tungus, some of whom had moved into the area vacated by them, for the short span of about 40 years, until the time of Golowin and Ysbrants Ides.

[131] Ysbrants Ides, however, discovered nothing about it among the Tungus whom he met in number in the area between Nerchinsk and Argunskoje; with regard to the origin of the entrenchments built of solid rock and partially in ruins, which were perhaps just as old and of which he saw many hundreds in the valleys, they instead pointed toward a very remote period when the Mongols and western Tatars had joined forces and invaded the Njutschi Empire (3). Ysbrants

3. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 62.

Ides thus also ascribes the former mine works to the ancient Njutschi and Mongols (4). Even less than the Tungus would

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4. He expresses himself in this fashion especially in his straightforward travel report (op. cit., p. 63); in the supplement to it, in which, because of the publication in the meantime of Witsen's work, Noord en Oost Tartarye (ed. of 1692) some things and regions which he himself had not seen are discussed, it is said of the same silver mines of Argunskoje (op. cit., p. 129) that in ancient times the "Njutschi or Daurzen" had smelted much silver there. Evidently here, however, it is not the Daur, who had only recently emigrated from their country, who are meant, but rather it seems to be just such a confusion of the designations for the ancient inhabitants of the

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4. (cont.)
country as is repeatedly found later, for example, in Georgi (see above, p. 346, note 3) and others.

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it have escaped the boldly advancing Russian Cossacks and freebooters, constantly on the lookout for enrichment in any way, especially by means of precious metals, if the Daur retreating before them had left behind mining and smelting works in operation in their country. The Russians would certainly have immediately seized and tried to exploit them. Furthermore their designation on the part of the Russians would then have become and remained "Daurian Pits." Instead, they are simply called Chud pits (Chudskiya kopi) by the Russians (5) /166/ and therefore, like other, similar remains

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5. According to a Russian work of 1780 on the Nerchinsk mining and smelting works; the German version in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. IV, p. 208.

of mining industries in the rest of Siberia and like the old grave mounds of northern Russia, are regarded as the work
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of an unknown ancient people. The mining industry in Dauria, however, was undertaken only upon orders by the government and not until it had repeatedly received samples of silver-bearing ore. To be sure, as early as 1679, as Georgi tells it (1), Daur Tungus notified the voivode of

1. Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, Vol. I 1775, p. 418; Geogr.-physikal. und naturhist. Beschreibung des Russ. Reiches, Part I, 1797, p. 222.

Nerchinsk, and through him the voivode of Tobolsk, that there were gold, silver, and lead among them, but only a fruitless investigation resulted. Almost 20 years later, in

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1698, several Buryat, Aranschi Damanja and his companions, presented rich specimens of silver from an ancient mine (2)

2. In Trinity Mountain (Troïzkaja gora) where the Nerchinsk mine is now located.

to the voivode of Nerchinsk, and only then, in 1702, did the Siberian Office order that the mines be put into operation. Thus, everything leads to the conclusion that the Daur, who prior to the Russian invasion occupied the land along the Schilka and Argunj, had not done any mining there, but rather like their countrymen along the upper Amur, had lived only by agriculture and -- to which we shall return later -- as a result of their nearness to the Mongols, especially extensive animal-husbandry.

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If, however, in the seventeenth century when we first make their acquaintance, the Daur were not a mining people, it is most probable that they had not been prior to that, since otherwise, in view of the conservative character of a still quite primitive tribe with regard to everything that concerns their way of life and means of subsistence, mining would have been preserved among them later; at any rate there is no reason for how or why they could have wholly lost and forgotten it with time, in view of the wealth of their country in ore, which was not exhausted by far. The remains of the ancient mining and smelting works in Dauria must therefore be ascribed to another people who preceded the Daur in that land. It has already been mentioned above that Ysbrants Ides ascribed it to the ancient Njutschi and Mongols, supported by a Tungus legend that the many ancient entrenchments come from a time when the latter began the conquest of the Njutschi empire. At the same place it says that to this belonged the entire land of Nerchinsk, or, as the Chinese still call it today, Njutschi (3), and the upper

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3. Ysbr. Ides (op. cit., p. 62) writes in Dutch "Nieucheu" and "Niucheu." Might

2: Schrenck--355 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur
Manchu A64

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3. (cont.)
it not be that the Russian names, Nertscha, Nertschinsk, and Nertschinskij Sawod, arose through the distortion of "Njutschi"?

Amur as far as Liao-tung. In the part of this country under discussion here, along the source rivers of the Amur, large millstones and iron-bound wagon wheels had been found some time before Ysbrants Ides' voyage, and since they were not found anywhere among the Mongols, but were still in use among the Njutschi adjacent to the Liao-tung area, he concluded that this latter people had formerly also lived in Russian Dauria. If he had been consistent, he would then have ascribed the ancient mines of Dauria only to the Njutschi /167/ and not also to the Mongols. The same Tungus tradition has come to us from still another source. It is the basis for Georgi's assertion that the Dutscheren, whom he himself regarded as a tribe of the ancient Daur or Manchurians, and who are these same Njutschi, Jutschi, Dshurdschi, ancestors of the present-day Manchu, were the ancient mining inhabitants of Dauria (1). Moreover, it has given rise to the still

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1. See above p. 346, note 3.

current Russian name for one of the foundries in the Nerchinsk mining district, for the Djutscherski Silver Works (Dyucherskii zavod"), about 50 versts from the Nertschinskij Sawod, undoubtedly was given its name because, according to a legend that came to the Tungus by way of the Mongols, Djutscheren formerly lived there and engaged in mining (2).

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2. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, Vol. I, pp. 362, 404, 406, 411; Geogr.-physik. u. naturhist. Beschr. des Russ. Reiches, Part II, p. 1099; Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. IV, p. 207. According

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2. (cont.)
to Georgi, the Djutscherski Works, on account of the location on Kaluktscha Brook, which empties into the lower Borsa, a left tributary of the Argunj was formerly called Kalukt-schinski and later Borsinski, until it was given its present name. Also, on the map accompanying the third volume of Pallas' Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches (1776) the stretch between the Yenisei and the Amur is called "Dutscherskoi Sawod." On the large map of eastern Siberia by Schwarz (Karta riechn. oblastei Amura, iuzhnoi chasti Leny i Eniseia i ostr. Sakhalina /Map of the Linguistic Regions of the Amur, of the southern part of the Lena and the Yenisęi, and of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1861) the name is given not quite correctly, as "Dutscharskuj" (Sawod).

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If one can rely on this tradition, the period from which the remains of the former mining industry in Dauria stem can be determined approximately, for it certainly was still being carried on at the time of the greatest expansion and growth of power of the Njutschi, which took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when, under the name of Kin /Chin/, they rose to become the rulers of China (1115-1234) (3).

3. Fischer (Sibir. Gesch. Part I, p. 115) also believes that the ancient monuments of Dauria were set up by the Njutsche during the reign of the Kin.

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It came to an end, however, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan and his successors overthrew the power of the Kin and won control over China in their place. Indeed, the Njutschi

M 175 316 648 /167 cont./ settled in Dauria must have been the first to feel the power of the conquerors advancing from the Onon and Kerlon (upper Argunj) -- a power which some of them submitted to, while some fled to their fellow-tribesmen along the Sungari. It is M 114 175 648 316 completely wrong, therefore, when Georgi (4) and later

4. Geogr.-physikal. und naturhist. Beschreib. des Russ. Reiches, Part II, p. 1086.

C. Ritter (5) designate the Djutscheren as people skilled at

5. Asien, Vol. II, p. 335.

mining, miners and metal smelters, who were driven out of their seats by the Russians, for in the seventeenth century, when the Russians came to Dauria, they no longer found any Djutscheren there, but only Daur, who, as has been pointed out above, did no mining; on the Amur, to be sure, there were still some Djutscheren, who, upon the orders of the Chinese government, withdrew after bloody encounters with the Russians, but they did as little mining as the Daur and instead lived only by agriculture and animal husbandry. M I 175 I 131 Finally, this historical event, the overthrow of the Njutschi by the Mongols, gives a fixed point for estimating the approximate time when the Daur may have come to the source rivers of the Amur, /168/ for it may be assumed that it was only after the Njutschi were defeated by the Mongols and after the latter had turned southward in their pursuit of conquest that they gradually moved from the upper Amur into the deserted land along the Schilka and the Argunj. And T [316] thus they were not by far such ancient inhabitants of this land as has been believed up to now on the basis of the remains of a former mining industry erroneously attributed to them.

T 175 131 648 The last part of the broad area that the Daur occupied at the time of the Russian invasion lay on the Nonni. There,

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175 thanks to the more favorable climate and to the greater
131 proximity of China, they seem to have reached the greatest
648 prosperity, obtained by means of agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade, as well as the earliest increase in density, but, on the other hand, as a result of their immediate proximity to the Manchu, were also the first to fall under
175 their supremacy. On their first expeditions under Pojarkof
648 and Chabarof, the Russians learned of the wealth of the Daur
361 in livestock, grain, and many kinds of commodities, and of their city on the Nonni River (Naun-koton, later Tsitsikar) (1), where there were said to be shops with all sorts

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1. Ysbrants Ides (op. cit., p. 70) called the Daur capital city on the Nonni, built shortly before, "Naun-koton" (i.e., Naun City); "Xixigar," on the other hand, is for him the name of a hamlet about 1/4 of a mile from the Nonni, but at the same time that of a whole district, since he speaks of other Xixigar villages (op. cit., p. 67). These names are likewise used by Witsen, who, in the second edition of his book, used other information besides Ysbrants Ides's travel account for these regions; only he usually calls the city, like the river, simply "Naum" (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, pp. 79-82, 88, 91-95, and elsewhere). In the old Russian reports, insofar as Müller has published them, the city is called "Tschitschigar," and, to be sure, was first mentioned in them in connection with the voyage of the envoy Spafari (1675-1677), who had the first negotiations there with the Chinese and who sent his orders from there to the Russians in Albasin (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 375-383), and it was also mentioned many

/168 cont./

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1. (cont.)
times later (op. cit., p. 396 and elsewhere). In the case of the old Jesuit missionaries, as on d'Anville's maps, it is likewise called only "Tcitcicar" (Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 15-17; d'Anville, Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Plates 1 and 18). According to Wassiljef ("Opis. Man'chzhurii /Description of Manchuria/." -- Zap. Russk Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 28), the village of Bukei had formerly been located at the site of Tsitsikar; this place was raised to the rank of a city in 1791.

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of precious articles, and which was also the residence of the above-mentioned rich Prince Borboi or Bogdoi, one of the governors of the Chinese Emperor, who governed the Daur (2).

2. See pp. 347, 349 above.

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Later, in 1686, they heard by way of a captured Chinese or Manchu that a second city was about to be built on the Nonni, as Müller presumes, Mergen (3). This happened, by

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 398. When Ysbrants Ides visited these regions (1693), the city of Mergen was already there, and the extreme (westernmost) Chinese outpost on the Yalu River had orders to notify the authorities of the city whenever it saw strangers approaching, just as happened in his case (Driejaar. Reize naar China, p. 65). It is also mentioned by the old Jesuit missionaries, according to whom it was built by Emperor Kang-hi (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 15, 36).

/168 cont./ This happened, by
175 the way, at a time when the population there had increased
361 considerably due to special circumstances, for the same
166 events which, as we shall see in a moment, almost entirely divested the other parts of the Daur territory of their population had the opposite result along the Nonni, an increase in density.

175 I must mention here in passing an ethnic name associ-
101 ated with this part of the Daur territory, which has already
648 confronted us in the old accounts on it, /169/ but which is of doubtful value, since it sometimes is supposed to designate a particular people, sometimes is regarded as synonymous with the name Daur, and sometimes only refers to the inhabitants of a special locality in the Daur country. Among the various events that the former city of Albasin had to record during the short period of its existence, it has also been mentioned that in 1686, when it was rebuilt by the Russians after its destruction by the Chinese, the first news of this reached Tsitsikar through some persons belonging to the "Targatschinen people," who had been attacked by Albasin Cossacks while hunting sable. In order to get more trustworthy information, the governor there sent out some Daur who captured a Russian peasant in the neighborhood of Albasin and through him confirmed the statements of the
175 Targatschinen (1). On Witsen's map of Tartary, which
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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Vol. II, p. 397.

appeared only a year after these events occurred, as well as in the first edition of his Noord en Oost Tartarye (1692) (2),

2. Page 31.

evidently on the basis of Russian sources, a "Targenskie" people on the Yalu, a right tributary of the Nonni, is mentioned (3). Ysbrants Ides (4) was the first traveler who

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Daur

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/169 cont./ Ysbrants Ides (4) was the first traveler who

3. On Witsen's map, moreover, a "Kargatsini" people on the Dalai-noor is mentioned.

4. Driejaar. Reize naar China, pp. 65 ff.

personally met these people and gave more detailed information about them. Coming from Dauria, on September 5, 1693, he encountered the first Targazin huts to the east of the first Chinese guard-station on the Yalu and on the following day passed the last of them. According to him, the "Targaziner" form a special horde tributary to the emperor of China, live by agriculture and animal husbandry, are extremely skilled archers, and speak a language which for the most part corresponded with Tungus (5). In the supplement

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5. Ysbr. Ides' travel companion, Adam Brand, says exactly the same thing, but he calls the people "Targutziner" (Neuvermehrte Beschreibung seiner grossen Chinesischen Reise /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey/, etc., third printing, Lübeck, 1734, p. 125).

In the Supplement

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to his travel account (6), Ysbrants Ides adds that the Tungus

6. Op. cit., p. 129.

(of Russian Dauria) regard themselves as part of the same kin-group with these Targazin or Daur and as their descendants. This could easily be interpreted as though the last two designations were wholly synonymous, and Ritter puts them together without further ado (7). There need not, however,

7. Asien, Vol. II, p. 323.

be any such an identification; taken with what was said before, this probably was meant to say only that these were closely related Tungusic peoples. If one now considers how

Tungus RUS
Daur
Southeast Siberia RX1

T 195 101 114

/169 cont./ easily a splitting up into smaller units takes place among even less advanced peoples, he may see in them also merely different branches of one and the same people. Occasionally Ysbrants Ides mentions in the same line with the Targazin the "Xixigarssen" (Tsitsikarern) as a special people (8). Like the former, I,too, am inclined to regard the

8. Op. cit., p. 129.

latter as only a branch of the Daur, a branch that, living closer to the mountains along the Yalu as well as perhaps along other tributaries of the Nonni, also practiced, in addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, hunting to a greater extent than the Daur farther down in the plains and therefore /170/ had many divergences in its way of life. Subsequently, under common Manchu-Chinese rule, many of them may have evened out; at any rate, as far as I know, there is no further mention of the Targazin as a separate people, and at the present time the Russians give a quite different meaning to this name.

S.S. 648

It is well known that each year the Chinese government dispatches officials from Tsitsikar, Mergen, and Aigun to inspect the Russian-Chinese border along the Schilka and Argunj. One group of them goes from Tsitsikar to a point on the Argunj opposite Old Zuruchaitujevsk; the second -- from Mergen to Onochoi, opposite the village of Olotschinskaja on the Argunj; and, finally, the third goes from Aigun up the Amur and the Schilka to the small Gorbiza River (1). After the first one has renovated the

1. Since this last boundary line has now been changed, probably the order in which the Chinese officials were dispatched for inspecting them has likewise been changed.

border markers (two small wooden boards bearing the date

/170 cont./

648 and year when the inspection took place, one of which is hung on a tree, while the other is buried in the ground at the foot of it) at the appropriate place, they go down the Argunj to join the second group, whereupon both groups seek out the third on its return to Ustj-Strelka, and then all return together down the Amur (2). On the basis of information from

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2. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 161) was told by Cossacks in Ustj-Strelka that the first group, after it had sought out the second in Olotschinskaja, immediately returns up the Argunj, whereas the second and third met at Ustj-Strelka and navigated down the Amur together. Ladyshinskij in his handwritten notes is said to state the same.

the student Ssokolov, Pallas reports that these Manchu-Chinese officials with their retinues are called "Mergenzy" by the Russians (3). According to the archimandrite Palladij,

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3. Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, 1776, p. 428. They are said to call themselves "Hussai." Middendorff /says/ they were called "Margánzy" by Cossacks in Ustj-Strelka, but he himself remarks that, according to Ladyshinskij's handwritten notes, they are said to come from "Mergynj" (Mergen) (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 161, note 1). He did not have Pallas' earlier remark.

however, they are called "Torgatschiny" (4). Both are

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4. Palladij, "Dorozhnyia zamietki," etc.

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4. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 442).

correct in part, for the former name referred to the border inspectors from Mergen, and the latter to those coming from Tsitsikar to the Argunj, while those officials leaving from Aigun in turn have a special designation "Bogdoizy" (5).

5. As the Cossacks in Ustj-Strelka said "Bogdoie" (Middendorff, loc. cit.).

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The Torgatschinen incontestably are of the greatest significance for the Russian border country, since only for them, during their stay at their destination, is open trade with the Russians or the peoples subject to them possible, because, by treaty, Old Zuruchaitujevsk is the second place, next to Kjachta, designated for Russo-Chinese border trade. The others can only carry on a little trade secretly, as in fact is done by the Mergenzen. Needless to say the Torgatschinen before their departure abundantly provide themselves with all kinds of commodities suitable for trade on the Argunj and utilize their stay of about a month /171/ in the vicinity of Old Zuruchaitujevsk for the greatest advantage possible for themselves. Thanks to this trade, they are the best known among the various peoples of Russian Dauria. This explains
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Pallas' statement that the Daurian Steppe-Tungus call the Chinese "Tergezin" (1). It is precisely these Chinese border

1. Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 238.

inspectors and traders that they mean by it. That they need not be Chinese by nationality is obvious. Ssokolov, for
[191]
instance, reported that the border inspectors from the city of

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Dagur
Southeast Siberia RX1

SS. /171 cont./
648 Naun (Tsitsikar) understood neither Chinese nor Mongolian,
[191] and therefore probably spoke the language of the Dagur (2).

2. Pallas, Reise, etc., Vol. III, p. 428. According to Ladyschinskij, the "Mergenzy" were Manchu and Solon (Middendorff, loc. cit.).

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648 But from where did they get the name Torgatschinen? By
192 analogy with the Russian designation customarily used for the second group of border inspectors, likewise coming from the Nonni, "Mergenzy," which is taken from the dispatch point of these officials, one may presume that Tsitsikar was also called Targazin. And in Witsen one actually finds the statement that the city of Naun is also called "Targatsien" (3).

3. Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 94.

It is not said among which people it bears or bore this latter name, but presumably among the Russians in Dauria, and perhaps because the city is not far from the mouth of the Yalu
SS River, which, as we saw above, runs through the territory of
[114] the Targazin. But this remains only a conjecture, and Witsen's assertion still needs confirmation. In any case, even if it is wholly correct, it does not seem permissible, in view of the reports of Ysbrants Ides and others discussed above, to refer only to the inhabitants of one city (of Tsitsikar), regardless of their nationality (Chinese, Manchu, Daur, Solon), as Targazin, as is undoubtedly the case with regard to the Mergenzen.

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175 The widespread distribution of the Daur described above
648 now underwent a rapid and considerable curtailment through
167 the Russian invasion in the seventeenth century. With the
SS first push by the Russians, they seem to have vacated almost
175 without any resistance the country along the source rivers of
648 the Amur River, the Schilka and the Argunj, which later was merely given the name of Dauria. Even those among

/171 cont./

them, such as Prince Gantimur and his followers, who had once fled to Dauria in order to escape the rule of the Manchu, preferred to leave the country again upon the approach of the Russians and to return to the region beyond the Chingan Mountains, which was occupied by their old enemies (4). It seems

4. Fischer, Sibirische Gesch., Part 2, p. 775; see also p. 343 above.

to me that this rapid and complete retreat of the Daur from the Schilka and Argunj indicates that they had not been very numerous there, which may have considerably increased their fear before the advancing Russians. They offered greater resistance along the Amur, where they were more densely and numerously settled and had a number of fortified places. Without any martial tendencies at all, they would in any case have easily let themselves be subjugated by the small band of bold and brave Cossacks and would have /172/ submitted to the payment of tribute to the Russian crown, if they had not already been tributary to the now powerful Manchu who gave them support. Thus, a bloody conflict was unavoidable, in which the far greater military efficiency of the Russians, their determination to stand fast against the greater numbers of the enemy, and their being equipped with firearms greatly reduced the number of the Daur. One need only consider, for instance, what happened during the assault on Guigudar's fort (Guigudarov gorod) by Chabarof, where the Daur lost 661 men by death and in the fallen city 243 of their wives and girls and 118 children were captured, whereas the Russians counted only four dead and 45 slightly wounded (1). It is said repeatedly in their reports that

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 315; Fischer, Sibirische Gesch. Part 2, p. 804; Dop. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 360. Müller and Fischer always write

T S.S. 175 648 T [103] [551] [114]

/172 cont./

1. (cont.)
the name of the Daur prince as "Gugudar," and, indeed, on the map accompanying the work of the latter the fort is even called "Gagudarev," whereas, according to Chabarof and other early reports, the names were "Guigudar" and "Guigudarov gorod."

everything was smashed, the villages were pillaged, the women and children captured, etc. (2). The Amur Daur would there-

2.... "of those Daur, every last one was chopped to bits ... many people were beaten ... the yasyr was captured ... the villages were destroyed" ... etc. /translated from the Russian/ (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 360, 362, 364, 372, etc.).

T S.S. [113]

fore have certainly been destroyed altogether in constant battles with the Russians had the Chinese government not devised another method of warding off the enemy. Taking advantage of the fact that the Russian Cossacks and freebooters neither provided for a regular supply of foodstuffs nor cultivated the land themselves, but simply lived off what they seized from the Daur, it ordered the latter in 1654 to leave their fields and gardens uncultivated and to move from the Amur and its tributaries, the Dseja and others, to the Nonni (3). At the same time, it sent

T [167] S.S. [1124]

3. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 526. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 337; the same in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, second edition, p. 496) says that the Daur were transferred to the Schingal (Sungari) and Naun; in the original report

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3. (cont.)
of Onufrij Stepanof cited above, only the latter river is named.

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[701] At the same time, it sent many armies, equipped with field guns and firearms, in which many Daur and Djutscheren were enrolled, against the small, but S.S. [724] formidable band of Russians. The latter, to be sure, were still able to help themselves for a time by extending their raids and by seizing food from the Djutscheren along the lower Amur and Sungari, but even this source of supply was taken away from them two years later through the transfer of the Djutscheren to the S.S. Churcha (4). From now on in their reports complaints multiply
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4. See p. 320, above.

about the distress that the Russian soldiers had to endure from hunger and cold, from the scarcity of ammunition, from the numerical superiority and better weaponry of the enemy, and the like (5). Subsequently, though rather late, in 1672 and 1673,

5. For example, it says in Stepanof's report in 1654: "and there is little food on the Amur, and when the Bogdoi people fire their cannon, they cover two versts and more, but we have in the sovereign's army, along with one cannon, and that is regimental, also two small iron ones" /translated from the Russian/ (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 527). Or, in 1656: "the military people and the Amur hunting Cossacks all became hungry and cold, and things were bad all around; in the army there were no food supplies at all, and there was no lead or powder; everything was used up and henceforth, ... how to live and what to eat in the future we do not know, how we, the sovereign's serfs, should manage the sovereign's

/172 cont./

SS. 175 648

5. (cont.)
tribute and our own lives, and lately all in the army have starved and become worse, we eat grass and roots, and we await the sovereign's orders, and we do not dare leave the great Amur River to go anywhere without the sovereign's orders; and the Bogdoi armies wait nearby, but there is nothing with which we can fight all those Bogdoi people, there is no more powder or lead" /translated from the Russian/ (Dop., etc., Vol. IV, p. 82).

SS. 175 648 361 241

subsequently, though rather late, in 1672 and 1673, /173/ to alleviate the suffering and for a definite foothold in the country, Russian farming colonies from Nerchinsk were established along the upper Amur and were very successful because of the fertility of the soil; the largest among them was the settlement of Pokrovskaja Sloboda, located several verst below Albasin (1), but

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 372.

the superior power of the Manchu-Chinese remained the same, and it is well known how the Russians, despite a valiant defense of the points occupied by them, finally had to relinquish the Amur region after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk.

T 175 648

Thus the country along the upper Amur down to the Dseja was completely deserted, in that it first lost its Daur population and then the small Russian one. Even afterward the Chinese government tried to maintain this depopulated condition, for it saw in it a certain guarantee against a repetition of the Russian invasion. In particular it was intent upon seeing to it that henceforth no sedentary population engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry be allowed there. Above all, it was obvious

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that after the departure of the Russians the Daur transferred to the Nonni would want to return to their old homeland, where

.2: Schrenck--370 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur

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they or their ancestors had been prosperous. A return to the Amur was permitted for the Daur, however, only under certain restrictions. Permanent Daur settlements based on agriculture and animal husbandry later appear only along that part of the Amur River extending below the Dseja and the Manchu-Chinese city of Aigun, which in the meantime had increased in size and importance (2), as far as the Bureja Mountains (3).

2. According to the old French missionaries, the city of Aigun ("Aykom") was founded under the Chinese emperor Yung-lo of the Tai-Ming dynasty, and, to be sure, on the left bank of the Amur River (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 15). The Russian reports mention it for the first time in 1676, and as an ancient city or fortress located on the northern bank of the Amur half a day's journey below the Dseja. In 1683 it was more strongly fortified and was turned into an arsenal for a sizable army, but two years later was transferred to the right bank of the Amur somewhat farther downstream, where the Aigun of today, or the Sachalin-ula-choton of the Manchu stands (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 377, 381). Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 29) gives 1684 as the year of the founding of the latter.

3. See p. 105 above.

Settlement farther up on the Amur, where most of the villages and fortified places of the Daur were located, or along the lower course of the Komar River was forbidden to them for the reasons

T 175 648 361 /173 cont./ discussed above, and undoubtedly it was a duty of the officials of Aigun and the advanced Manchurian outposts along the Amur beyond the mouth of the Komar to see to it, among other things, that this measure was strictly observed. Only along the upper course of the Komar does one again come across sedentry, agricultural Daur, evidently because the Chinese government thought that they were sufficiently far from the Amur there to not prejudice its desolution to any extent. Perhaps, /174/ thanks to this T [167] circumstance, they did not have to move from there in the seventeenth century, or they were Daur who at that time withdrew from the Amur and the lower Komar, or, finally, later settlers who came here from the Nonni.

T 175 648 439 443 The Chinese government acted quite differently with regard to the more or less itinerant traders than it did in the case of the sedentary agriculturalists. They had free access to the entire upper and central Amur region belonging to the administrative district of Tsitsikar, and only having intercourse with the Russians beyond the last guardposts on the upper Amur was forbidden to them. Thanks to this permission and to the inclination and aptitude of the Daur for trade, especially with the related Tungusic hunting peoples in the north of the Amur region with whom they had been familiar from ancient times, we see that they soon reached that wide distribution as traders along the Dseja /Zeya/, the Ssilimdshi /Selemdzha/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and their tributaries which has already been discussed in detail above (1).

1. See pp. 79, 107.

Here I only wish to draw special attention to one circumstance which is significant for both the scope of this distribution of the Daur and the role which they have played in relation to the more primitive Amur peoples. Though the Daur are not permitted to G [829] enter the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, the people from there are forbidden by the Chinese to go beyond the Sungari mouth on the Amur and the city of Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the Daur traders are nevertheless known even to the most distant Gilyak.

T 175 648 439 443 G [101] G [439]

/174 cont./ Gilyak. For example, I often asked the latter about the peoples living upstream on the Amur, and they always named for me the "Jam-Manchu" beyond the Manchu. For a long time I did not know what people they meant by that. I now no longer doubt but that it is the Daur. Despite the prohibition of the Chinese government, Daur merchants from the sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi come across the Jam-alin Mountains to Burukan on the Tugur (2), where at times Tungus from the Tugur and from the

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2. Cf. also the statements of an eyewitness, the priest Djatschkovskij, in Kosmin, in Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Minist., Part IV, p. 36.

Sea of Okhotsk, Negda from the Amgunj, and Gilyak from the Amur appear for trade. In exchange for the always desired sable pelts, they obtain there from the Daur probably much the same commodities as from the Chinese on the Amur and naturally must have learned from them on occasion the role they play in the region beyond the Jam-alin, along the Bureja, Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja down to the Amur: that they carry on all trade there, collect the tribute from the Birar and Manegir for the Chinese government, etc. (3). If one now considers that the Gilyak, as

G 101 T 439 443

3. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1) says that the Daur, impressing even the Yakut Trofim, described how they occupied a large city on the Amur where the river was blocked by means of a strong chain across it.

has been noted above (4), not infrequently designate both the

4. See p. 144.

Manchu and Chinese simply as "Manchu," though they distinguish them by nationality, it is quite understandable that they also

G 101 /174 cont./ give the name "Jam-Manchu" to the Daur coming over from T [439 [443 the Jam Mountains, who play the same role beyond the latter as the "Manchu" do along the Amur. /175/ I do not know whether in addition, taking account of the difference in nationality, they T 101 439 443 have still another name for the Daur. It is said that among the Russian Tungus they are called "Djulú," among the Birar "Dahu-halj" (1) -- a designation in which one can easily recognize the name Dahur or Daur.

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc. Vol. IV, p. 1536. The Birar "halj" probably means the same as the Goldi and Manchurian "hala," tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Gesuhlecht/.

T 175 169 178 231 [648 As long as the Gogul and Daur were settled along the Amur, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon were restricted to the Stanovoi mountain range and its southern slopes and spurs. In none of the reports from the time of the Russian invasion is there any mention of them from the Amur. Only through the departure of the former peoples from the Amur and thanks to the Chinese policy of permitting no sedentary population along the upper course of it did they gain open space to expand as far southward as the Amur and in part beyond it, as we learned above. As they advanced southward, other, Russian Tungusic tribes from the north advanced farther and farther into the southern spurs of the Stanovoi T [184] Range. The Birar and the Maneghir, in descending from their alpine homeland and reaching the low spurs and grassy prairies along the Bureja, the Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, found it necessary to exchange their alpine domestic animal, the reindeer, for another riding and draft animal, the horse, whereas the Orochon in the mountainous upper course of the Amur retained their traditional reindeer. The same thing happened in Dauria, along the source rivers of the Amur, where, as Ritter expressed it (2), "Tungusic barbarians" moved into the area vacated by

2. Erdkunde von Asien, Vol. II, p. 323.

T /175 cont./
175 the Daur and, coming from the mountains into the unforested
178 prairies, exchanged their reindeer for the horse or even, like
167 the Mongols, adapted themselves to animal-raising and thus
23 changed from Forest or Reindeer Tungus into Horse and Steppe
[648] Tungus (3). Thus, among the Amur peoples a series of migra-

3. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 152, and elsewhere.

tions and transformations took place, for all of which one event, the invasion by the Russians in the seventeenth century, gave the first impulse: just as in the lower Amur region it caused the migration of the Djutscheren to the Churcha and through that the westward expansion of the Goldi to the Sungari, so did it give rise in the upper Amur region to the departure of the Gogul and Daur from the principal river and its source rivers, which, in turn, resulted in the migrations of the Tungusic tribes in the south and even in the north of the Stanovoi Range. Let us now add to these general remarks a few historical data concerning specifically the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon.

T /176/ The oldest information on the Birar comes from the
S.S. first Russian expedition to the Amur under Pojarkof /Poyarkov/;
175 after his return (1646), he reported that many reindeer-keeping
648 Biral-Tungus (Tungusy Biraly) lived along the sources of the
T Ssilimdshi ("Ssilimba") (1). Thirty-five years later (1681)
[361]

1. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 53.

Ignatij Milowanof was sent from Nerchinsk to the Dseja and Ssilimdshi in order to inspect the guardposts and tribute stations and to find out where there was fertile soil and where a new post could be established. In the meantime, the departure of the
T [167] agricultural Daur from the Amur and from the Dseja had already taken place, and along both rivers Milowanof saw numerous traces of their former fields and villages. He reported from the

Tungus RU5
Birar
Southeast Siberia RX1

T S.S. 175 648 T S.S. [101]

/176 cont./ Ssilimdshi ("Sselinba"), however, that with a small force it would be impossible to make the Birar-Tungus there tributary, and that Daur came to the mouth of this river to collect tribute from them for the Chinese crown. In this connection he calls the Birar Horse-Tungus (konnye Biryarskie Tungusy) (2). Thus,

2. "Otpiska Stol'niku i Voevodie Fed. Dement'ev Voeikovu, ot" poslann. v" 1681 g. dlia obozr. Amura syn" Boiarskago Ignat'ia Milovanova /Report to the Secretary-General Fed. Dement'ev Voeikov from the Boyar's son, Ignatius Milovanov, sent in 1681 for an inspection of the Amur/," reported by Spasskij in Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1853, Part VII, Sec. II, pp. 40, 41.

they had already moved farther downstream along the Ssilimdshi and, in conformity with the natural conditions there, became horse nomads. The Daur, however, only appeared among them from time to time as tribute-collecting officials or traders (3).

3. Milowanof, op. cit., p. 39.

T S.S 101 175 648

Three years later, the Cossack leader, Gerassim Zypandin, reported that in Udskoi Ostrog he had found and detained as hostages two Birar chiefs from the Ssilimdshi (4). Thus, from the earliest

4. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 202.

Russian accounts we meet the Birar under this name for them. I also believe that they designate themselves in this way, at least when dealing with foreigners, for I learned about this name from them themselves, without ever having heard it before (5). It was

S.S. [113]

5. See my travel report, dated November 15, 1856, from Irkutsk, in the Bull. de la phys.-

T S.S. 101 175 648 SS [113]

/176 cont./

S. (cont.)
math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersbourg, Vol. XV, p. 247; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 353.

no different for Radde, who during his stay in the Bureja Mountains on the Amur frequently came in contact with the Birar and always designates them with this name (6). Nevertheless, it only

T 101 167 T SS. [113]

6. "Birat-Tungusen," see Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süd. und Ost. Sibir." (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXIII, p. 526 and elsewhere.

means "river dwellers," and in this case by "river" (bira) they are not merely referring to, say, the Amur, but to the Njuman-bira, which for this reason among the Russians, too, has been given the name of Bureja, which arose merely through the distortion of the former word. The Njuman-bira was the main river of their area: presumably they went from it in former times to the nearby upper course of the Ssilimdshi; following it, they later, after the departure of the Gogul and Daur, spread to the Amur and indeed even beyond it. Along the Amur, where they found fertile soil which formerly had been cultivated, some of them, as we saw above, even became sedentary farmers, which their close relatives, /177/ the Manegir and Orochon, have not accomplished, or at least not to the same extent. Through this expansion they moved much closer to the seats of the Manchu-Chinese administration, Augun and especially Tsitsikar, the capital of the province of Helong-kiang (Amur). In the Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing they are mentioned among the peoples belonging to this district, and, to be sure, under the same name, easily recognizable even in the Chinese version, as "Builar" (1) or "Pie-li-eurh" (Pilar) (2). Similar to this and

T 174 167 [133] [241]

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1. Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 442.

2. Pautnier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

Tungus RUS
Birar
Manegir

/177 cont./

175 101 in even greater agreement is the name "Bilar" used for this people by the archimandrite Palladij (3) and perhaps also taken from

[113] 3. "Dorozhnyia zamietki i pr." (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 445).

the same imperial geography. Finally, it is also easily recognized in the name often mentioned above, "Byral- or Bural-Tungus," obtained quite independently by Middendorff on his [179] travels through the northern part of Birar territory (4). The slight

4: Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 167, 1505, and elsewhere.

modification in it can perhaps, since Middendorff's trip was made in the company of Russian Tungus, be traced back to Russian influence, in particular with reference to the Russian name "Bureja" for the Njuman-bira (5).

[104] 5. In rendering Tungusic and other words, the i is often changed by the Russians into ы (which we conventionally render with y), for example, "Kidsi" becomes Kysy (Кыдзи = Kydzi), etc. Accordingly, byra (быра) arose from "bira," and therefore perhaps the version "Byral-Tungus."

175 101 439 The oldest report on the Manegir extends just as far back as that on the Birar. In 1647 the "promyschlennik" /fur trade/ Grigorij Wishevzof declared at the official interrogation in Yakutsk that he had spent the two previous years on business along the Tugir (Tungir), a tributary of the Olekma, where, among others, three "Managir-Tungusen" (Managiri) came to him (6). It is not said specifically where this allegedly

[113] 6. "Rasprosnyia riechi promyshlenago

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6. (cont.)
chelovieka Grig. Vizhevtsova /The Interrogation of the Industrialist, Grig. Vizhevtsov/" (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. III, p. 102).

IT is not said specifically where this allegedly
[484] [221] numerous tribe had its habitation sites, but it is said further that every year during the winter they go down on reindeer to the Schilka (Amur) in order to trade with the Daur, for which they follow the Njuga (Njuksha), a tributary of the Tungir, upstream to the mountains and then cross over to the Ui (Urkan) and go along it to where it empties into the Schilka, where they meet Daur subject to Prince Lavkai. From this it can be seen that the Manegir at that time were still reindeer nomads who roamed high in the Stanovoi Range, along its northern and southern slopes, along the sources of the Njuksha, of the Urkan, and -- since they were said to be a numerous tribe -- probably also of the Oldoi, Ur, etc., the next rivers to the east. The Manegir are not mentioned in Pojarkof's report on his simultaneous expedition from the Stanovoi Mountains down the upper Brjanda and the Dseja: he found the first river uninhabited, Reindeer Tungus from the Ullagir tribe were settled along the lower (second) Brjanda, animal-breeding /178/ Bajagir-Tungus along the lower Ur, and Daur along the Dseja from the Umlekan (1). There is

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1. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 51, 52. In Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geograph., Part 2, second edition, p. 494) the second of the tribes named is called "Buiagir."

no further mention of these two Tungus tribes in the Amur region later, from which it may be presumed that these were only isolated scattered members of their tribe, such as are always present in countries with a nomadic Tungusic population. Concerning the Bajagir, moreover, it is well known that they, as

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101 Middendorff expresses it, are a group scattered to all four winds,
361 single representatives of which can be found throughout Siberia (2).

2. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1479, 1512) mentions, for example, individual Bojagern -- as he writes the name -- some of whom he himself had seen, from the sources of the Cheta, west of the Yenisei, from the Wilui, Aldan, Tungir (Olekma), from the Amur somewhat below Ustj-Strelka, from the Dabukyt, Oldoi, Ur, from the Botoma, from the Temtjon, and from Udskoi Ostrog.

175 Just as there were no Manegir along the Brjanda and Dseja at the
131 time of Pojarkof's expedition, so were there none, according to
167 Ussolzef, even two centuries later, along the Gilui (3), this

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3. Usol'tsev", "Putesh. k" versh. r. Giliuia i na rieku Zeiu, lietom" 1856 g. /Journey to the Upper Course of the Gilui River and on the Zeya River in the Summer of 1856/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXII, 1858, Sec. II, p. 153).

right tributary of the Dseja coming down from the Stanovoi Mountains west of the Brjanda. In view of these facts the homeland of the Manegir, from which they later spread to the Dseja and beyond it, must first be sought west of the Gilui, that is to say, in that part of the Stanovoi Mountains to which the above statement by Wishevzof in part directly refers. There they were closest to the upper Amur, closer than the Dseja, and, as that oldest report says, every winter they descended to it along the rivers leading directly to it, the Urkan, etc., in order to trade with the Daur. This,
[648] however, is the very part of the Amur River in which the Russians established themselves the earliest and the most firmly, in which

/178 cont./

175 were located their largest and best fortifications, like their settle-
13 ments later, and in which they held fast the longest and most
648 tenaciously. This is why the further expansion of the Manegir in
167 the Amur region could not take place until after that of the Birar.
Whereas the opportunity for this was presented to the latter immediately after the departure of the Gogul and the Daur from the Amur, the expansion of the Manegir from their mountain homeland to the south and east could not begin until the Russians had vacated the upper Amur, which did not take place until 35 years later as a consequence of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Therefore, when Ignatij Milowanof was sent to inspect the Dseja in 1681, he still did not find any Manegir there, whereas the Birar had already moved so far down the Ssilimdshi that the Chinese officials were able to collect tribute from them at the point where this river
174 empties into the Dseja. (4). How soon after the departure of the
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4. See p. 375. above.

Russians from the Amur the expansion of the Manegir began and what course it took cannot be ascertained more precisely, because with their departure, unfortunately, hardly any information concerning the Amur region came out for a long time. Nevertheless, from the /179/ above it seems probable to me that they first descended on their customary route down the rivers, the Urkan, Oldoi, etc., to the completely deserted upper Amur and then, following this river, reached the Komar and the Dseja, along which they spread upstream as far as they found unoccupied territory suitable for their needs. They may also have traveled to the Dseja by a second route, I mean down the Ur. Because of
[198] this perhaps, and principally because the prairies along the
[361] lower and central Dseja and its tributaries offered the most favorable conditions for the horse nomads, which the Manegir had gradually become after descending to the spurs and the plains, the most numerous Manegir population was found there.
[648] Nowhere, however, neither on the Dseja nor on the Komar or
[241] the Amur did they turn to agriculture and a sedentary way of life.

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194 the reason for which is not to be sought merely in the deeply
167 rooted nomadic instinct of the Tungus, but above all in the
648 above-discussed policy of the Chinese government to keep those
241 regions which were especially and most exposed to Russian in-
vasion in a deserted and desolate condition as far as possible.

It is also noteworthy that the Manegir, in spite of their above-
101 mentioned great expansion in the Amur region and their trans-
167 formation into horse nomads, remained, in the eyes of the
194 Manchu-Chinese, the same Reindeer-Tungus that they were
648 formerly. The Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing
has no special name for them, as there is for their close relatives,
the Birar, but subsumes them, like their western neighbors, the
Orochon, under the general designation "Oruntschun" (1) or

1. Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 442.

"Go-lun-tschun" (2), that is, "reindeer people," which also in-

2. Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I,
p. 168.

cludes their western neighbors, the Orochon, and is still appropri-
ate for them today. I believe that this is further confirmation,
and from the Chinese, of the statements introduced by us above
on other grounds, namely, that the Manegir, were still settled
not long ago in the immediate neighborhood of the Orochon, that
from there they spread to the upper Amur and down it to the Komar
and Dseja, and that this expansion did not take place until rela-
175 tively recent times. The oldest report known to me in which the
101 Manegir are mentioned as dwellers along the Amur River belongs
to modern times. It is by the Russian fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef,
[114] whose statements were recorded in the handwritten notes of
Ladyshinskij, but later, as Middendorff pointed out (3), were

3. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 156, note
1; see also p. 164 above.

/179 cont./

175 used to advantage by Iakinf in his Statistical Description of the
10 Chinese Empire, without naming the source. In this work it is
114 said, accordingly, that below Ustj-Strelka in the mountains on both banks of the Amur there are Tungus tribes who have been given the names "Minegren" (Minegri) and "Orotschonen /Orochon/" by the Russians (4); and at another place -- evidently on the basis

[113] 4. Iakinf", Statist. opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 217.

of another source -- that in Transbaikalia the Tungus on the right bank of the Amur /180/ below Ustj-Strelka were called "Mangiren" (Mangiry), but those of the left bank "Orotschonen" (1).

1. Op. cit., p. 1, note; see also p. 84 above.

The more recent Amur travelers always mention the Manegir with the same name, differing only in the variously changed vowels; concerning its origin, however, one finds among them at most only echoes of the view expressed by Iakinf. Gerstfeldt (2),

[113] 2. "O pribrezhn. zhiteliakh" /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. II, p. 293, footnote 2).

for instance, regards this name as of Russian origin simply because it is missing in the Chinese census figures (in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing, see above). Indeed, even Maack, who stayed longest among the Manegir, thinks that they now call themselves "Manjachyr," but it remains undecided whether or not they accepted this name from the Russians (3). I cannot

[113] 3. Maack", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 68.

2: Schrenck--383 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Manegir
Orochon

/180 cont./

101 agree with this at all. How are the Russians supposed to have
175 come by this name, which has no meaning at all in Russian? The
114 final syllable in itself argues in favor of a Tungusic origin, even if we do not at first know its etymology (4). Also, it confronts us

4. See pp. 213, 215 above.

immediately, in connection with the first contact of the Russians with the Manegir, in that report from the seventeenth century. Evidently they were already calling themselves Managir in dealing with Wishevzof, that is, at a time when they could not yet have had a Russian name, just as they did two centuries later before Maack and me. To me the name that they gave themselves sometimes sounded like "Manägir" and at other times "Monjager" or "Manjager," which would readily explain the variations in the vowels in the versions of it given by various travelers.

The reports concerning the expansion of the Orochon in the Amur region are the most definite and exact among the three tribes under discussion here. And this is because, on the one hand, it was the latest, and, on the other hand, it took place along the very boundary of the Russian possessions, indeed, from there, and therefore under the very eyes of the Russians, as it were.
[131] Let us note first that although by Orochon at the present time the Russians mean the Reindeer Tungus who rove above the Manegir along the Amur and its tributaries, and, indeed, even beyond it, in the Stanovoi Mountains along the upper tributaries of the Olekma and in the Chingan Mountains along several tributaries of the Nonni, this name nevertheless was not given to them by the Russians, as the above-mentioned statement by Iakinf, in part taken from Gurij Wassiljef, erroneously says. Its Manchurian origin has been discussed above in detail (5). Since it simply

5. See pp. 280 ff. above.

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101 114 175 [174] means "reindeer people," it could be applied to many different Tungusic tribes. How far it goes back among the Manchu or their ancestors we do not know, but the fact that it has persisted for the Olcha on the lower Amur, who gave up their reindeer-nomadism long ago, as well as for the Orok of Sakhalin, indicates its great age. /181/ It has already been pointed out that the 101 175 648 Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing extends it, in addition to the Orochon, to the Manegir at a time when the latter were still reindeer nomads, which was not so long ago. This Manchurian name for the Reindeer Tungus has been known since the days of the old Jesuit missionaries (1). Among the

1. Gerbillon, see Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 37.

Russians, on the other hand, the name Orochon has been in use for only a short time and, as a foreign word, naturally does not have the collective application that it does among the Manchu, but rather, as a specific proper name, refers only to the Reindeer Tungus along the upper Amur within the above-mentioned boundaries. It does not occur at all in the reports dating from the time of the first Russian invasion in the Amur region. Wherever the Russians met Reindeer Tungus in the Amur region at that time, they called them, just as they did in Siberia, by their own tribal or kin-group names, as the designations Burar-Tungus, Ullagir, Managir, etc. show. Not until much later, after the whole Amur region had become Chinese territory by treaty and the Russians, now advancing into it from Dauria individually and in small groups, first of all met Reindeer Tungus there, who, at least nominally, were tributary to the Manchu-Chinese and among them bore the name Orochon, did they likewise adopt this name; and since the same nomads extended beyond the northern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains and along the source rivers of the Olekma, that name also became customary among the Russians in this further extension. The oldest report known to me which 101 175 114 gives evidence of the use of the name Orochon among the

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101 175 114 Russians comes from a Dr. Schneegass, who in the first years of our century (before 1805) traveled through Siberia to Japan in order to join there, as it says, the Russian round-the-world navigator (Krusenstern) (2). In speaking of the Solon and Daur,

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2. See the appendix, "Beyträge zur Länder- und Staatenkunde der Tartarey; aus russ. Berichten /Contributions to Knowledge of the Geography and Politics of Tartary, from Russian Reports/," to John Barrow, Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Grossbrit. Gesandschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /A Journey through China from Peking to Canton in the Suite of the British Embassy in the Years 1793 and 1794/; translated from the English and annotated by J. A. Hüttner, Vol. II, Vienna, 1805, p. 359.

who are said to have their habitation sites beyond the Argunj in Manchuria, he says, "in the same area around the Amur River, there is also a great number of Orochon, namely, Olenni-Tungus" (3) -- a report which clearly reveals by its explanatory concluding

3. I.e., Reindeer Tungus.

remark that it is based on Russian statements. The above-mentioned statement by the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, which was saved from oblivion by Ladyshenskij, came from about the same period -- between 1815 and 1826. It does not occur among our travelers who visited Dauria in the previous century, Messerschmidt, Gmelin, Pallas, and Georgi, or in the writings of Müller and Fischer. It may therefore not have been current among the Russians of adjacent Dauria until very near the end of the previous century.

174 175 167 It does not by any means follow from this, however, that the Orochon did not reach the Amur until that time, but it could not

2: Schrenck- 386 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Orochon

/181 cont./

194 have been very much earlier, for like /182/ the expansion of
195 the Manegir from the Stanovoi Mountains to the south and east,
167 that of the Orochon, too, could have begun only after the complete evacuation of the Amur region by the Russians according to the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Indeed, it demonstrably took place even later than that one, for just as the Reindeer Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains were pushing in along the source rivers of the Bureja and the Ssilimdshi following the Birar moving southward, so did the Orochon march in here after the Manegir and occupied many an area originally inhabited by them. Whereas, for example,
[131] formerly, as we saw above, the Manegir roamed through the northern part of the Stanovoi Mountains, along the Njuksha and reached the Tungir, and even went down the Urkan to the Daur, today undisputed Orochon territory extends there, and the boundary between the two peoples runs from the left source of the Oldoi along this river or more to the east, along the
101 Niwer down to the Amur (1). When the expansion of these
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1. See p. 88 above.

peoples reached the Amur, similar events took place there. Orlof, who has traveled through a large part of Orochon territory, was able to find out that the Orochon of the left and right banks of the Amur belonged to two different, though closely related tribes, who had also reached the Amur at different times (2).

[113] 2. Orlov", "Amurskie Oroncheny" (Viestnik" Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1857, Sec. II, pp. 96, 97).

Both came from the Yakutsk region, that is, north of the Stanovoi Mountains, probably from the Tungir, the Olekma, and so forth. Those of the left bank of the Amur, belonging to the Ninagan tribe, are from an earlier expansion. They are evidently the ones who had their homeland directly west and northwest of the Manegir when the latter were still reindeer

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124 nomads and followed on their heels until they reached the Amur,
175 where, pressing their predecessors, they spread as far as the Oldoi
167 and Niwer (3). Much later, not until about 30 years ago, Orlof

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3. At the time of Middendorff's trip (1844), Niniganj-Tungus, on account of their reindeer, summered on the sources of the Oldoi, Niwer ("Liwer") and Gilui ("Kilé"); about ten families of the same kin group, without any reindeer, lived in great poverty on the Uritschi: they had first been recorded there seventeen years before. The chief showed our traveler a paper from the authorities in Yakutsk from the year 1683, in order to verify his account of their origin (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1510, 1511).

says, therefore about 1827, Reindeer Tungus of the Schologon tribe voluntarily migrated, probably from an adjacent homeland, to the right bank of the Amur and now constitute the other part
175 of the Amur Orochon. In 1844, Middendorff was told by the
131 Cossacks at the beginning of the Amur that about twelve years
167 ago, that is, about 1832, Tungus of the Ssologon kin-group ("Ssologonzy"), who had formerly lived beyond the Oldoi along the sources of the Dseja tributaries, crossed into Chinese territory between the Argunj, the beginning of the Amur, and the Albasichs. Four years ago, they were followed by the Böljöt,
[648] twelve leaders, tributary to the Russian crown, from the Kangalas tribe, who, according to assurances by the Tungus, originally lived on the Aldan and migrated from there on account of hard times and to escape from oppression (4). The Orochon of the

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4. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1511. One is almost inclined to regard it as a printing error when at the same place, Middendorff calls the Ssologon-Tungus simply S'olorn-Tungus, whereas a few pages earlier

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4. (cont.)
(pp. 1502 and 1504) he explains that S'olorn is a trading station. Above (p. 101) it has already been pointed out that the few references which he makes to "S'olorn" refer to the Solon.

right bank of the Amur, /183/ for the most part staying in the vicinity of the main river and not crossing over to the left bank, spread up to the sources of the Albasicha and then along this river to its mouth, where at the present time their extreme boundary is on the southern bank of the Amur. They, too, as Orlof expressly noted, had to dislocate the Manegir, who even today roam from time to time beyond the Albasicha mouth into Orochon territory to fish (1). But the reason that the Orochon

1. See p. 87 above.

succeeded in winning from the Manegir a not insignificant territory on both banks is not to be sought, say, in their larger number -- on the contrary, this is very limited -- and not in some other physical or mental superiority, but solely in the circumstance that the rugged, northern, and mountainous character of both banks of the Amur River in this part of it offers a more favorable soil to the reindeer nomads than to the horse nomads, whereas the latter on the contrary, found themselves the more favored by Nature the farther downstream they went (2).

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2. In passing let us take note here of Maack's view of the origin of the Amur Orochon and Manegir, which is completely at variance with the above analysis and, in my opinion, is also completely wrong. According to him, (Putesh. na Amur", p. 68) both of the peoples mentioned were merely descendants of the Lavkajef Tungus. It is difficult to say what one is to think of this,

Tungus RUS
Orochon
Solon

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2. (cont.)
since Lavkai was a Daur prince and the people to whom he belonged and who at that time lived along the upper Amur, the Daur, is to be sure, from the Tungus tribe, but nevertheless cannot simply be called Tungus. As is well known, the Daur were moved from the Amur by orders of the Chinese, but even if some individuals remained behind, how could two different peoples, the Orochon and the Manegir, have arisen from them in two centuries? There is no mention at all in Maack of any subsequent migration of other tribes to the Amur.

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The last of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region to be discussed here is the Solon. The reports concerning them are so meager and unsatisfactory that as we saw above, hardly anything definite concerning their present habitation sites can be gleaned from them -- much less anything concerning possible changes and shifts in them through the course of time. Only on the occasion of explaining the name of this obscure people were a few conjectures expressed concerning the origin or the original homeland of it, to which I shall add a few remarks. The oldest mention of the Solon people by European authors is found in the works of the old Jesuit missionaries. According to Gerbillon, as was mentioned above, the Solon province took in the westernmost part of the Tsitsikar Gouvernement, which is said to begin, properly speaking, at the confluence of the Argunj and the Schilka ("Ergoné" and "Saghalien oula") (3). /184/ In this

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3. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 36, 46.

region, near Mergen on the Nonni, the missionaries commissioned

Tungus RUS
Solon

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by Emperor Kang-hi to make a map of China met the Solon or "Solon-tatse" and described them as bold and skilled hunters who, armed with bows and arrows, annually go sable-hunting in the mountain wildernesses. They themselves, it is said (1),

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1. Du Halde, op. cit., pp. 14, 16.

regard themselves as Manchu by origin, since they believe that they are the descendants of those Njutschi who, after the defeat which their tribe, ruling over northern China under the name of Kin /Chin/, suffered at the hands of the Mongols in 1204, escaped to the regions now inhabited by them. To be sure, it is not expressly said where they fled from but since in the above we have met the Njutschi also in Dauria, along the Argunj, in the immediate neighborhood of the Mongols and in particular in the homeland of their conqueror, Genghis Khan, it seems obvious assuming that the Solon statement is correct, to view the Njutschi on the Argunjas their ancestors. And all the more so
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since a flight from there would of necessity have taken them along the right tributaries of the Argunj and across the Chingan Mountains to the Nonni, where in fact their present habitation sites are located. Indeed, as we have seen above, four and a half centuries later the descendants of those Njutschi, the Daur, took the same route when they, pressed by the Russians, had to vacate the land along the Argunj. Since, however, Daur had lived on the Nonni before, perhaps even prior to the immigration of the Njutschi-Solon, and now their number increased considerably through the almost simultaneous emigrations of their countrymen from the Argunj and from the Amur, it could not fail to happen but that the Solon, who, moreover, were not very numerous, were gradually pushed toward the upper course of the Nonni and its tributaries, less favorable for agriculture and animal husbandry, where they naturally found themselves left with hunting in mountains rich in game. As descendants of a once powerful, brave, and warlike people, there they could become the skillful, bold, danger-defying hunters that the old missionaries said they were.

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174 175 184 In connection with this, however, with the decline and decay of their agricultural activities, they of necessity fell behind the Daur tradesmen in prosperity and development. I therefore find it in complete accord with this, with all that has been said above about the descent of the Solon from the ancient Njutschi, when the archimandrite Palladij, without sharing this view, indeed perhaps without knowing of it, expresses himself in the following way concerning this people (2). According to the accounts

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2. "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 443).

of the Chinese, he says, of all Butcha-Land (3) once belonged

3. I.e., land of the tribute-payers.

to the Solon, and their name was so famous that Dahuren /Daur/ and Orontscho were honored when they were taken for Solon; even today they are regarded in Peking as a warlike and brave people. Perhaps this was once the case. At the present time, [186] however, the Dahuren are in all respects superior to the Solon, and whenever we asked a Dahuren whether he were a Solon or Dahur, he quickly /185/ answered, "Dahur," with a tone as 175 though he were saying, civis romanus sum. In this account one 648 cannot fail to recognize the tradition that the Solon were once a ruling people. This was undoubtedly also known to the Manchu, as well as to the Chinese, and it was perhaps in large part the awareness of a common tribal affiliation that made the former happy to use the Solon in military service, in the Eight-Banner army, and especially in the guardposts and garrisons of the most remote frontiers from the Amur to Kuldsha (1). In view

1. According to Iakinf (Statist. opis. Kitaisk.

2: Schrenck--392 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Solon

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1. (cont.)
Imp., Part I, 1852, p. 253), 47 companies of Solon and only 39 of the much more numerous Daur are in the garrisons in the various provinces. Among the troops stationed in the Kuldsha District at the time of Putimzef's journey (1811) there were 6,000 Solon (Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, p. 413), etc.

194 In view
101 of these facts, it seems to me that the view explained above concerning the origin of the Solon is the most likely one of all.

114 The archimandrite Palldij has a quite different theory about
101 the origin of the Solon. He thinks it most probable that the Solon
174 are descendants of the Urjanchen, a little-known people which formerly inhabited the territory to the north of the palisades and, according to Chinese writers from the Min Dynasty, were survivors of the Khitan, who were ruled under the Mongols by Mongolian chiefs (2). I shall not venture an opinion as to the

2. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam.," etc. (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, p. 444).

tenableness or untenableness of this theory, which Palladij (loc. cit.) only briefly alluded to and which he himself calls merely a hypothesis. Moreover, he remarks that the name "Solon" or "Solun," which was already known in China at the time of the preceding dynasty (3), leads to still another conjecture concern-

3. According to Chinese writers, it is more properly "Soëlo" (Palladij, op. cit., p. 443).

ing the origin of this people, which he himself, however, thinks has little probability. According to it, the Solon were merely descendants of a colony of Koreans who left their homeland sometime between the eighth and the tenth centuries and went to

2: Schrenck--393 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Solon

/185 cont./

114 Manchuria. "Solongo," according to this, is the Mongolian
101 designation for Korea, from which the Manchurian "Solcho"
174 for the Koreans could have been borrowed (4). Without permitting

4. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 257; Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, 1824, pp. 174, 199), "Solongos" is the Mongolian name for Korea and its inhabitants. Palladij regarded it as beyond question that it originated from "Sinlo" (also "Sylu" and "Sinlu"), which throughout three centuries (until the tenth century A.D.) was a strong empire embracing all of Korea; at that time the colony was supposedly transplanted to Manchuria.

myself an opinion on such historical and linguistic matters, I must nevertheless confess that this derivation of the Solon seems somewhat farfetched. Because of a perhaps only coincidental similarity of names, Koreans and Mongols are brought in for the sake of explaining the origin of a Tungusic people after all!

Moreover, a Mongolian origin is attributed to the name "Solon" by another party. Pallas derives it from the Mongolian word "ssolón," archer (5) -- a view /186/ which has often been

5. Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 238; the same, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften /Collection of Historical Reports concerning the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersburg, 1776, Vol. I, p. 2, note (*).

repeated since then (1) and presumably met so much approval

1. For example, by Spasskij ("Zabaik. Tungusy."

Tungus RUS
Solon

/186 cont./

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1. (cont.)
-- Sib. Viestn., St. Petersburg, Part XVIII, 1822, Sec. II, p. 22) and others. Pauthier (Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168), too, in enumerating the peoples which, according to the Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing, belonged to the He-long-kiang Gouvernement, adds to the name "So-lun" in parentheses, "archers." Prince Kostrof ("Ocherki Turukhanskago kraia /Sketches of the Turukhansk Krai/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book IV, 1857, p. 81), to be sure, is of the opinion that the name "Solon" was given to the people concerned by the Manchu, but still gives it the meaning of "archer."

because it fits the above-mentioned description of the Solon by the Jesuit missionaries as bold hunters and skilled archers. According to Pallas, the Mongols use the name "Solon" for the Tungus under Chinese rule, who roam in the Chingan Mountains and in the forests farther to the east and closer to the Amur, as well as for the Russian Tungus in Dauria, and he thinks that the Chinese borrowed this name from the Mongols. In fact, we encounter it in a Chinese travel account from the year 1712 (2),

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2. It was translated into French by the missionary Gaubil and given in German by Müller, from an abstract by Souciet, in Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 327-348.

in which the name "Solun" is used for Tungus whom the travelers met between Irkutsk and Yeniseisk (3). Likewise, in a Chinese

3. Müller, op. cit., p. 335. In a note it is said at the same time that this is the Chinese

/186 cont./

3. (cont.)
name for the Russian as well as for the Chinese Tungus. But I am not able to say whether and to what extent this statement is by Müller or by Gaubil, since it is only generally stated in the German translation that the notes were revised throughout and, where necessary, supplemented, but I could not get the French text for comparison.

description of Russia translated by Klaproth there is mention of the "Solon," who live on the banks of the Argunj and are harassed by the Russians (4). This wide application of the name

4. Klaproth, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, pp. 93, 94.

in question among the Mongols as well as the Chinese seems to me to indicate to a certain extent that originally it came from neither the one nor the other, but was taken over by both, directly or indirectly, either from the Solon themselves of from one of their nearest Tungusic neighbors, the Daur or the Manchu, and then extended to all the Tungusic tribes which roam about like the Solon.

In the Amur region itself one is almost involuntarily confronted with an explanation of the name Solon which is quite different from that one and has a double advantage in that it does not go beyond the linguistic circle of the Tungusic peoples and is in harmony with the location of the present habitation sites of the Solon and, indeed, if one wishes, with the former ones of their presumed ancestors, the Argunj-Njutschi. Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region, the Olcha, Goldi, and also presumably among the Manchu closely related to the latter, and others, "ssolo" means "above" or "upward," just as "chydji, chydshi," means "below" or "downward." It not infrequently happens there, upon meeting natives and asking them who they are, to receive only the answer, from the Olcha, for instance,

Tungus RUS
Solon

/186 cont./

101 "chydji-" or "ssolo-nei," that is, people from below, or from above. /187/ The same expressions can be used, of course, to
101 designate entire peoples living above or below. Now, just as
114 in fact the former became the Manchurian name Chydshan,
174 Chädshen, Chodsen, etc., or, in the Chinese version, Ketsching and Ketscheng-tatse, for the Goldi and Olcha (1), so could the

1. See p. 300 ff. above.

latter have given rise to the differentiation of a Solon people in the upper Amur region. I do not regard it as coincidental when Gerbillon says that among the Manchu Solon was the westernmost province, called Dauvré by the Russians, which in point of fact, that is, as far as actual rule of the Manchu extended, begins where the Argunj flows into the Amur. Rather, it was undoubtedly so designated because it embraced the uppermost course of the Amur River. To it also belonged the source area and the upper course of the Nonni, a stream no less important for the Manchu and for the Daur, on which the capital of the province, the administrative center, Tsitsikar, is located. And here as there, on the Amur as on the Nonni, the Solon were the uppermost people: on the Amur -- in former times, because their ancestors, the Njutschi, had settled along the Argunj, which can be regarded as its uppermost course, a fact which perhaps was also traditionally known by the Manchu as their closest tribesmen; on the Nonni, however, they are still such even today. No other Amur people has more right to this name: neither the Daur, for they extended far down the Amur into the prairies and on the Nonni they were settled below the Solon, indeed had in part pushed the latter upward themselves; nor the Manegir and the Orochon, who could claim such a title now, but they did not descend to the Amur until later, when this name
101 had already long been established. At any rate, I believe that
174 the Solon got their present name, not on the Argunj, but in their subsequent homeland on the upper Nonni, to which, as was mentioned above, they could have come as early as the thirteenth century, and where, in the forest and mountain environment,

2: Schrenck--397 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Solon

/187 cont./

[101] [174] they first became such bold and skilled hunters. Along the Nonni, where, besides Manchu, Chinese and, in its lower course, Mongols came in contact with each other, the name for the Solon customary among the former could most easily have been transmitted to the last-named peoples. It goes without saying that today the Solon themselves, when dealing with foreigners, designate themselves with the same name that was established by their rulers, the Manchu-Chinese (2), and we have seen a

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2. Schmidt ("Histor. Bericht über die Thätigkeit der physik. Abtheilung der Sibirischen Expedition /Historical Report on the Activities of the Physical Section of the Sibirian Expedition/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 36), in the Bureja Mountains on the Amur, met Solon from the Ui-bira settlement who called themselves this when talking to him.

similar situation among other Amur tribes. It is not yet known how they designate themselves among themselves.

000 /188/ Concerning the civilized peoples of eastern Asia, the Manchu, Chinese, and Japanese, with their manifold relationships to the Amur peoples, the question of their origin, expansion, origin of their names, etc. obviously do not fall within the scope of this work, but rather fall to historical and linguistic investigations by the respective specialists. Here they can be discussed only insofar as the indigenous peoples of the Amur under discussion are involved in them or affected by them. This has already been done repeatedly in the above, and in particular the expansion and the present-day spatial position of the civilized peoples named in the Amur region have been discussed in detail. Their further political, social, commercial, and like relations with the Amur peoples will likewise be discussed later on in the proper places. Here we need only make room for a few remarks on the names which they bear among the Amur peoples.

2: Schrenck--398 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu AG4

/188 cont./

101 As is well known, the name Manchu did not arise until rela-
648 tively recent times, about three centuries ago (1), when the

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1. The precise date when it happened cannot be determined. According to Rémusat, Aishin Gioro, who first gave his subjects the name "Manchu," began his rule around 1520 (Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, Göttingen, 1830, Part I, p. 235). Gorskij (O proiskhozhd. rodonach. nynie tsarstv. dinastii Tsin" /Concerning the Descent of the Forebears of the Present Kingdom of the Ch'ing Dynasty/. -- Trudy chlenov" Pekinskoi missii /Works of the Members of the Peking Mission/, Part I, 1852, p. 215. Cf. also Ssemenof, Zemlevied. Azii Karla Rittera /Charles Ritter's Geography of Asia/, Vol. I, p. 441), however, put him in the fourteenth century, in the years 1368-1398. When Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 290) says, "all the Tungusic tribes under China bear the common name Manchu," this is incorrect, according to the above and stems from the lack of knowledge at that time concerning the Amur peoples. A compilation of the various views expressed concerning the origin of the name Manchu (from Langles, Klaproth, J. Schmidt, Gorskij) is to be found in Plath (op. cit., p. 234), C. F. Koeppen (Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, Vol. II, 1859, p. 167), and others.

101 various tribes now comprising this people came together under
648 one leader and set out on their campaigns of war and conquest against China, to which they gave its present dynasty of emperors. With the expansion of Manchu power, their name also penetrated to the most distant Amur peoples, and now it is in use among all of them. At the time when the Russian expeditions into the

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/188 cont./

101 Amur region took place, however, this does not seem to have
175 been the case, or at least not to such an extent. At any rate, it
648 is very striking that in the reports by the Russians, although they had many contacts with all of the Amur peoples as well as with the Manchu themselves, the name "Manchu," even merely as a designation for them by the natives, does not appear a single
101 time. Pojarkof seems to have thought of them, like the Gogul,
175 under the name Djutschery; in particular he may have meant the Manchu when it is a matter of isolated Djutscheren met among the Daur (2). Not until Chabarof's reports is there a

2. Such as, for instance, the Djutscherish prince, Tschinega (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 52, 53).

special name for the Manchu, which henceforth was customary in all the Russian works from that period. Chabarof learned (1650) that a Prince Bogdoi, a governor under the khan (emperor of China), ruled over all the land and people along the Amur and the Sungari and therefore called his fellow-tribesmen, the merchants, warriors, and servants who /189/ lived among the Daur for the sake of trade and the collection of tribute, "Bogdoi's or Bogdoish people" (Bogdoevy or Bogdoiskie lyudi), or even simply "Bogdoier" (Bogdoi) and their territory the "Bogdoish
[114] Land" (Bogdoiskaya zemlya) (1). Thus, it seems to me, judging

1. Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. III, pp. 259 ff., 359 ff.

by its form and the date of its introduction, that this name arose among the Russians -- not directly through the offices of the Mongols since they give the emperors of the Manchu dynasty the epithet "bogdo" (sacred) and accordingly call them "Bogdo-Khans," as Fischer and Spasskij maintain (2). I cannot say,

2. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., p. 812, note (41); Spasskij, "Svied. Russk. o riekie

2: Schrenck--400 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu AG4
Historical Manchuria AG2

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2. (cont.) Amurie" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 26). The forms "Bogdani" and "Bogdochani," which Georgi gives as various (Russian) names for the Manchu and which may in part have arisen because of Fischer's theory, are also wrong (see above, p. 346, note 3).

however, whether Bogdoi was the actual proper name of the prince in question or perhaps merely a general designation for him covering his title or position and given by the Mongols.

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The fact that at that time the Russians did not know or at least did not use the name Manchu is all the more striking since they had already learned the Manchurian name for the Chinese, and, to be sure, from the latter themselves, and frequently used it from then on. A Manchurian soldier from Ningu[illegible] ("Njulgutskoi gorod"), a Chinese by birth, who was captured by the Russians during the siege of the Russian fort Atschanskoi gorod by the Manchu in March, 1652, said, among other things, when cross-examined by Chabarof, that his people were called "Nikan" by the Manchu (3). On the basis of Russian sources, Witsen was

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3. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 325; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 367. The statement of this captured Chinese, whose name in the Russian report is given as Kabyscheika, concerning the wealth of the Nikan country in gold, silver, pearls, and the like has already been considered above.

likewise aware of it and mentions it on various occasions; indeed he even adds an etymology of this name. It is said to have come from the Chinese and means something like "good-for-nothing,

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/189 cont./ silly, clumsy, awkward," or also "farm laborer" and "peasant" (4) --

4. Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1692, Part 2, p. 2; ed. of 1705, p. 2) says that the Njutschi or Manchu ("Bogdoizen") jokingly call the Chinese "Nicon," which means "bad, foolish, clumsy, or dull." In another place (ed. of 1705, p. 11) it is said that the Njutschi formerly called China "Nica corum," i.e., Realm of the Barbarians, but now they call it "Tulimpa corum," i.e., Middle Kingdom. Finally, in a third place (ed. 1705, p. 64) one finds the explanation that the Tatars ("Njutschi") who had conquered China had, out of contempt, given the Chinese the name "Nikans" or "[illegible] "Nikander," which in Chinese means "farm laborers" or "peasants," and changed the name of their capital from Nanking to "Nikang," City of Farm Laborers.

an etymology which, according to more recent experts on the Manchu language, seems in fact to be quite correct (5). It is

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5. Sacharof (Polnyi man'chzhursko-russkii slovar' /Complete Manchurian-Russian Dictionary/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 228) states that the word "nikanj" comes from the Chinese "chanj" and means "Chinese," but also has the meaning of "peasant" and "farm lout." Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 290) also gives "Nikan" as the Manchu name for China and the Chinese, without explaining it further.

not at all inconceivable that such haughty conquerors as the Manchu would have such a name for the subject people. However

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that
the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the
latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the
"Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suff[illegible]u" designates the collective idea, or m[illegible] people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

000 other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

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2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

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Manchu AG4
Historical Manchuria AG2

H.M. 648 439 M [648]

/190 cont./ since the Manchu officials are generally hated and feared by the Amur peoples because of the extortions that they indulge in against them, it is in the interest of the Chinese themselves, if they wish to stay safely among the natives of the Amur region as traders, to maintain and spread among them knowledge of their affiliation with another, likewise oppressed people. In the village of Pulj, close to the border between the Olcha and the Gilyak territories on the Amur, I met a Chinese trader who took great pains to explain to me the difference between his fellow-countrymen, the peaceful and industrious "Nicha" and the imperious and lazy Manchu. At the time we were surrounded by Samagir, Olcha, and Gilyak. In this manner the Chinese themselves may have in large part spread their Manchurian name among the Amur peoples.

H.M. [186]

H.M. 101

Even though the name "Nikan" is so general for the Chinese among the peoples mentioned, in a large section of the Amur region, especially in the Sungari and Ussuri areas and along the adjoining seacoast, they are designated with still another name, "Man-dse" (Russian "Mansa" or "Mandsa," plur. "Mandsy") -- a name which they now also use for themselves there when dealing with foreigners (3). One likewise encounters this name in Chabarof's

H.M. 175 101 361 702

3. Przheval'skii, Puteshestvie v" Usuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 78; Barabash", "Sungar. eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 324). These Chinese colonists of Manchuria are said to call themselves "Pao-tui-tse" or "Pao-tui-rrdi," i.e., walker or roamer, but this designation does not have any derogatory meaning attached to it. From this the official word "Pao-fu" was made, which has the same meaning. Cf. Palladij ("Usur. Man'tszy." -- Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 369); also Barabasch, loc. cit.

report, for in the statement of the above-mentioned captured Chinese, Kabyscheika, there is mention of the big "Mansa Village"

101 /190 cont./
[175 (Manzanskoi ulus") with about a thousand yurts, from which the
361 Manchurian army moving against Atschanskoi gorod obtained an
702] additional 420 men (4). Just as the former name, /191/ Nikan is

4. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 367.

said to be Manchurian, so is this latter said to be of Mongolian
101 origin. According to Davis (1) Wassiljef (2), the Mongols, when
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1. La Chine, ou descr. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes du gouv. etc. de l'Empire Chinois. Translated from the English by Pichard, rev. and augm. by an appendix by Bazin the Older. Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 180.

they ruled over China, took it from the designation "Man" or "Man-tse," which the Chinese gave to a people living south of them, the "southern barbarians." The former, however, knew of its use only in South China. The latter, on the other hand, knew of it in its extension to the Chinese of Manchuria, for he makes that reference to the Man in his Russian translation of the description of Ninguta written by the Chinese U-tschen at the beginning of the last century, in which there is also mention of the Man-dse (3). An

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3. And, to be sure, it is said there (Wassiljef, loc. cit.) that the harsh climate of Ninguta had gradually become warmer with the increasing number of Chinese, which prompted the Manchu to say that the Man-dse had brought the warmth. It is in fact not inconceivable

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2: Schrenck--405/(1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria A62

/191 cont./

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3. (cont.)
that the cultivation of the soil by the Chinese has exerted a favorable influence upon the local climatic conditions of Ninguta.

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An anonymous Peking correspondent of the Russian Geographical Society (4) and the archimandrite Palladij (5) expressed themselves

4. P. K., "O Man'tszakh" i Koreitsakh" /Concerning Man-tse and Koreans/" (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VI, 1870, Sec. II, pp. 19, 20).

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5. "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch." (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 422); the same, "Usuriisk. Man'tszy" (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 369).

almost simultaneously and very much in agreement about how that Chinese designation for the southern barbarians could have been transferred by the Mongols to the Chinese on their extreme northern boundary in the Sungari and Ussuri regions and become current there. According to them, after the conquest of North China, the Mongols derisively gave this name to the southern Chinese as crossbreeds with the barbarian aborigines, the Man. It was then carried by the colonies of southern Chinese which Kublai Khan sent to Manchuria and along the borders of Korea, in part for protection against possible invasions in his realm and in part to pursue agriculture and gold-washing, into the Sungari and Ussuri regions, where it was eventually extended to all Chinese immigrants (6). Supplementing these statements of the Russian

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6. Palladij and the above-mentioned anonymous author thus contradict Przewalski's statement that "Man-dsa" means "vagabond."

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6. (cont.)
The latter presumably expressed this view in a preliminary travel report, for in the travel book itself (Putesh. v" Usuriisk. kraie, 1870, p. 78) he says expressly that he has often questioned the Chinese about the meaning of that name, but never received a satisfactory answer; it was usually said that this was the proper name for the Chinese. On the other hand, I know of a statement of this kind by Budischtschef, who insists that he was told by a French missionary who had spent a long time in China and who was on the Amur in 1862 that the word "Mandsa" meant "vagabond" (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests in Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, 1867, p. 182). Perhaps at the basis of this there is a confusion with the aforementioned Chinese designation which the Man-dse apply to themselves and which is said to have a similar meaning (see above, 403, note 3).

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101 Supplementing these statements of the Russian
174 Sinologists, Marthe (7) adds that actually one can hardly go wrong

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7. Zeitschr. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. VI, p. 452.

if he recognizes in the Man-dse discussed by them the "Mangi" or "Manzi" of Marco Polo (8), the "Manse" of the Rubruquis,

8. Wassiljef (loc. cit.) has already pointed this out.

and the "Mangia" (Mansen Land) of Plano Carpini.

Historical Manchuria AG2
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3

H.M. 101 174 /192/ At the same time, however, he also calls attention to the fact that if in the place in the Rubruquis at which the Taule and Manse peoples are mentioned (1) "Taule" is taken to stand

H.M. [113]

1. Marthe, "Taule et Manse" (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdk. 475 ff). The passage concerned in the Rubruquis runs: " "Magister W. told me that he himself had seen messengers of certain peoples who call themselves Taule and Manse, who live on islands where the sea around freezes in winter so that then the Tatars are able to cross over to them" /translated from the Latin/.

for "Caule," that is, Kaoli, meaning Korea, it follows that the Man-dse were found in or near Korea even before Kublai Khan's colonies, to which the Russian sources want to trace back the introduction of this name in the Ussuri region. Along with Marthe, however, we shall naturally leave the final solution of this question to the historians and Sinologists.

F.J. 101 121 It remains for us to discuss the names customary among the Amur peoples for the third of the East Asiatic civilized peoples with whom they come in contact, the Japanese. As is well known, Steller (2) reports that the Kamchadal or Italmen call

K F.J. 101 439 K 192 [113]

2. Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, pp. 3, 249, 320.

the Japanese "Sūhsaman" or "Sūhsemen," and they do this, as is expressly noted by him, because the Japanese brought them the first iron needles, whereas up to this time they had made them for themselves out of sable bones; in the Italmen, and in all dialects, the needle is called sūhse. Krascheninnikof (3)

K [113]

3. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description

2: Schrenck--408 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan A82
Kamchadal RY3.
Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

K
FJ. 101 439 K 192 [113]

/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischj," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa" (5).[2]

K SJ. FJ. 101 114 174 G Gi [101]

G 175 113 101 FJ 101 648 175

4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a vessel in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den äuss. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorf himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

[2 [Footnote "(5)" appears on p. 409--Analyst]

000 /192 cont./

"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S. 175 101 174 439 F.J. 101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

S.S. [113]

K SS FJ 101 114 174 177 A 101 A [133] A F.J. 101 175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1),

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

2: Schrenck--410 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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/133 cont./

1. (cont.) Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

It is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

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2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

A
FJ.
[113]

4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Krascheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

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5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

2: Schrenck--411 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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FJ.
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/193 cont./ with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

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6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) above-mentioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it (8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

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1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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/194 cont./

1. (cont.) Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

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2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

S.S.
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In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

/194 cont./

101 period of time, the Gilyak, Olcha, Orochi, Goldi, and Samagir. Radde heard the same name among the Birar (3). And the situa-

[113] 3. Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ostsibir." (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXIII, p. 591, note.

tion is the same for the other peoples of the Amur region. It is,
101 however, the same designation which, with minor modifications,
195 the Chinese and, on the other hand, all the Siberian peoples have for the Russians. For example, they are called "Olossen" in the "Description of Chinese Travels from Peking through Sibiria" of 1712, which was translated into the French by Gaubil and from this, in an abstract, into the German by Müller (4).

[113] 4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 331, 341.

In the Chinese description of Russia translated by Klaproth (5),

[113] 5. Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, pp. 85, 88-95. See further similar statements in Klaproth, op. cit., p. 29; Plath, Die Völker der Mandsh., p. 608; and others.

they are also sometimes called "Oloszu" and sometimes "Lo scha" (French "Lo cha"). The Chinese U-tschen, born and raised in Ninguta and mentioned above several times, designated the Russians who invaded the Amur region in his time as "people
000 from the Lo-tschi Empire" (6). Finally, whenever I myself met

6. In U-tschen one recognizes the true Chinese when he says that at the time when he was a child the people from the Lo-tschi Empire rebelled, came to the

/194 cont./

101 175 [113]

6. (cont.)
U-lun-kiang (Amur), and stole sable furs from the inhabitants of the Cheidsin region. It is said in this connection that their weapons were very terrifying (Vasil'ev", "Zap. o Ningutie." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 82, 83).

101 113 Finally, whenever I myself met Chinese or Manchu in the Amur region, I always heard them call the Russians "Lotscha." As for the Siberian peoples, similar designations for the Russians ("Lotscha, Lota, /195/ Ljuotscha, Lutscha, Lutsa, Lutschae, Lutze, Lutschi," and the like) are very common among them: for example, among the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk (1), in Dauria (2), along the Yenisei

1. Klaproth, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, p. 458.

2. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 238.

down to Turukhansk (3), among the Yakut (4), among the

3. Pallas, op. cit., p. 67, note *; Kostrov", "Ocherk" Turukh. kraie" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book IV, 1857, p. 99).

4. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm, 1730, p. 63.

Samoyed in both the Taimyr region (5) and the north of the

5. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. und Ost. Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 1442.

2: Schrenck--415 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

/195 cont./

101 [113] European Russia (6), etc. As one might think, there is lack of

6. Schlözer, Allgemeine Nord. Gesch., Halle, 1771, p. 293; Alex. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russl., Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 615.

various, and among them the most fantastic, explanations of these designations for the Russians (7). And yet they were easily

101 114 174

7. Strahlenberg, for instance, thought that the Russians were called "Lutschae" or "Ludzae" by the Yakut because they said to them, "my lutschae kak wy (we are better than you). Schlözer (loc. cit., note D) says that "lutze" means "human being" among the Samoyed (which is not the case, according to my brother Alexander) and "devil" among the Yenisei Ostyak, and asks the question as to whether the savage Samoyed perhaps pictured for the Russians a human being κατ' ἐξοχ and the frightened Ostyak pictured for this very people that subjugated him the devil? On the other hand, Pallas (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 67, note *) was of the opinion that the name "Luze," which the Samoyed use for the Russians and out of which the Tungus made "Lutscha," actually meant a warrior in the Samoyed derivation, since in Samoyed "luze niusime" meant "angry." In Scherer's Nordischen Nebenstunden /Leisure Hours in the North/ (Part I, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1776, pp. 57-68) there is a special article, "Warum nennen die Jakuten die Russen Lutze oder Lucze? /Why do the Yakut call the Russians Lutze or Lucze?/" in

/195 cont./

7. (cont.)

101 114 174 which Strahlenberg's above-mentioned explanation is refuted and proof is offered that the Samoyed borrowed the word "lutze" for "devil" from the Yenisei Ostyak and brought it to the Yakut on the Lena. The author finds a great similarity between this word and the Russian "laeschij" (lieshii) for "forest devil," and therefore believes that the peoples mentioned could have formed their word "lutze" from it, which, however, would make untenable the explanation of their designation of the Russians with it. He therefore seeks another origin for the latter, and, to be sure, in the Hebrew..., etc. etc.

101 recognizable as merely distortions of the Russian "Rossija" and "Russkij," as has in fact already been pointed out by Müller (8)

8. Müller, Sammlung Russisch. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 331, note *.

with regard to the Chinese designation for the Russians and later by my brother Alexander in discussing the Samoyed designation for them (9). The fact that the same designation, as was set

[194] [197] 9. Among the Chinese in particular, who do not have any r, such distortions were unavoidable. The Manchu and the Amur peoples, especially those of the Tungusic tribes, Goldi, Olcha, have the r, to be sure, but frequently replace it with l. The situation may be similar for the Tungus and other peoples of Siberia.

forth above, is so generally widespread throughout Siberia to China and is to be found among even the most remote Amur

2: Schrenck--417 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

/195 cont./

101 peoples puts the correctness of this view beyond all doubt.

174 In looking back over everything that has been discussed above, it cannot be denied that our knowledge of the origin, the migrations, and the shifts of the Amur peoples, insofar as it is based on historical accounts, on traces that /196/ have been preserved in their names, and the like, is extremely meager. Only in the west and the south of our territory, where the contacts of the Amur peoples with the Russians or with the ancient civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese, were more persistent or dated back further, could more definite conclusions be drawn. But even there, as a rule, they remain [121] limited to relatively recent times. In the following we shall add to them some supplements going further back, but nevertheless only hypothetical in character, as they appear from a consideration of the respective tribal differences or affiliations of the Amur peoples.

000/197/ II. Anthropological-Ethnological Part

Section 3

/This part, which contains Section 3, pp. 197-310, is omitted in the translation. The nine plates immediately following this page conclude No. 1 of Vol. III.

No. 2 of Vol. III gives the "Table of Contents" for the first half of Part III on pp. I-XIX before resuming the text with Section 4 on p. 311./

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2

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p. 421	p. 422	p. 423

Chart of Positions of Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region.
/facing p. 418/

2: Schrenck--418 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region I

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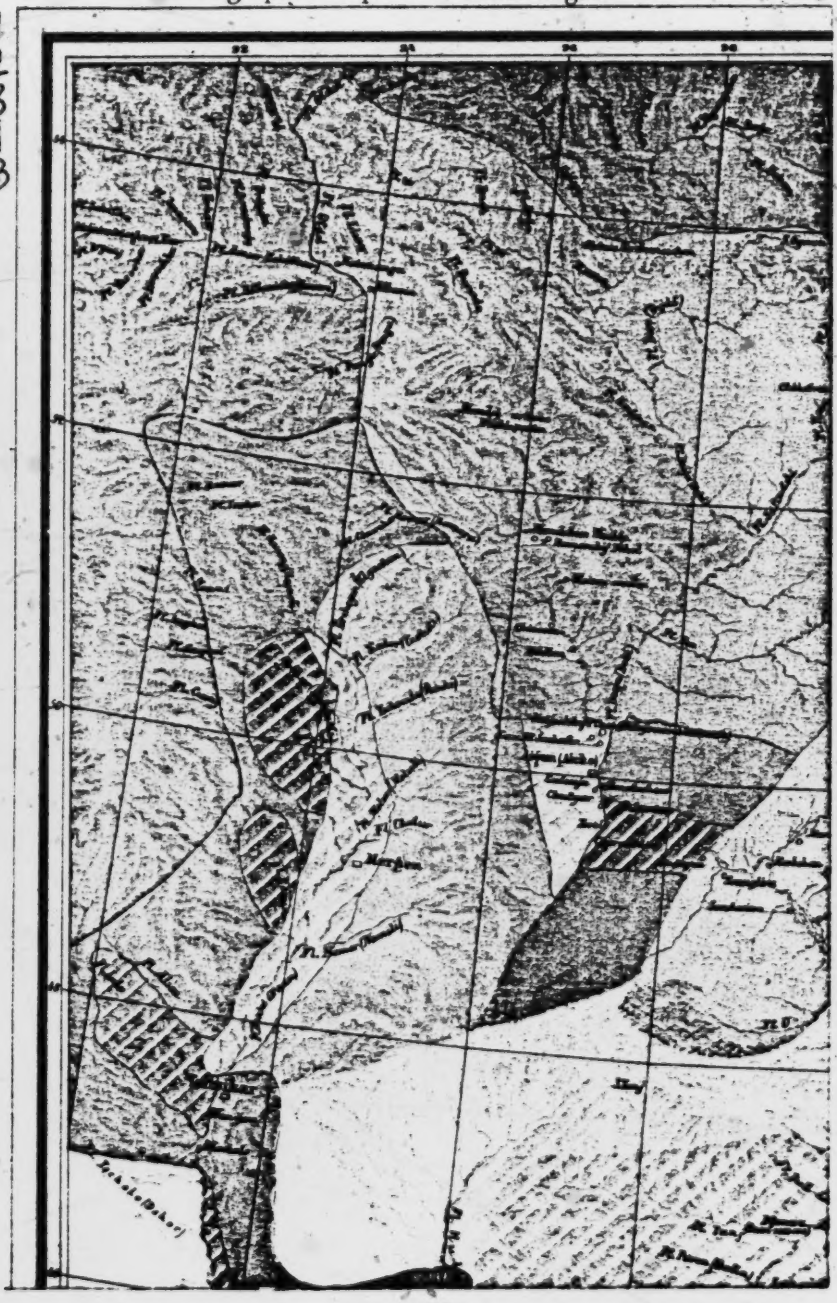

2: Schrenck--419 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2:Schrenck--420 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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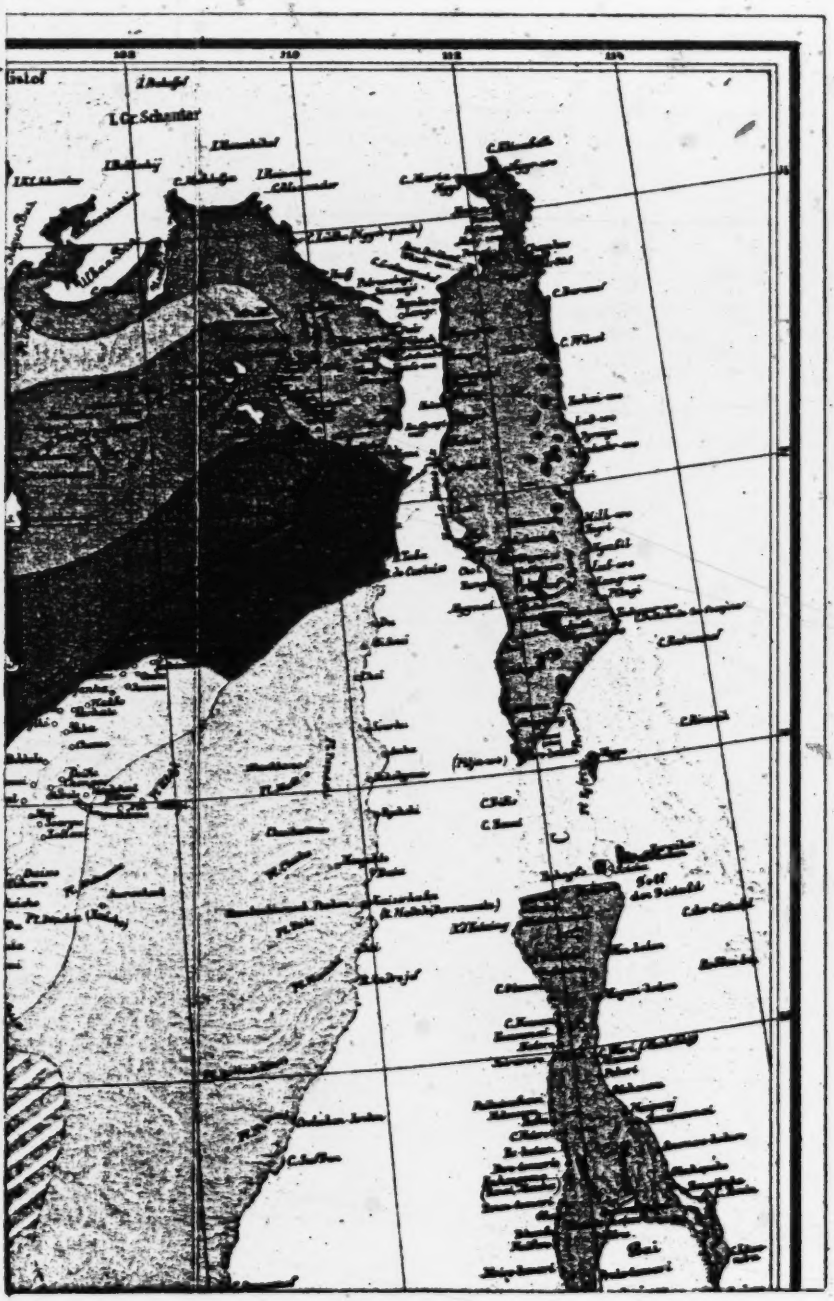

2:Schrenck--421 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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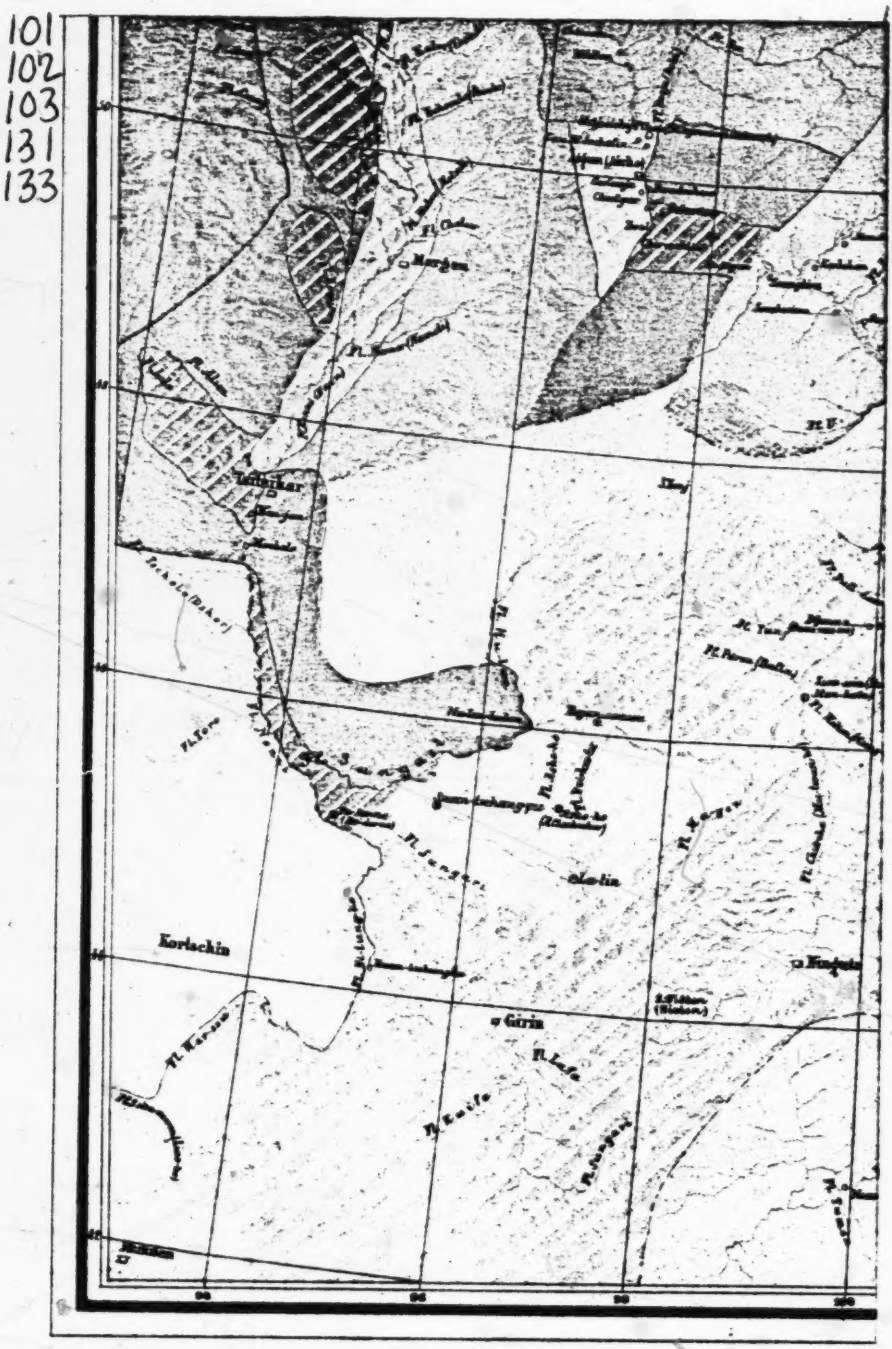

2.Schrenck--422 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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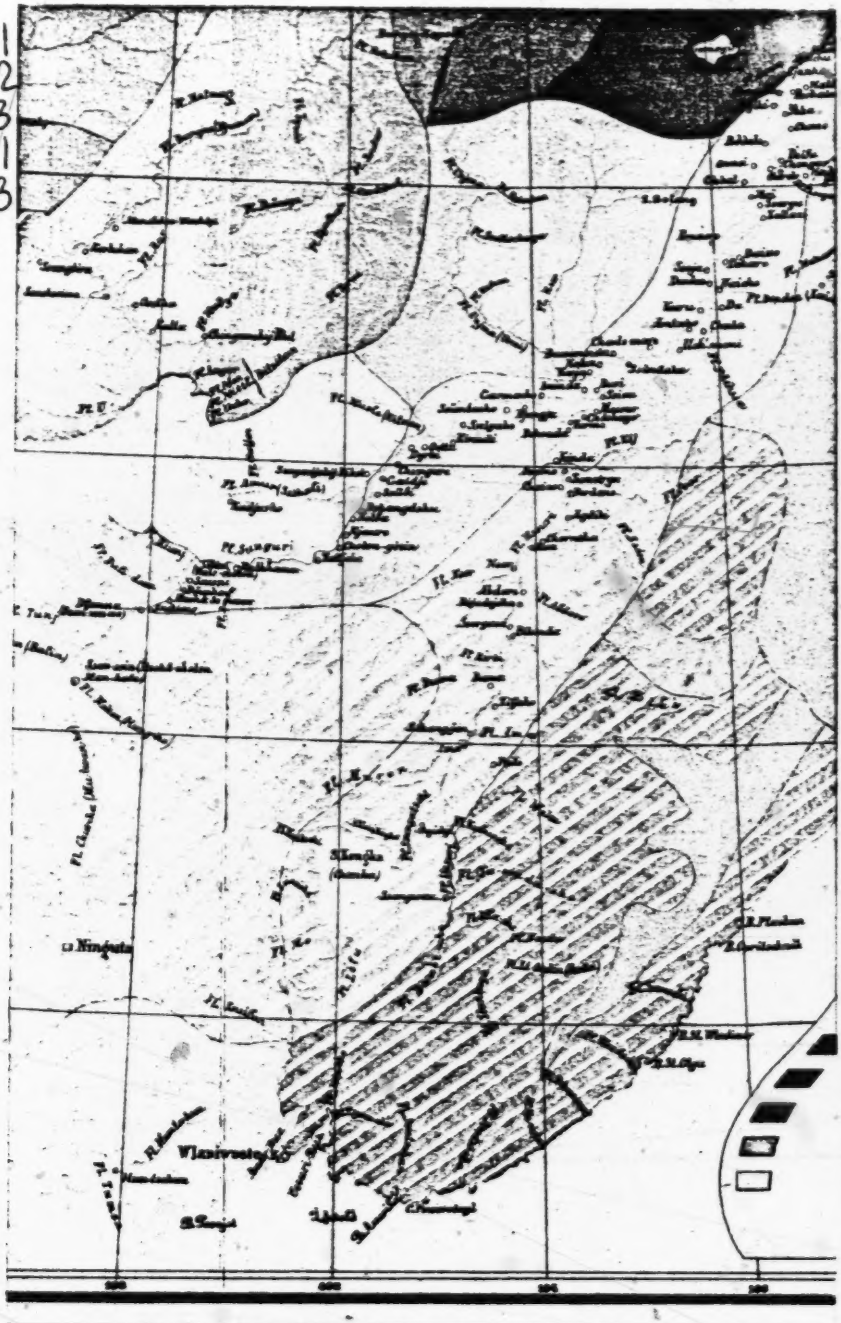

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2:Schrenck--423 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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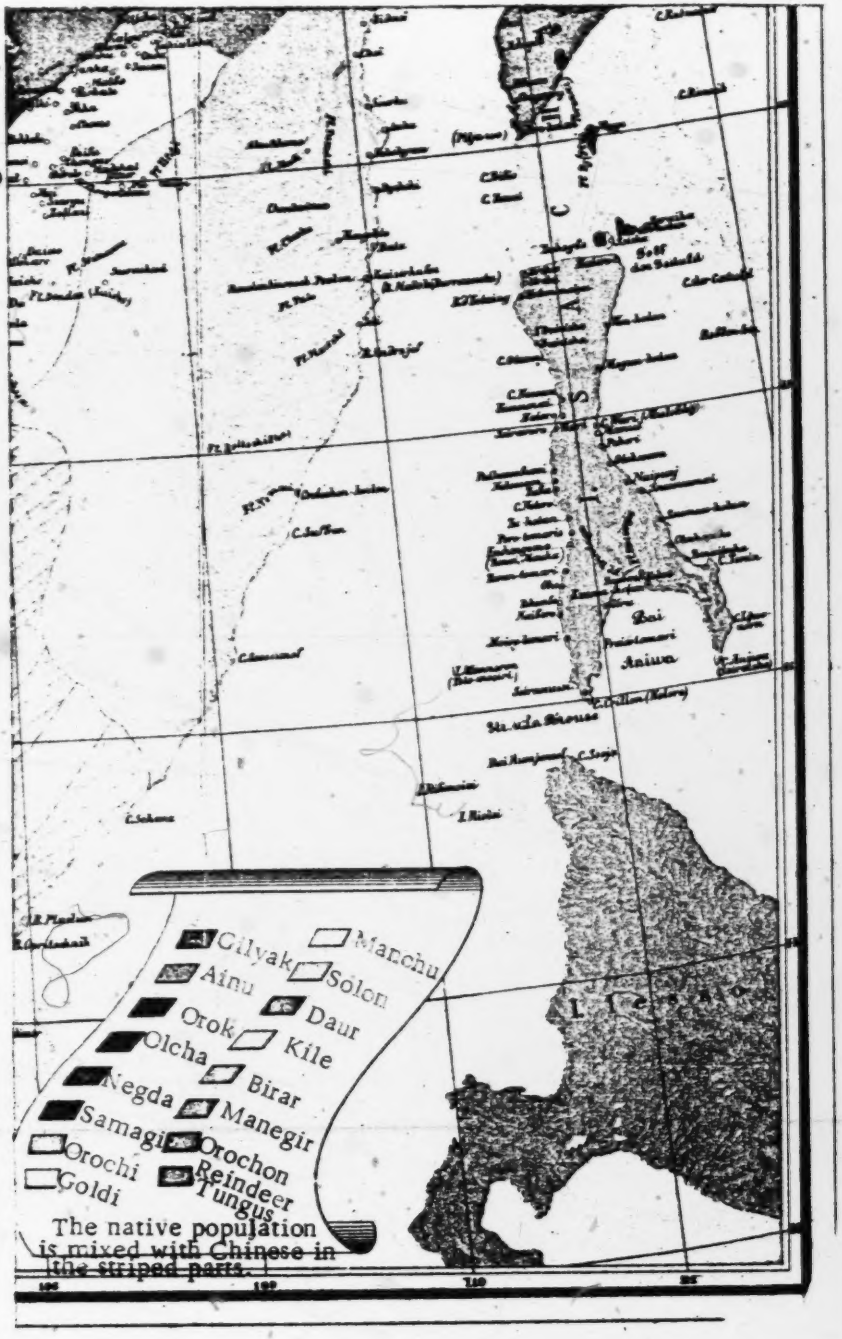

2: Schrenck--424 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak Men

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III.

1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Girls; 5, 6, 7 -- Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

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Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

2: Schrenck--427 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5
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Manegir
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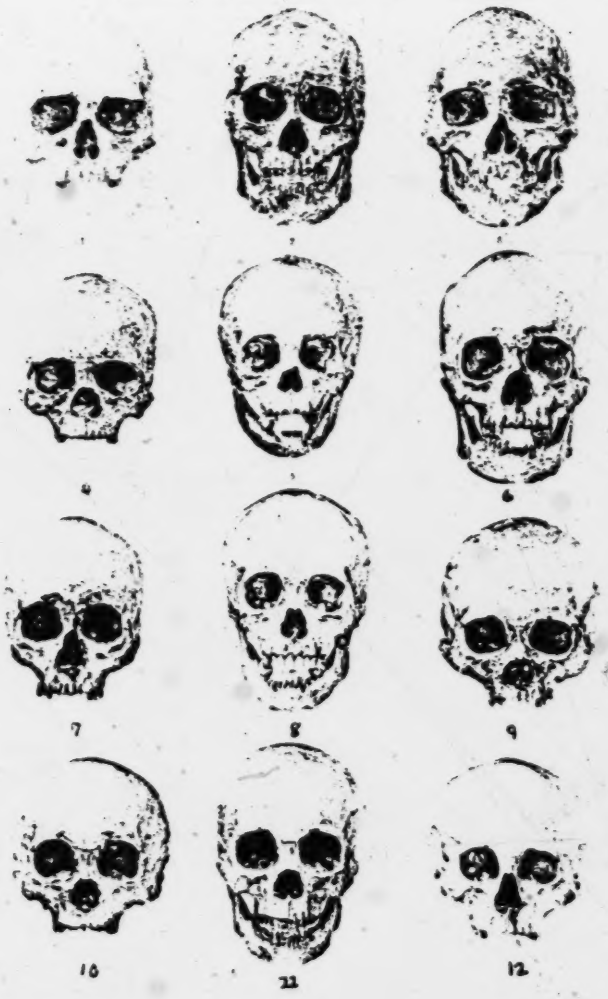

^ [Captions for plates V–IX appear in category 116, pp. XV–XVi -- Analyst]

2:Schrenck--428 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir
Orochon

G
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G
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[Captions for plates V–IX appear in category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

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1/A [Captions for plates V-IX appear in category 116, pp. XV-XVI. --Analyst]

VI.

G 142

G. G. 142

T 142

[Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. --Analyst]

2: Schrenck--431 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir
Orochon

IX. 1 ^

G
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G.
Gi
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T
142

1 ^ [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi, -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--431a E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/1/

Vol. III, No. 2

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000

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Section 4

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/I cont./

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2: Schrenck--431jj E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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III. Ethnographic Part

First Half: Fundamental Conditions and Components of the External Life

Section 4

Slight and uneven density of the indigenous population of the Amur region. Consequences of the devastations of past wars and more recent epidemic diseases. -- Choice and change of dwelling places according to the season of the year. Winter and summer dwellings. Hunting and overnight tents. Storehouses and depositories.

SS. 114 128 Before I begin the description of the life and activities of the Amur peoples, I must first say a few words concerning the treatment of the material. Since here it is a matter of my own observations and experiences and my knowledge of the individual Amur peoples, as has already been pointed out in the introduction, is very uneven, the parallel consideration of all the Amur peoples beside one another strictly carried out up to here in the first two parts of this work will have to be curtailed, inasmuch as many of them with whom I had only all too fleeting a contact will have to be excluded from special consideration and mentioned only incidentally and comparatively. This will be especially true A [114] of the Ainu, whose life and activities in recent times, since Japan has become generally accessible to the Europeans, have been described very exhaustively, whereas I became acquainted with them only in passing on Sakhalin. This is likewise the case for the Sungari and the upper Amur peoples, of whom I saw only a few individuals, and for many of the dwellers along the left S.S. 128 tributaries of the lower Amur River. In the following pages, therefore, attention will be concentrated more and more upon the peoples of the lower Amur region and, among them, on the Gilyak in particular.

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161 Although the areas of distribution of the individual Amur
182 peoples appear large on our map, the total number of the
132 respective indigenous inhabitants is in all cases a small one, and /312/ the population everywhere is more or less sparse. This is the case in the Amur region, as in other places, for, as is well known, primitive peoples are never numerous. The chief reason for this is usually sought in the natural conditions surrounding them, which are unfavorable in one way or another (1). In

1. Cf., for instance, G. Gerland, Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker /On the Dying Out of Primitive Peoples/, Leipzig, 1868, p. 82.

places where, as in the Amur region, a raw, northern climate with long, harsh winters prevails, man obviously needs many a cultural aid in order to be able to withstand its inclemency successfully. I would like to note, howevever, that in the first place it is not the lack of these external aids, but rather certain peculiarities of character, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, and views decisive for the formation of their life which cripple them in their battle with nature and, despite man's ability to adapt to any climate, enter in to check a rapid population increase.

185 Such characteristics of primitive peoples are the carelessness
251 and indolence which prevent the man from thinking beyond the
226 immediate future in procuring the necessities of life for himself and his family and hence, when Nature temporarily denies him her gifts, contrary to expectation, surrenders to hunger and misery, or even to death. The peoples of the lower Amur region living principally from fishing, in particular the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, have this failing to a lesser degree, and yet, despite the colossal wealth of fish at times in the Amur River and its tributaries or in the Tymy /Tym'/ River on Sakhalin, I have sometimes found members of these peoples with very inadequate supplies. In this respect it is worse for the peoples whose subsistence [224] is based primarily on hunting for this, on the one hand, involves

185 251 226 225 /312 cont./ material provided by Nature in lesser quantities and less regularly at definite times and, on the other hand, requires an unsettled, nomadic way of life for the people, unfavorable for the storing and collecting of supplies. Among the Amur peoples I am in this respect thinking chiefly of the Orochi of the coastal area and the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon.

161 562 I must ascribe an even greater, because of going deeper, influence on the low number of persons and slow increase among primitive peoples to the disrespect and mistreatment of the female sex, which is so general among them. If, in general, the level of culture of a people is characterized by the position granted to the woman in it, it should not be surprising that all crude peoples to a certain extent regard the woman as an inferior kind of being, because she is physically weaker than the man, and treat her accordingly. As a result of superstitious beliefs, which, among the Gilyak, as among all primitive peoples, are chiefly connected with the birth and death of man, the woman is mercilessly turned out of the house among them, despite wind and weather, at the time when she is most in need of consideration and care, during delivery and the days following it. Whereas the man spends most of his /313/ life doing nothing, all the work, even the most difficult, of managing the household and everthing connected with it falls on the woman. As the result of such a burden, often exceeding their strength, the women among the Amur peoples usually have a dejected and wretched appearance, age prematurely, and probably also lose their fertility prematurely. It is certainly inconceivable that such disrespect and mistreatment of the women would not have the greatest and most disadvantageous influence on the number and vigor of the progeniture, and, without wishing to deny the importance of the natural environment, I believe that the chief reason for the low number of individuals and the slow increase among primitive peoples is to be sought in these conditions.

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161 In connection with the above observations I was thinking
179 only of such peoples who are still living in their natural conditions, without lasting contract or conflict with a civilized people. When such a conflict occurs, however, the original population-conditions rapidly change also. Then there begins that
[931] process of the decay and dissolution of a primitive people, which in its individual phases, such as impoverishment, decrease in number of persons, physical and moral decay, loss of all individuality, and finally even the dying out of the language, and hence also of the people, has already been discussed above (1) -- a

1. See above p. 2, and p. 203 /untranslated/.

process which is often speeded up by wars, but always by disastrous epidemic diseases. As I have said (2), the Amur peoples have

2. See p. 5 ff. above.

entered upon such process at the present time. This was not yet the case, however, at the time of my stay in the Amur region.
179 To be sure, there had long before been contacts and conflicts between them and the civilized peoples surrounding them, the Russians, Chinese, and Japanese, and there were still some, but in part these contacts were of a different, more peaceful nature, and in part, if they bore a destructive nature, they had been going on for only a short time and did not affect all the Amur peoples to the same degree. Hence their influence on the strength of the native population of the Amur region has been very uneven in the various parts of it.

175 The raiding expeditions of the Russian Cossacks and free-
648 booters in the seventeenth century simply passed over the lower Amur region like a bloody meteor, and they did not touch the island of Sakhalin at all. To be sure, the population in individual places, Goldi (Natken), Olcha (Atschanen), and Gilyak, may have been reduced considerably by them, but the complete absence of the disturbers of the peace in the following period certainly gave them an opportunity for a speedy recovery from the
000 blows suffered. It is at the least not known and in any case is

SS. 175 175 648 731 [177] /313 cont./ It is at the least not known and in any case is unlikely that this first contact of the lower-Amur peoples with Europeans -- if one can call these freebooters who broke in from Siberia by this name -- brought them any devastating disease -- the conflict seems to have had too acute a character for that. Not until two-hundred years later, after the second, definitive occupation /314/ of the Amur region by the Russians did epidemic Gi 175 648 731 Gi [439] diseases break out among the lower-Amur peoples. Late in the fall of 1856, after my departure from the Amur region, a disastrous typhoid epidemic occurred among the Goldi. It was brought to them by the Russian troops returning from Kidsi to Transbaikalia. In Kourmi, where they had rested for a few days the disease, transmitted to the Goldi through the barter of the clothing and effects of soldiers dead from typhus, raged especially in the vicinity of the mouth of the Gorin, but also spread 000 Gi SS. [113] far upstream to the mouth of the Sungari (1). Soon afterward

1. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur River, Completed in 1856-57/," (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, St. Petersburg, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 165, 167). Also on the basis of written reports which I received from Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk.

SS 175 648 731 Soon afterward the entire lower Amur region was ravaged by a severe smallpox epidemic. This, to be sure, was not imported by the Russians, but came from the south, from Manchuria (2), and took its

Gi. H.M. 175 731 113

2. Thanks to the Chinese, smallpox has been endemic in Manchuria for a long time. The missionary De la Brunière enumerates it among the diseases which arise, according to him, "through the heat which the fish diet gives the blood," in summer among the "Jupi-tatse"

2: Schrenck--437 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Historical Manchuria AG2
Goldi RX3

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H.M. /314 cont./
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2. (cont.)
(Goldi) on the Ussuri. Smallpox is said to cause heavy devastation there at times, even attacking old people 70-80 years of age and recurring among some persons four and five times (De la Brunière, "Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1845." -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 113).

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course in the opposite direction, from the Sungari down the Amur, but found extremely fertile soil in the lower river area and on Sakhalin, where the natives in many instances had already emerged from their natural condition as a result of the Russian colonization. Toward the end of December 1856, the epidemic, proceeding down the Sungari, was at its mouth (3). In June,

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3. Just at the time when the merchant Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/, traveling up the Amur, passed this place.

1857, following the lower Amur, it reached Kidsi, in July Uchtr, in September Nikolayevsk, and during the winter months of 1857/58 it raged at the Amur mouth, along the Liman, on the Sea of Okhotsk to beyond Kulj, and on Sakhalin. According to the description, which I owe to Dr. Pfeiffer, an eyewitness of these events, the disease throughout bore the character of a devastating epidemic appearing on new ground. Whereas individual Gilyak villages, such as Tebach and Allof, remained completely untouched in a curious fashion, others, such as Kulj and Langr, lost half of their inhabitants, and many yurts died out completely. The number of victims was all the larger, because the sick, still completely unfamiliar with their uncanny visitor, often sought cooling, half-naked, in the snow and wind, in order to escape the heat of the fever. Dr. Pfeiffer thinks, on the basis of the statistics collected by him, that this epidemic killed about 20 per cent of the Gilyak population. A few years later, in the

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/314 cont./ A few years later, in the spring of 1863, measles broke out among the Goldi, but, according to Dr. Pfeiffer's account, this did not have a virulent course and occurred only among children. On the other hand, the smallpox epidemics which raged in 1877 and 1881 on the Ussuri and its tributaries, on the Biki, Ima, etc. are said to have been very devastating, in that, according to the information collected on the spot by Lieutenant Colonel Nadarof, the number of the Goldi and /315/ Orochi population in the northern Ussuri region was reduced to approximately 1/3 to 1/4 of its former size (1).

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1. Nadarov", "Severno-Ussuriiskii krai /Northern Ussuri Krai/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp. 25, 29, 73). In this article, which, ethnographically speaking, contains much valuable information concerning the Man-dse, Goldi, and Orochi of the Ussuri region, Mr. Nadarof always uses the name "Orotschonen" /Orochon/ for the latter, though, as he himself remarks, they are called "Orotschen" /Orochi/ by all our authors, and gives as the reason for his procedure the fact that the Orochi call themselves "Orotschonen" and furthermore some Chinese, all the Goldi, and, finally, all the Ussuri Cossacks designate them with this name. I can easily believe the latter, since the name "Orotschen" sounds too much like the name "Orotschonen," familiar to the Cossacks from the Schilka and the Argunj, to be distinguished by them; the first statements, however, are completely erroneous, as one can see from my detailed discussion of this matter (see above, pp. 291-296). Only in front of the Cossacks or other Russians, and only to be understood by them, might some Orochi call themselves "Orochon"

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S.S. Gi 101 114

1. (cont.)
at present and also be called such by Chinese and Goldi. But whether a change understandable and explicable in the mouth of a Cossack is justification for throwing together under one name two such different peoples or branches as the Orochi of the Ussuri and the seacoast and the Orochon of the upper Amur and its tributaries, as Mr. Nadarof does, I need not discuss further.

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But let us return from these later events mentioned in passing to the first conflict of the Amur peoples with the Russians. The Russian invasion during the seventeenth century had much greater and much more far-reaching consequences for the populations of the upper Amur region than in the lower Amur region. Above, in Section 2 of this work (2), it has already been described how

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2. See p. 366 ff.

greatly the Daur population along the upper Amur, at that time still numerous, suffered under the Russian invasion, how they had to make bloody sacrifices to the enemy, superior to them in bravery and arms, indeed, how they almost certainly faced soon bleeding to death. It was not much better for the Gogul and for the Djutscheren already settled in the lower Amur region from the mouth of the Sungari downward, until the Chinese government, in order to put an end to the Russian raiding expeditions, transferred all these peoples from the Amur to the Nonni and Churcha (3).

SS 175 648 167

3. See above, pp. 320, 333.

In their place nomadic hunting tribes, such as the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, now moved down to the Amur in sparse numbers (4),

4. See above, pp. 373 ff.

/315 cont./

and when in later times some Daur moved there again, it happened only to a very limited extent and they were not allowed to settle again in the district formerly taken from them above the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/ (5). Thus, as a consequence of

5. See above, p. 369 ff.

these military expeditions, the population situation on the Amur River has to a certain extent been reversed: whereas formerly the upper Amur region was the more heavily populated part and had a rather numerous, sedentary, agricultural population which extended from there without interruption to beyond the mouths of the Sungari and Ussuri and left space for a few scattered fishing peoples only along the lowermost course of the river, later this ichthyophagous lower Amur region represented the liveliest section of the whole, but upstream the landscape became more and more desolate and along the upper river one met, apart from the single /316/ Manchu-Chinese culture area, which, however, only arose some time after that invasion, only unstable hunting peoples temporarily roaming along the river.

The strength of the indigenous population in various parts of the Amur region must have been affected in similar fashion, though not nearly as rapidly and obviously, by their contact with the Manchu and the Chinese. To be sure, the Amur peoples were not overrun by them with war, but they had to endure their constant pressure, often harsh tribute-collections, and the even more oppressive illegal extortions and deprivations of all kinds. The Manchu official, who in the guardpost or on the circuit provided for, not only the tribute coffers, but his own pockets with the best pieces, and the Chinese merchant, who knew how to cause his indigenous customers to lose all of their possessions in apparently legal ways -- neither of them promoted the material and moral well-being of the Amur peoples. But what along with that must have had consequences for the latter even worse than the actual material loss, the eventual loss in their hunting booty, precious furs, etc., was the inevitable awareness of the insecurity

S.S. /316 cont./
174 of their possessions, of the danger of losing them at any time --
179 an awareness that had a paralyzing effect upon the joy of acquisi-
648 tion and could only increase the innate laziness and indolence. If one adds to the impoverishment and dejection the many wrongs to their family life committed by the foreigners, the many kinds of sickness and vice brought by them, then one must grant that these evils, working like a slow poison continually over a long period of time, must have considerably reduced the numerical growth of these peoples. The more the latter were exposed, or still are, to Manchu-Chinese influence, the less one can expect to find among them a relatively numerous, dense, prosperous, and vigorous population. Suffering under this the most, of course, must have been those peoples whose territories lie closest to the main seats of the Manchu and Chinese, to the Sungari, to the upper Ussuri region, and to their culture area along the upper Amur, that is, all the peoples of the upper Amur region, such as the Goldi and the Ta-dse, or southern Orochi, whereas those living farther away were better off, such as the Olcha and Negda, whose territory remained untouched by the Manchu, and even more the Gilyak, who denied entry into their territory not only to the Manchu officials, but also to the Chinese merchants.

S.S. 648 162 Thus, the two facts discussed above, the acute conflict of the Amur peoples with the Russians in the seventeenth century and the chronic one, in part still going on, with the Manchu and Chinese, explain the phenomenon, surprising at first glance, that the lowermost part of the Amur region, in spite of its harsher and more unfavorable climate, nevertheless has most of the indigenous population, but upstream and to the south, where the climate is milder, the vegetation more varied and richer, and the wealth of fish smaller, to be sure, but the wealth of game is in part even larger, the population is nevertheless sparser and the country more and more desolate. The Gilyak seem to me to be relatively the most numerous and the densest, though still sparse, /317/ especially along the Amur River, while along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk they are more greatly scattered. Next come the Olcha,

S.S. 162 G [131] [162]

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
SS 162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A 648 and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
167 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
131 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
161 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
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000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

SS 162 /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak population on the island in former times is indicated, among G 174 other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two 161 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, 361 the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G SS [113] 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

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SS 162 [132] Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS 161 114 /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks concerning the more or less large population of the various parts of the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find statements concerning the total number of individuals for particular SS [175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS 161 114 195 /318 cont./ recorded in the older Chinese population-tables, which in any case, in view of the ignorance about the individual peoples at that time, could only be very general and vague, are of little value is obvious (1). Possible statements by European travelers

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1. Iakinf, following the Chinese population-tables of 1812, gives the number of Tungus of the lower Amur region, east and northeast from the Ussuri down to the mouth of the Amur, and therefore the Gilyak among them, as 2398 families (Iakinf', Kitai /China/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 19; the same, Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 30).

who visited the country at the time of its occupation by the Russians or shortly afterwards, before the conditions of the native population were sharply shifted or changed by the Russian colonization, might be more valuable. There are a few statements of this kind. Thus, Collins, who in 1857 navigated the entire Amur downstream, estimated the number of natives of the various nationalities in the immediate vicinity of the river bank as follows (2):

SS [113]

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1859, p. 25. From the report which Perry McD. Collins sent to the government of the United States (35th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 98. Explor. of Amoor River. Letter from the Secret. of State, in answer to a resolution of the House, calling for inform. relat. to the explorat. of Amoor River, April 7, 1858).

SS /318 cont./

161 Gilyak . . . . . in 39 villages (26 on the right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls

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114 Manguntsen (Olcha) . . . . . in 40 villages (36 on the right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)

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361 Goldi . . . . . in 114 villages (77 on the right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls

Nomadic and dispersed tribes . . . . . 2000 souls

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3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

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161 In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja

000 /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

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4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on The basis of notes taken

161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

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5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

000 Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

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6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

A 161 114 113 /318 cont./

6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

SS 161 114 162 These statements referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious. Gi [101] They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

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1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

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2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

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161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

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3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

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count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

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A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

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361 every respect and meets the requirements in winter and in summer, one always sees inhabited villages, even though the houses are different materials and construction depending on the season of the year. If, however, it offers considerable advantages in only one season and great disadvantages in the other one, the summer and the winter houses are erected at different places, and then there is a summer village and a winter village, and, accordingly, a change of location takes place twice a year. Often the affiliated summer and winter villages, or single houses, lie not very far apart; along the seacoast, for example, on the mainland as well as on Sakhalin, I have seen the summer dwellings as a rule close to the shore, but the winter dwellings lie somewhat inland, where mountain and forest offer more protection against the frequent snowstorms and where the necessary firewood is procured more easily. Sometimes, however, there is a considerable distance between the corresponding summer and winter villages. Along the Amur, for instance, it may happen that one lies on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank. Mäo, for instance, located on the right bank, is nothing but the summer village of Kuĭk (or Kuëgda, as the Russians call it), which is on the left bank, or the latter is the winter village of the former. In summer all the inhabitants of Kuĭk move to Mäo, which has a better location for fishing, since it lies closer to the river channel that is followed by the salmon going up the Amur, the bank is higher there and more convenient for landings, etc. In the fall, however, they return to their winter dwellings lying diagonally opposite, where a bay in the bank and extensive forests give protection in winter against the prevailing bitingly cold west and northwest winds and snowstorms, and in addition there extends a larger, more convenient, and more productive hunting ground than along the mountain slopes of the right bank (1). Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village

1. In the fall of 1854, this move of the Gilyak from Mäo to Kuĭk took place in the second week of October (new style), shortly before the

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361 1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Ssabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tacht, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village
342 in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only
114 to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in comparison with the ordinary, large winter-houses, and some of the larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction, could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the excessively large number of houses that is given by some travelers for individual Gilyak villages (1). On the other hand, if the

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113 1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadeshda Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kulj as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

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1. (cont.)
Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

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It is chiefly climatic reasons that make it necessary for the Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly severe cold, often accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls; in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the constant oceanic winds, fogs, and rains. The former requires rooms that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls, while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To combine both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak meet the challenge.

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The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one, peculiar and primitive -- the earth yurt, and a more complicated one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

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2. The Russians originally designated the tent-like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf. Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/321 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, toryf of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent; in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. [335] Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration [354] appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c), likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/322 cont./

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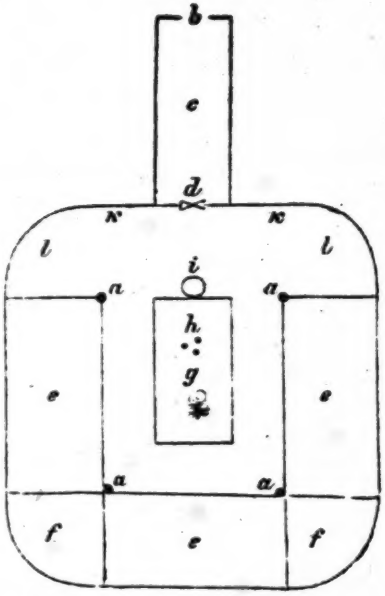

a -- Supporting posts. b -- Entrance. c -- Low passage. d -- Door. e -- Plank bed. f -- Rear corners, without plank beds. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the large kettle. i -- Water container. k -- Front wall. l -- Front corners of the yurt.

Plan of a Gilyak Earth Yurt (toryf).

found. At the end of this passageway one reaches the door (d), which is either vertically hinged, as is customary, or is formed by a board placed horizontally, which can be pushed aside (Pl. X) (1). Directly behind it, or below it, a few steps

1. On this plate, showing the interior of a Gilyak earth-yurt, the door, through which one can pass only in a extremely stooped position, is too high. 1/n

lead down to the floor of the hut, which consists of stamped earth. In the yurt, along both sides and in the rear, between the supporting posts and the earth wall, runs a sitting and sleeping bench or plank bed (e), which is about one and a

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1/n [See Category 116, P. 990 -- Analyst)

/322 cont./

342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there are several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
[417] tween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a triangle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the large kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts there are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for human use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the large yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several days, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is made in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in the center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
[415] illuminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
[312] more large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with drinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of the entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, a supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, exactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form of a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

342 /323 cont./
35 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswise to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in nature, except that in these all the dimensions are more or less considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yurt are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, just rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness of the layer of branches serving as a bed; the smoke vent is not very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the door has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.
342 [122] Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856, and found the mercury in the thermometer frozen the next morning. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary structure, at any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with children, and their summer yurt stood next to it. This winter yurt of Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and its larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usually erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surprise
[122] by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855 I was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on the high seashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (1) on the west

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1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilja-Wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Matsch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

/324 cont./

342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
[237] be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[513] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is shown on Plate XXX[2] in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
354 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
521 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and ventilates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often participating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway

[352] [276] 342 354

3/4 [See category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

/325 cont./

342 364 in front of the door, but in no way eliminated, and if the door remains open, such a strong draft is produced between it and the smoke vent, filling the whole interior of the yurt, that the latter is deprived of all its warmth in no time and comes close to having the temperature of the air outside. And yet this experiment must often be repeated several times a day precisely during very cold and stormy weather, because then it frequently happens that a mass of cold air sinks down through the smoke vent, or an eddy of wind gets into it, forces back the smoke, and temporarily blocks it from getting out. In the shortest time the small room is then filled with suffocating smoke affecting the eyes, throat, and lungs, and there is nothing left but to make a draft by opening the door, clearing the air again. This is why all the beams in the yurt are blackened by smoke and covered with a more or less thick layer of soot near the top. The change of temperature in the earth yurt is even more perceptible at night, for after the fire, beside which one has fallen asleep, goes out, the yurt is soon filled with cold air coming down through the smoke vent. To be sure, it is said that this can be closed, but I have never seen it done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be sure this drawback is all the worse the smaller the yurt is and the lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches. At night in the small tent-yurt of Tafiz-wo, where one could reach the smoke vent with the hand and where no big and lasting fire was therefore possible, /326/ we soon had the temperature of the outside air, which, in addition, set in accompanied by a noticeable draft. Under these circumstances how greatly to be preferred is a night's rest in the open air with a steadily burning fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snow-storm!

342 [177] The winter yurt built after the Chinese pattern tschadryf of the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has the appearance of a house provided with walls and a roof. It is an approximately square structure, though, as a rule, somewhat longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6 fathoms wide, with low walls and a large roof sloping down flatly toward the two longitudinal sides (see Pl. XI) (1). The walls

/326 cont./

342 1. This plate is to serve at the same time to illustrate the house decorations customary during the bear festival and some of the entertainment going on in front of it, which will be discussed later. 3 1

[335] The walls consist of thin, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the beams are plugged with moss and daubed with mud on the outside. The large, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timberwork for its construction and support. /Illustration appears here./ It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the central, upright beams of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two standing not far apart rise in each place. Similar, but much smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn run here and there between the towering posts in the interior, and similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to steady the walls and keep them upright. In addition, the lower part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the side beams of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable

342 335 342 [353] 3 1

[See Category 116, P. 991 -- Analyst]

/327 cont./

342 [824] and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the roof is made up of thin poles and sticks put crosswise and then covered with tree bark, in particular fir bark, and finally with a layer of dry grass or Calamogrostis straw, etc., which is pressed down and held in place by a series of poles placed parallel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (c), which consists of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of cold air over the floor, as well as the penetration of drifting snow and running rainwater into the house, is supposed to be reduced as much as possible.

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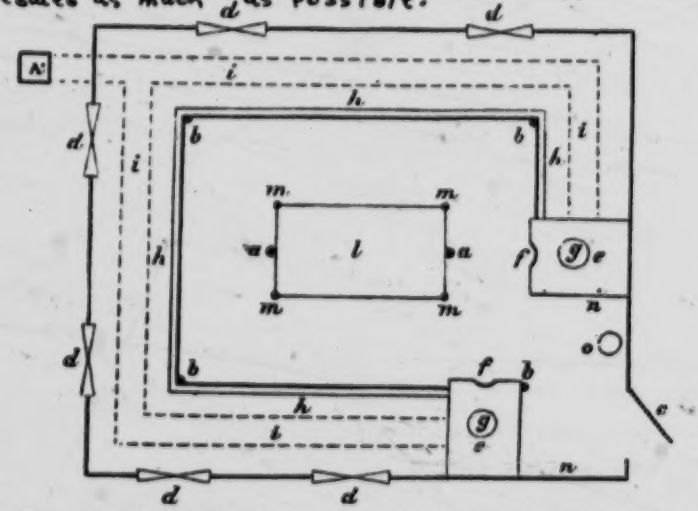

Plan of a Chinese Winter-Yurt of the Gilyak (tschadryf).

a -- Large supporting posts of the roof framework, b -- smaller supporting posts for it. c -- Door. d -- Window. e -- Hearth. f -- Opening for feeding the fire. g -- Hole for the large kettle. h -- Sitting and sleeping benches. i -- Pipes used for heating same. k -- Chimney. l -- Dogs' table. m -- Posts on which the table top rests. n -- Places for storing household equipment. o -- Water container.

/327 cont./

000 reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows
342 (d) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two
354 longitudinal walls and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

[171] 1. I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the rear longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size,
342 sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no
354 crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equi-
232 distant from one another, and fish skins take the place of glass
[281] between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak: lyghi-tscho, or, on Sakhalin, laghi-tscho) (2),

[192] 2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ketá.

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag.
342 The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole
354 frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey earth. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (e, Gilyak: tschenk) made of clay. They are fed through square

342 /327 cont./ they are fed through square
354 openings (f) on their front side and on top have /328/ a round
[415] hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sitting and
352 sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: tikky) which bend in
354 very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k, Gilyak: kla) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out
352 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
[285] and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in places. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
342 porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two
352 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
231 which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: kyll). The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projects out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continuations, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, during the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them. Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang down from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during the feeding. Our Plate XII, $\frac{2}{4}$ which shows the feeding of the dogs, to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however, that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide. Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
$\frac{3}{n}$ [See Category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst]

/328 cont./

342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
352 viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
[231] ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I
[353] must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
[574] this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
[439] wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is sometimes also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

342 As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
[177] over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter,
[354] and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/329 cont./

342 [352] [516] 342 122 136 [114] some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm. The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I became convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numerous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible,hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/330 cont./

342 184 The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

[113] 1. Mizul's /Mitsul'/ statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134).

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilja-wo, the southernmost point of the Gilyak, to Poghobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward,

[113] [114] 2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 234) found in Poghobi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert since in 1855 and 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschcharbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

114 342 184 361

361 /330 cont./

342 3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and
184 Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and
115 Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the
114 Liman.

A few years later

114 (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made
342 a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature
184 of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they
36
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4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's.

342 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully
36 explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic
184 which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter
114 of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely,
16 and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no
973 more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself Collected.

/331 cont./

000 342 361 103 184 collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the north of Poghobi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulksj (1),

1. In Gleh[illegible] is called Jordĕnt-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

2. Glehn found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlatsch, or tamlamtsch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

[192]

tschadryf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, is Pomyr-wo or Pomyt-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small toryf village, Muisib-wo (in Glehn, Musjv), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more tschadryf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngywr-wo (in Glehn, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-ych, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Krusenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngywr-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

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114 361 342 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time -- it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

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4. In order to supplement and verify my above data and at the same time to make it possible to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages lie north of Poghobi:

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Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jũgdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

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4. (cont.)

Tscheghngi	with	1 (1)	earth yurt
Talvant-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tulksj	"	2 (3)	Chinese yurts
Langri (summer village of Tulksj)			
Matscho-wo . . .	"	2	"
Mangal-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Nganj-wo	"	4 (3)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (2?)	"
Matent-tigr-wo . .	"	3 (2)	"
Tamla-wo	"	over 12 (9)	"
Lyrkr-wo	"	4	"
Wissk-wo	"	5 (5)	"
Ngyl-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Pomyr-wo	"	3 (3)	"
Muisib-wo	"	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo	"	2	Chinese yurts (1 earth y.)
Ngywr-wo	"	5	" " (3 earth y.)

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/332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Pättach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin. It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman, on the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kulj, the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (?) winter yurts,

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342 184 [361] there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

[113] [354] 1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

342 184 174 In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present represents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among [191] the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of the view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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195 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 195 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 199 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

3/4 [i.e. The earth Yurt -- Analyst]

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4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

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342 175 The next Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, lived through the winter exclusively in earth yurts at the time of Steller and Krascheninnikof. One finds a detailed description by the two travelers and in Steller there is even a plan and a view of the 342 354 [191] interior (7). Apart from minor details in its interior arrangement

7. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of [113] Kamchatka/, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 212; Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, izdav. Imp. Akad. Nauk", Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37).

/334/ the Kamchadal earth-yurt showed an interesting deviation from the one of the Gilyak in that in it the outer, covered passageway leading to the door became a channel, which, with its interior opening directed toward the hearth in the middle of the yurt, served to produce a strong draft when a fire was made, but afterwards, when the fire had gone out, was closed at its [417] outer end. According to Steller (1), only children were permitted

1. Op. cit., p. 214.

to crawl in and out of the yurt through this channel (2); the smoke

[114] [192] [562] 2. According to Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 40), also women and kojektschutsch or kojachttschitsch (Steller, op. cit. p. 351, note), i.e., men who behaved like women on the other hand, if a man had done it, he would have exposed himself to the derision of all those present. As a consequence of garbling the Kamchadal designation for the outer opening of this channel (schoponatsch), the Russian Cossacks call it shupan.

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hole directly above the hearth, from which an oblique beam with deep notches led down to the floor of the yurt, served the adults for entering and leaving. As Steller reports (3), on account of

3. Op. cit., pp. 8 and 240.

their earth yurts, the Kamchadal of the Penshini (Okhotsk) Sea were called "Namalau" or "Namalan," i.e., living in subterranean houses, by their northern neighbors, the Reindeer Koryak -- a designation from which Gerland derives the name Namollo for the Eskimo or Juit /Yuit/ -- as they call themselves -- who migrated back from America to the Asiatic coast of the Bering Sea (4).

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4. G. Gerland, "Zur Ethnogr. des äussersten Nordostens von Asien /On the Ethnography of the Extreme Northeastern Part of Asia/" (Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, p. 221). I am not able to decide whether this derivation is justified, but in any case Gerland has completely misunderstood the above statement by Steller, in that he thinks that the Koryak designate with the first of these names (Namalau) the Kamchadal living along the Kamchatka River, and with the latter (Namalan) the Tungus, likewise because of their earth yurts. According to Steller, these names refer neither to the one nor to the other, but both alike to the Kamchadal (Italmen) along the Sea of Okhotsk (Penshini /Penzhina/). He expressly states about those living along the Kamchatka River that the Koryak call them Jutilitan, but is unable to give any reason for it (p. 8); concerning the Tungus, however -- who, by the way, have no earth yurts at all -- he notes only (p. 240) that they, in spite of their frequent raids extending to the Penshina River even before the arrival of the Russians,

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4. (cont.)
knew nothing of the Kamchadal. One can explain such a misunderstanding of Steller's remarks as happened to Gerland in part by Steller's antiquated style and in part by the frequently (and even at the place concerned, p. 8) exceeding faulty and incorrect punctuation in this publication of his work. As I have already pointed out at another place (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. II, p. 762, note 3), Pallas said of it that it "was printed from a rough draft and in the hands of the publisher (J.B.S.) became loaded with the most inexcusable copying and printing errors revealing a great ignorance (Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 255). One will be convinced of the accuracy of this opinion by Pallas on every page while reading Steller's work. For this reason I believe that the apparent difference in these two Koryak terms for the Kamchadal can be traced to merely a printing error. Steller also says that the sedentary Koryak along the Sea of Okhotsk are called "Nümala akalila," i.e., sitting, resting, by their countrymen who roam with reindeer. Could it be, however, that this "Nümala," like "Namalau," is also a reference to their subterranean dwellings?

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Some, the sedentary ones, of the Koryak, also a Paleo-Asiatic people, retained the earth yurt to this day, insofar as they have not already adopted Russian customs and hence also Russian dwellings, for example, according to Ditmar (5), /335/in particular

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5. "Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Chukchee Very Closely Related to Them/" (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. XIII, pp. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 8, 12, 18).

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342 [178] [177] the Kamenzen and Parenzen settled around Penshin Bay, as well as the northernmost Pallanzen (in Pusstorezk and Podkagernaja), and the majority of the Olutorzen on the northeast coast of Kamchatka. According to Ditmar, the Koryak earth-yurt is very simple in nature: a pit approximately 2-3 fathoms square, lined and roofed over with wooden logs, and, like the Kamchadal yurt of old, it is entered through the smoke hole (1). According to

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1. Krascheninnikof ("Opis. zemli Kamchatki." -- Poln. sobr. putesh. i pr., Vol. II, p. 195), Müller ("Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Condition of Kamchatka/," in the appendix to Steller's Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtsch., p. 24), Ditmar (op. cit.), Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes; a journ. of Siber. travels and explor. made in the years 1865-1867, London, 1871, p. 352), Kennan (Tent life in Siberia and Adventures among the Koraks and oth. tribes in Kamtschatka and North Asia, London, 1871, pp. 153, 178), and others. The latter in particular describes entering or leaving through the smoke hole in the Koryak yurt and all the inconveniences connected with it in a most drastic way.

Maydell, the Koryak earth-yurt also has a side entrance, which leads down into the interior through a narrow, slightly sloping channel, but this is used only once a year, namely, when the owner moves into his yurt in the fall, he first crawls in through this passageway, but then closes it immediately with sealskin stretched over a frame, and the rest of the time only the smoke hole may be used for entering or leaving (2). The nomadic

2. According to an oral communication from G. v. Maydell.

[174] Koryak, of course, have no earth yurts. Could it be, however, that their ancestors did have such earth yurts? It is generally

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/335 cont./ It is generally believed that the sedentary Koryak in former times were reindeer nomads and only after the loss of their herds settled along the seacoast in order to live on hunting and fishing -- a change that has to some extent also taken place and is still taking place among the Chukchee (3). But between the sedentary or coastal Chukchee

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3. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 204) thought that the sedentary Koryak had formerly been reindeer nomads. Erman (Reise um die Erde /Journey around the World/ Part 1, "Histor. Bericht. /Historical Information/," Vol. II, Berlin, 1838, p. 423, note), Ditmar (Bull., etc., op. cit., pp. 103, 127; Mél., op. cit., pp. 7, 36), and Kennan (op. cit., p. 159) express themselves similarly. According to Ditmar, this impoverishment took place a long time ago, as legend has it, during the battles with the Chukchee. Ssarytschof /Sarychev/ (Putesh. po Sievero-vost. chasti Sibiri, Ledov. moriu i Vostochn. Ok. /Travels in the Northeastern Parts of Siberia and the Arctic and Eastern (Pacific) Oceans/, Pt. II, p. 105) thought the same about the Chukchee, but confused the sedentary Chukchee with the Namollo. There is no doubt but that the true coastal Chukchee arose and are still arising from nomads of the same tribe who have lost their reindeer, as is stated by Wrangell /Vrangel'/ (Put. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Pt. II, p. 335), Ditmar (loc. cit.) and others.

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and the sedentary Koryak there is the great difference that the latter are in fact sedentary and have permanent winter and summer houses, while the former, even after the loss of their reindeer and after their settling down along the seacoast, have

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/335 cont./ retained a seminomadic life and accordingly do not build permanent dwellings or earth yurts, but live in their transportable tents as before (4). The former seems to me to be a traditional, more

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4. Wrangell (Putesh., etc., Part II, p. 336). Nordenskjöld (Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega /The Circumnavigation of Asia and Europe on the Vega/, German transl., Leipzig, 1882, Vol. II, p. 82). In the latter work one also finds an illustration of a tent of the coastal or sedentary Chukchee (Vol. I, p. 394), from a photograph by L. Palander). There is also frequent mention in it of the number and nature of the various tents in the villages visited by the members of the Vega Expedition during their winter travels, as well as of the change of dwelling of the coastal Chukchee, sometimes taking place in winter (for instance, Vol. I, p. 443, and elsewhere). Likewise in Nordqvist (see Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1881, p. 42).

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or less original /336/ way of life, the latter only a later, sometimes merely temporary, change backward. In my opinion, therefore, one should conceive of the change in the way of life of these peoples in reverse fashion: like the sedentary Koryak of today, the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and likewise the Chukchee, tribally related to them and differing from them only dialectally (1), formerly had permanent dwelling sites, and to be

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1. Steller (op. cit., p. 8, note a) and Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 197) pointed out the close relationship between the two peoples, which was later confirmed several times, for instance, by Ssarytschof (Putesh. kap. Billingsa chrez" Chukotskuiu zemliu, izvl. iz" razn. zhurn. /Captain

2: Schrenck--479 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2

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1. (cont.)
Billings' Journey across Chukchee Land, Taken from Various Magazines/, St. Petersburg, 1811, p. 67, footnote), Lütke /Litke/ (Voyage autour du monde, sur la corv. Le Seniavine, dans les ann. 1826-1829 /Voyage around the World on the Corvette "Le Seniavine" in 1826-1829/," Partie hist. /Historical Section/," Vol. II, Paris, 1835, p. 262; the same in Erman's Archiv für wiss. Kunde von Russland, Vol. III, 1843, p. 449), and others.

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sure just such earth-yurts, until they became acquainted with and adopted from their neighbors, presumably the Tungus pressing in upon them, the domesticated reindeer, a domestic animal still foreign to the Paleo-Asiatic peoples; as soon as this happened, they had to give up their sedentary way of life and take up a nomadic life, along with which, of course, they were forced to exchange their fixed earth-yurt for a transportable tent. And it is completely in harmony with this when Wrangell (2), in characterizing

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2. Op. cit., p. 332.

the Chukchee, says that in spite of their nomadic life, they have many more sedentary traits in their whole system than any other nomadic people: only an insufficiency of pasturage and a lack of fodder for their reindeer can force them to leave a place; their inclination toward a sedentary way of life is further shown by the fact that they lay in supplies and are thrifty, indeed even niggardly -- clearly traits which the nomadic peoples lack entirely; indeed, even their clothing, the wide, clumsy fur-shirt and the long fur trousers, are more suitable for a sedentary way of life (2).

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2. Wrangell particularly emphasizes these peculiarities of the Chukchee in contrast to the Tungus, those special nomads concerning whom

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3. (cont.)
Adam Brandt (Neuverm. Beschreib. seiner gross. Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1692 von Moscau aus über Gross-Ustiga, Siberien, Dauren und die grosse Tartarey bis in Chinam und von da wieder zurück nach Moscau innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht /Revised description of his great China Trip, which he completed in three years, from Moscow in 1692, over Great Ustiga, Siberia, Dauria, and Great Tartary as far as China, and from there back to Moscow again/, 3rd ed., Lübeck, 1734, p. 99) cites a characteristic trait in this connection, that they know no other curse than: "May you live among the Russians, may you till the soil!"

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If this is so, however, if formerly all the Koryak and Chukchee had permanent dwelling sites, earth yurts, then the remains and traces of them must be found to this day in the undisturbed, usually frozen soil of their homeland, particularly in the case of the earth yurts of the Chukchee, for the Koryak in part, as is known, still have such dwellings today, or traces of this must have been preserved in the legends and traditions of these peoples. Both are in fact the case -- but up to now it has been interpreted differently. Almost all the travelers in the Chukchee region mention the remains of ancient earth-yurts present there, in which the woodwork is often replaced by whole ribs. According to Wrangell they occur along the coast of the Arctic Ocean in the whole stretch between the Bering Strait and Cape Schelagskij (4).

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4. Vrangel', Putesh., etc., Part II, pp. 295-333.

In this stretch, at Cape Irkaipij (North Cape) and at other places, the Vega Expedition, too, found them: some of them were opened up and old stone and bone tools were brought to light from them; sometimes one saw these old dwelling places used by the present-day Chukchee /337/ as fat vaults (1). Ssarytschof found such

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1. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens u. Europas auf der Vega. Authorized German edition. Vol. I, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 403-406, 456, etc. One also finds there an illustration of the remains of such an old hut, from a drawing by Nordqvist, and several tools found in it.

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Ssarytschof found such remains even farther to the west, near Baranof Rock (2). They

2. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Ledov. moriu i Vost. okeanu, Part II, pp. 95, 96.

are ascribed to the Onkilon. But what people were they? Opinions differ as to that. Wrangell thought that the Onkilon, who, according to legend, were formerly distributed up to Cape Schelagskij, were the same Eskimo who even today dwell in quite similar earth yurts along the Asiatic coast of the Bering Strait and the Bering Sea, that is, the Namollo or Juit (3). Nordenskjöld designates them

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3. There is mention above (p. 251, note 1 /untranslated/) of this view of Wrangell's concerning the former distribution of the Asiatic Eskimo -- a view which I at present, however, no longer share, as one will see from the following.

merely as a people driven from their sites on the coast of the Polar Sea by the Chukchee, and who, according to legend, moved to some islands far out in the Arctic Ocean. But could it not be that the Onkilon were the ancestors of the Chukchee at the time when they still, like the Koryak along Penshinsk Bay and the Bering Sea, lived in permanent earth yurts along the Arctic Ocean? The following reasons seem to me to argue in favor of this.

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114 Wrangell heard the name "Onkilon" from the Chukchee for
174 the inhabitants of those earth yurts and thought that it and the
101 legend had to be linked to the Asiatic Eskimo. Through Nordqvist, who of all the members of the Vega Expedition was the most familiar with the Chukchee and their language, we learn, however (4), that the name which they use for the Asiatic

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4. Osc. Nordqvist, "Bidrag till kännedomen om tschuktschorna /A Contribution to Knowledge about the Chukchee/" (Ymer, 1882, pp. 29-31). Cf. also Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1881, p. 41.

Eskimo is "Aiguan" (5); on the other hand, the coastal Chukchee

5. As Maydell, too, states. See above, p. 244, note 3 /untranslated/.

designate themselves as "Angkadli," which undoubtedly is identical with "Onkilon" (6) and also has the same meaning, namely,

6. According to Neumann (see above, p. 244, note 3 /untranslated/), it runs "Ang-kali."

"sea dwellers," as Wrangell, too, states, although they profess to be "Tschautschu" (Chukchee), as do their nomadic countrymen (7). In the information given by the Chukchee, therefore,

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7. According to the Krause brothers (Deutsche Geograph. Blätter, published by the Geogr. Gesellsch. /Geographical Society/ in Bremen, Vol. V, 1881, p. 119), the Reindeer Chukchee call themselves "Tschautschuats," but the coastal inhabitants "Ankadliän" or "Aigwan" -- a name which, however, as is said in the same place (p. 132), expresses a difference

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114 7. (cont.)
101 in the way of life and in the dwelling place (cf. Angkadli) more than in the nationality.

114 In the information given by the Chukchee, therefore,
174 there is no reason to ascribe the Onkilon huts to the Eskimo; on
101 the contrary, it appears that they were the dwellings of their
361 countrymen and forefathers formerly settled permanently along
342 the seacoast. The legend mentioned by Wrangell probably likewise refers to their former, permanent dwelling-sites along the seacoast. They were certainly spread beyond Cape Schelagskij to the west, as is proved by the remains of the earth yurts found by
174 Ssarytschof around Baranof Rock. According to Wrangell (8), the
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361 8. Op. cit., p. 331.
648 Chukchee formerly also lived even west of the Kolyma, and, to be sure, even at the time when the Russians invaded these regions, /338/ that is, in the seventeenth century. This is suggested by
[103] the Russian names for some rivers flowing from the left into the Kolyma mouth ("Boljschaja-" and "Malaja-Tschuko-tschja," i.e., Large and Small Chukchee River), and especially by the tradition widespread among the inhabitants of the Kolyma district, that the first Russian settlements suffered under frequent and devastating attacks by the Chukchee, to which several place names, such as "Pogromnoje" and "Ubijennoe," are supposed to bear witness. There is no doubt, however, but that the Chuckchee at that time were already leading their present nomadic way of life.

174 I am obliged to see further support for my view that the so-
342 called Onkilon huts belonged to the Chukchee, who were sedentary in ancient times, and not to the Eskimo, in the fact that these remains are found up to the Bering Strait, and therefore in the region where the latter people still live in a similar earth-yurts even today (1). If they had belonged to the Eskimo, it is hard to

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[172] 1. For example, the remains of a long-deserted earth yurt, which Hooper (Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 18).

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1. (cont.)
lay in Plover Bay, not far from Cape Tschukotskij. In the same place Whymper (Travel and Adventure in the territ. of Alaska, London, 1868, p. 89) saw the remains of former earth-yurts ("underground houses") which belonged to a people no longer extant. Also Dall (Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 375).

understand why they abandoned them and erected new earth-huts beside them. But this can be fully understood if one assumes that these Eskimo, as I have pointed out above (2), in spite of the

2. See above, pp. 249 and 250 /untranslated/.

Asiatic origin of the whole tribe, migrated back to Asia via the Bering Straight at a much later date as a result of the pressure which the discovery and colonization of America by the Europeans exerted upon the Indians and, through them, upon the Eskimo (3).

3. As I gather from the above-cited work by Dall, unknown to me until recently, he likewise champions the view that the Eskimo migrated back to Asia in more recent times, about three centuries ago.

Disregarding the remains of these ancient huts, they naturally built in the land to which they migrated their own dwellings which, erected according to the same principle as the earth yurts and with the same material -- whale ribs and bones -- must have been not unlike the former.

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My opinion concerning the Onkilon huts is further confirmed by the fact that the Vega Expedition discovered in their vicinity ancient sacrificial sites which evidently belonged to the same tribe, but which nevertheless are also used as such by the present Reindeer Chukchee (4). This continuous transfer of sacrificial sites

2: Schrenck--485 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Chukchee RY2

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4. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, p. 406.

from the Onkilon to the coastal Chukchee argues very decisively for the identity of the two peoples, for it is hardly conceivable that one people would use the sacrificial sites of another people hostile to them and defeated and finally driven out by them.

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Finally, in support of my opinion concerning the origin of the Onkilon huts, I must bring up one more fact. Dall (5)

5. Alaska, p. 375.

mentions a tradition which he /339/ heard about in Chukchee territory, and which at first glance seems to directly contradict my view, but upon closer analysis completely confirms it. Since it is important to know from which of the nationalities presently living in the Chukchee territory he heard the tradition, I must add that he includes all the peoples living in America to the north and the west of the Indians and in part extending into Asia in one group which he calls the "Orarian" group because of their extension along the coast (1), and in which he distinguishes three

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1. Therefore, "coastal" or peripheral peoples, as I, too, from a geographical standpoint, have called these and a number of other Asiatic or European peoples (see above, pp. 246 ff. /untranslated/).

subdivisions or peoples: 1) the Innuit or Eskimo, from Greenland to the west coast of America and to the islands near the Bering Strait (2); 2) the Aleut or inhabitants of Alaska and the Aleutian

2. The Eskimo call themselves "Innuit" (Dall, Alaska, p. 136. H. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo eine Schilder. der Schwatka'schen-Franklin-Aufsuchungs-Exped., in den J. 1878-

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2. (cont.)
1880/ As an Eskimo among the Eskimo, an Account of the Schwatka Expedition in Search of Franklin in the Years 1878-1880/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 201).

Islands, and 3) the Tuski or inhabitants of the coasts of the Chukchee territory from Koljutschin Bay to Anadyr Gulf. Here, therefore, Dall includes under the very unfortunate name "Tuski" (3) the coastal Chukchee and the Namollo as one people.

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3. Dall chose this name, he says, because Hooper insisted that they call themselves this. But Hooper (Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, pp. 34 ff.) uses it for all the Chukchee, since he claims to have heard this latter name pronounced as "Tuski," and distinguishes between the "Tuski Proper," true or Reindeer Chukchee, and the "Alien Tuski," i.e., foreign or alien Chukchee, under which he groups together the coastal population which perhaps in ancient times immigrated from America, therefore, the coastal Chukchee, and the Namollo, which he never separates from each other. It is hard to understand why Dall retained the designation "Tuski" for the latter, since it would be much more fitting for the former. Incidentally, Hooper, as his whole work shows, always dealt only with the Chukchee, who perhaps were more or less strongly mixed with the Eskimo, but not with the Namollo, who certainly would not have called themselves "Tuski."

In accordance with their own distinction, he also designates them as "bowhead men," whale men, in contrast to the "deer men," i.e., reindeer men or Chukchee proper. Dall asked one such

/339 cont./ Dall asked one such
174 Tuski man from Plover Bay, named Nokum, who might have been
114 the builders of the stone huts whose remains were to be found in
101 various places in the region, and which were similar to the earth
342 huts of the Innuit (Eskimo) around Norton Sound? Nokum's answer was that his ancestors had lived in huts of this type a long time ago, so long ago that his grandfather knew of them only by tradition; later, since timber was scarce among them, they adopted a different type of dwelling such as the reindeer-men had, and which was much more suitable for the region. Now who was this Tuski man? A coastal Chukchee or a Namollo? In the latter case his account would directly contradict my theory concerning the Onkilon huts set forth above. At first glance this in fact seems to be the case, for the same Nokum told Dall that the reindeer-men were the original inhabitants of the country, while the whale-men, to whom he belonged, had come over from the islands /340/ (Diomedes Islands) a long time ago, because they had been proved the weaker in the war with a people who wear bone plates in their lips. Dall adds that the correspondence of this account with the traditions of the Reindeer Chukchee was confirmed for him by one of the latter. It is, of course, possible that formerly there were also coastal Chukchee on the adjacent islands, who were pushed toward the mainland by the Eskimo. What definitely makes me regard the Tuski man, Nokum, as not a Namollo but a coastal Chukchee, and accordingly to associate his tale about the former dwellings of his people with the coastal Chukchee, is the circumstance that in fact for a long time the latter, even in winter, have lived in the same kind of tents (jaranga) as their countrymen wandering with reindeer, while the Namollo as late as 1828, when Lütke became acquainted with them, were all living in earth yurts. If they had since given up these yurts and likewise adopted tents, such an important event in the life of a people would still have been vivid in everyone's memory in Dall's time, about 37-38 years later (1), and could not have been

1. Dall's investigations were in the years 1865 and 1866.

C /340 cont./
114 connected with a tradition referring only to ancient times. There-
104 fore Dall's informant must have been a coastal Chukchee, and
101 then the tradition related by him fully confirms my opinion that
342 this people, too, formerly lived in earth yurts and later exchanged them for tents when they adopted reindeer breeding.

Y To the west of the Chukchee we find another Paleo-Asiatic peo-
342 ple, the Yukagir, now dying out, who are regarded as the
104 descendants of the Omok or ancient Yukagir, who have already
[101] disappeared (2). There is no doubt but that they, too, lived in

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2. Gedenshtrom", "Putesh. po Ledovit. moriu i ostrovakh" onago lezhashch. ot" ust'ia Leny k" vost. /Journey on the Arctic Ocean and among the Islands Lying to the East of the Mouth of the Lena/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., publ. by Grig. Spasskii, 1822, Pt. 18, Sec. III, p. 105); the same, Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, St. Petersburg, 1830, p. 97.

Y earth yurts. In 1639, when the Cossack Jelissei Busa came from
[175] the Arctic Ocean to the Jana /Yana/ and went up this river, he
[361] met, at the place where the Tschendona empties into it, Yukagir who lived in earth huts (3). At the mouth of the Indigirka,

3. Vrangel', Putesh., etc., Part I, p. 6.

Kosmin, Wrangell's companion, found a number of dilapidated earth-yurts with fireplaces and stone tools, remains which were
Y ascribed to the ancient Yukagir or Omok (4). Under the pressure
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4. Wrangell, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 141.

of the more recent Siberian peoples, the Tungus and Yakut, and later the quickly advancing Russians, they were even forced in
Y part to leave the mainland altogether. According to a legend
173 widespread in Ustjansk and along the Indigirka, they are said to
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173 have moved in great numbers, fleeing before a smallpox epidemic
169 about the middle of the seventeenth century, to the islands to
731 the north of the mainland (5), and in fact one finds, both on the

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5. Hedenström, op. cit.. Similarly according to the reports by Ssannikof and Pschenizyn (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1822, Part 20, Sec. III, p. 176), which stem from the year 1811, and in which it is said that the emigration took place about 150 years ago, which would closely coincide with the Russian immigration along the Jana and Indigirka. On this subject see also my article, "Zur Vorgeschichte der von der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. ausgerüst. Exped. nach den Neusib. Ins. und dem Jana-Lande /On the Antecedents of the Expedition Sent by the Imperial Academy of Sciences to the New Siberian Islands and the Yana Region/" (Beitr. zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, series 3, Vol. III, p. 14).

/341/ Bear (Medweshji) Islands and on the New Siberian Islands, remains of earth yurts and old tools of mammoth tooth or stone, which are designated by the Russians simply as Yukagir (1).

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1. Such remains were observed on the Bear Islands as early as 1724 by the Jakutsk Ssyn-bojarskij, Amossof (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, pp. 46) and later, in 1763, by Sergeant Andrejef (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. I, 1781, pp. 234, 235. Likewise Sibirsk. Viestn., 1822, Part 19, Sec. IV, p. 123; 1823, Part 4, Geogr. Sec., pp. 64, 67, 68) and, finally, also confirmed by Wrangell (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 100; Vol. II, p. 45). For the New Siberian Islands, see the sources cited in notes 2 and 5 on the preceding page.

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1. (cont.)
Siberian Islands, see the sources cited in notes 2 and 5 on the preceding page.

342 175 114 10 [171] Finally, as among the peoples remaining on Asiatic soil, we also find the earth yurt among the Paleo-Asiatic peoples pushed into America, the Eskimo and the Aleut. It has already been stressed many times above that the few Eskimo who migrated back to Asia in later times lived in such earth yurts. They are mentioned in the oldest accounts that we have from the Chukchee region (2), but were erroneously ascribed to the

[113] 2. For instance, in the "Aussage des Jakutskischen Kosaken Peter Iljin Ssyn Popow /Declaration of the Yakutsk Cossack, Peter Iljin Ssyn Popow/," and his two interpreters, written in 1711 at Anadyrsk (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 58).

coastal Chukchee, until the inhabitants were recognized as the same Eskimo (3) who, according to Lütke, call themselves

3. Billings and Ssarytschof already stressed the fact that the so-called "sedentary Chukchee" on Lorenz Bay, Metschigmen Bay, and other points of the Bering Strait were wholly different linguistically from the Reindeer Chukchee and were closely related to the inhabitants of Kadjak /Kodiak/ (Eskimo), but they kept this designation, which involved a mix-up with the coastal Chukchee. (Cf. Cap. Jos. Billings' Geogr.-astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Gegenden Russlands zur Unters. der Münd. des Kowima-Fl., der ganzen Küste der Tschuktschen und

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2: Schrenck--491 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
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3. (cont.)
der zwischen dem festen Lande von Asien und Amerika befindl. Inseln, in den J. 1785 bis 1794, nach den Orig. -Pap./ Captain Joseph Billings' Geographical-Astronomical Journey to the Northern Areas of Russia, for an Investigation of the Mouth of the Kovima River, of the Whole Coast of the Chukchee, and of the Islands between the Continents of Asia and America, in the Years 1785 to 1794, from the Original Papers/, ed. by Sauer, transl. from the English, Berlin, 1802, pp. 370, 377; likewise Sarychev", Putesh. kap. Billingsa chrez" Chukotskuiu zemliu ot" Beringova proliva do Nizhnekolymsk. ostroga, izvlech. iz" razn. zhurn. /Journey of Captain Billings through the Chukchee Region from the Bering Strait to the Nizhne-Kolymsk Fort, Taken from Various Magazines/, St. Petersburg, 1811, pp. 5, 15, 67; and the same Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sib., Ledov. moriu i Vostochn. okeanu, Pt. II, St. Petersburg, p. 105.)

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"Namollo" (4), but, according to Dall (5), "Juĭt" (6). On

4. Lütke, Voyage aut. du monde, "Partie hist.," Pt. II, p. 260. Lütke, by the way, on the whole stretch between the East Cape and the mouth of the Anadyr, met only Namollo, who lived in earth huts, and no coastal Chukchee at all; he therefore also sometimes uses for the former the designation "sedentary Chukchee" or "Namollo-Chukchee," despite his own statement that they are erroneously called "Chukchee." On the East Cape, Kotzebue (Entdeckungs-Reise, Vol. I, p. 156), too, saw many subterranean dwellings in the shape of small round mounds, beside which numerous whale ribs were arrayed.

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5. Proceed. of the Royal Geograph. Soc. of London, Vol. XLIX, p. 569; the same, "On the so-called Chuktchi and Namollo people of Eastern Siberia" (The American Naturalist, 1881, p. 866).

6. Following Dall's example, Nordqvist (Ymer, 1882, p. 31), Gerland (Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, pp. 196, 202), and others use the latter name for the Namollo. Sagoskin /Zagoskin/, by the way, remarks, (Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, proizved. v" 1842-1844 gg. /A Pedestrian's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America, Done in 1842-1844/, Pt. I, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 40) that he asked many northwest American Eskimo who they were and received the answer, "Juggyt," i.e., human beings.

E On
342 American soil the earth yurt is not absent among any of the
184 numerous Eskimo peoples from the Bering Sea and Kadjak to Greenland. It would lead me too far were I to pursue it for each
E people individually on this whole stretch. I shall therefore con-
[121] tent myself with mentioning only a few of them, namely those among whom it has reached colossal dimensions and a unique development and complexity, or where its presence is of special significance for our knowledge of the shifts and migrations of the whole Eskimo tribe.

E /342/ Among all the Eskimo peoples of northwest America,
342 for example, the Kanjagen /Koniag/ on Kadjak, the dwellers
345 along the Kuskokwim, the Kwichpak or Yukon and their tribu-
184 taries, the Eskimo along Norton Sound, along the Bering Strait; and even along the Arctic Ocean, one finds, in addition to the small earth yurts rising mound-like out of the ground and inhabited by one or several families, which, with a fireplace in the center,

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342 345 184 are provided with a smoke hole above it and sleeping benches along the walls, and into which one climbs down sometimes through the smoke hole, sometimes through a narrow, likewise semisubterranean passageway, larger earth-yurts for general use. They are the so-called kashim, which serve all the men of a place as a common dwelling, where they have their meetings, take communal baths, and in which the entertainments of the whole local population, dances, festive plays, and the like, take place. Dawydof mentions them from Kadjak (1):

184 342 175 113 1. Dvukrat. putesh. v" Amer. morsk. ofits. Khvostova i Davydova /The Repeated Journey to America by Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1810, Part II, p. 21. According to Dawydof (op. cit., pp. 19, 20), the individual earth-huts of the Kanjagen, in addition to the central room with the fireplace, have two or three small, likewise subterranean, adjoining rooms, into which one can crawl from the former only with difficulty through a small, round, closable opening, and which, as in Kamchatka, are called shupan by the Russians. Such a room is generally occupied by two or three families, more rarely by one. The earth yurts of the Kanjagen are mentioned in even older reports on Kadjak, for instance, by Bragin ("Bericht von einer im J. 1772 angetretenen vierjähr. Seereise zu den zwischen Kamtschatka und Amerika geleg. Inseln /Report of a Four-Year Voyage Begun in 1772 to the Islands between Kamchatka and America/," in Pallas' Neue Nord. Beytr., St. Petersb. and Leipz., Vol. II, 1781, p. 315), Schelechof (Pervoe stranstvovanie s" 1783 po 1787 g. iz" Okhotska po Vostochn. Okeanu k" Amerik. bereg. i pr. Vo gradie Sv. Petra 1793 g. /The First Journey from 1783 to 1787 from

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1. (cont.)
Okhotsk across the Eastern Ocean to American Shores, etc. In the City of Saint Peter in 1793/, p. 82; in German transl. in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. VI, 1793, p. 202), and Billings (Geogr.-astron. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russl., etc., p. 208). Likewise in Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 56). When I refer here to Schelechof, among others, I must add that the passage concerned is found in the first half of his above-named work, also reprinted by Pallas in German translation, which alone is noteworthy in that it contains the explorer's own observations. The second half, however, which bears the title, "Historische und geographische Beschreibung der Kurilischen, Aleutischen, Andrejanofschen und Fuchs-Inseln, die sich von Kamtschatka nach America hin im Oestlichen Ocean erstrecken /Historical and Geographical Description of the Kurile, Aleutian, Andreanof, and Fox Islands, Extending from Kamchatka to America in the Pacific Ocean/" is borrowed in literal translation from several sources, and, since this is neither noted in general nor is one of the sources named, but rather the whole description is printed as though coming from the explorer himself, it must be labeled as plagiarism. With regard to the part of it referring to the Kurile Islands, I have already on an earlier occasion pointed it out (see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Remarks on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/," in the Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IV, p. 428, note 47; Mél. biol., Vol. IV,

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1. (cont.)
p. 116, note 47). Baer believed that in the Schelechof work he had found the source from which the article, "Neue Beschreibung der Kurilischen Inseln /New Description of the Kurile Islands/," in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. IV, was taken. But this is impossible because this volume of Pallas' Beiträge had already appeared in the year in which Schelechof first began his voyage from Okhotsk (1783), and, in addition, because it contains much information that is absent in Schelechof's work (second half). The latter, therefore, could either have been taken from the same Russian original that was the basis for the Pallas article, or it might only be merely an excerpted translation of the article published in the Beiträgen. At present it seems to me that there is scarcely any doubt but that it in fact originated in this latter fashion, for even the part referring to the Aleut is nothing but a translation of excerpts from the accounts given by various Russian voyagers (Lasaref /Lazarev/, Ssolowjof, Krenizyn, and Lewaschof, among others), which were first published by Will. Coxe, and it may be that either the original English work by the latter (Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, London, 1780) or the German translation of it (Die neuen Entdeckungen der Russen zwischen Asien und Amerika, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1783) was used. What makes the plagiarism even worse is the circumstance that the information given by the aforementioned Russian voyagers concerning the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands, and especially of Unalaska, as the largest of them, is simply applied by Schlechof to the Kanjagen

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1. (cont.)
of Kadjak, though the latter, being an Eskimo tribe, are completely different from them.

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/342/ Wassiljef (1), Sagoskin (2), Dall (3), Jacobsen (4) give

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1. See Wrangell, "Statist. und ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika /Statistical and Ethnographic Information on the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. I, St. Petersb., 1839, pp. 129-130). Glasunof also mentioned the kashim along the Kwichpak (Wrangell, op. cit., p. 146).

2. Peshekhod. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, Pt. 1, 1847, p. 95; Pt. II, 1848, pp. 9, 12. The construction of the simple earth-yurts of the dwellers along the Kwichpak and Kuskokwim, which correspond completely with those of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, is described in detail by Sagoskin (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 55; Vol. II, p. 23). Among the Magmjuten, who live in the lowlands between the Kishunjak and Kapnajak, two branches of the Kwichpak), one is said to climb down through the smoke vent into the yurt, as among the Kamchadal in former times (Sagoskin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 18).

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3. Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, pp. 126, 127. The ordinary earth yurt of the Eskimo from the Kwichpak and from Norton Sound is likewise illustrated in Dall (op. cit.,

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3. (cont.)
pp. 13, 65), both as it appears from the outside, as a small mound, covered with snow in winter, with the entrance constructed of beams and an anteroom next to it, and in an ideal cross-section. Descriptions and an illustration of these earth yurts can also be found in Whymper (Travel and adventure in the territory of Alaska, London, 1868, pp. 131, 139, 152, 165), and elsewhere.

4. Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's, 1881-1883 /Capt. Jacobsen's Journey along the Northwest Coast of America, 1881-1883/, ed. by A. Woldt, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 159, 260, etc.. In this work, by the way, the term kashim is always given in a somewhat distorted form as "kassigim" or "kassigit."

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detailed descriptions of the kashim along the Kuskokwim, Kwichpak, and on Norton Sound. Dall adds to the description of the interior nature of the kashim a vertical cross-section of it. Aside from its considerable size a kashim differs chiefly from the ordinary earth-yurt of the western American Eskimo in that just in front of the entrance, in the covered passageway through which one descends into the yurt, there is still another opening, which leads into a space below the wooden floor of the yurt, from which one reaches the latter through a trap door. On the occasion of festive entertainments, the performers of festival plays and dancers appear in this way before the spectators assembled in the kashim. The wooden floor can be completely removed. This is done, for instance, when the men take their communal bath, during which a mighty fire blazes on the floor in the middle of the kashim. In the more heavily populated places, where the kashim must accommodate a great many people -- and there are some that will hold up to 500 (5) --

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5. Sagoskin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 23.

several rows of sleeping benches run along the walls above one another, like an amphitheater. Thus, with respect to size and complexity, the kashim, especially along the Kwichpak and Kuskokwim, represents the highest achievement in the construction of the earth yurt, which is so characteristic of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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The other Eskimo tribes of the northwestern part of America also have just such earth-yurts, mound-shaped from the outside, for the winter, which are entered through a narrow, semisubterranean, covered passageway. Hence, the accounts or descriptions of them agree with one another in essentials, for example those that we have from Port Clarence (6), /344/ from the Bering

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6. F. W. Beechey, Narrat. of a Voyage to the Pacific and Berings-Strait, perf. in H. M. S. Blossom, London, 1831, Part II, p. 542.

Strait (1), from the Ssarytschof Islands (2), from Kotzebue

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1. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt und drei Fahrten der kön.-brit. Freg. Herold nach dem nördl. Polarmeere zur Aufs. Sir John Frankl. in d. J. 1845-1851 /Voyage around the World and Three Expeditions of the Royal British Frigate "Herold" to the Polar Sea in Search of Sir John Franklin in 1845-1851/, 2nd ed., Hannover, 1858, Vol. II, pp. 20, 60, 62. According to Seemann's description these earth yurts are quite comfortable in winter, as I also found on Sakhalin; but toward the summer, when the snow melts, the floor in them is covered with several inches of water, and the inhabitants are forced to seek refuge in tents (op. cit., p. 63).

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2. O. v. Kotzebue, Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See und nach der Berings-Strasse /Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas and the Bering Strait/, Vol. I, p. 139.

Sound (3), and from various points farther north and east along

3. Bedford Pim in Seemann, op. cit., p. 145.

the American coast of the Arctic Ocean, such as Point Hope (4),

4. Beechey, op. cit., Part I, p. 265.

the Arctic Cape (5), Franklin Point (6), Cape Barrow (7), Toker

5. Beechey, op. cit., pp. 272, 276, 304.

6. Beechey, op. cit., p. 274.

7. Hooper, Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, p. 227.

Point on Richard's Island, located opposite the mouth of the Mackenzie River (8), etc. Petitot (9) has given us the most

8. Hooper, op. cit., p. 343.

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9. Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, Paris, 1876, pp. 13, 14. In this work Petitot argues in favor of an Asiatic origin of the Eskimo.

detailed description and an illustration (a longitudinal cross-section and a ground plan) of these earth yurts as they are customarily found among the Tschiglit Eskimo between the Colville River and

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342 184 [171] Cape Bathurst. If one cast only a fleeting glance at this illustration, he might think that it showed a small winter yurt of the Sakhalin Gilyak, so much do these earth huts correspond to each other in ground plan and in all essential features. Following the same ground plan, the Tschiglit Eskimo also build huts in the snow for an overnight camp or a temporary stop (10). In addition 345 184

10. Petitot, op. cit., p. 9 and illustration.

to and beside the individual yurts one also finds among the Eskimo living around the Arctic Ocean larger earth yurts or kashim for communal use, dancing, festival plays, and the like (11), only

11. Beechey, op. cit., Pt. I., p. 268; Pt. II, pp. 550, 568. Seemann, op. cit., p. 62. Petitot, op. cit., p. 22.

they, in accordance with the thinner population of these regions and the scarcity of building material, which is provided by driftwood in contrast to the forests along the Kwichpak and Kuskokwim, are of smaller dimensions than in those principal sites of the Eskimo population in northwestern America.

According to Richardson, the last kashim, going eastward from the Mackenzie River, is to be found at Point Atkinson, somewhat to the west of Cape Bathurst. None occur among the Eskimo living farther to the east, though the designation is familiar to them (12). Among them the earth hut is being replaced more

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12. Sir John Richardson, Arctic Searching Expedition; a Journal of a boat-voyage through Ruperts Land and the arct. sea, London, 1851, Vol. I, p. 254. In the description of Franklin's second polar voyage (Narrat. of a sec. Expedit. to the shores of the Polar sea in the years 1825-1827, London 1828), in which, as is well known Richardson also participated, in particular

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12. (cont.)
traveling over the stretch of coast between the Mackenzie River and the Coppermine River, there is a plan and a description of the kashim at Point Atkinson (pp. 215 ff).

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Among them the earth hut is being replaced more and more, and at present almost completely, by snow huts, which, as has already been mentioned, are built according to the same ground-plan, but are warmed and illuminated only by train-oil lamps instead of the fire blazing in the center of the earth yurts of the Eskimo of the American Northwest and the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. /345/ Parry and Lyon, Hall, Klutschak, and others have given detailed descriptions and, in many instances, illustrations of these snow huts, their nature in the interior, the way in which they are constructed, etc. (1).

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1. Will. Edw. Parry, Journal of a second voyage for the discov. of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, performed in the years 1821-1823 in H.M.S. Fury and Hecla, London, 1824, pp. 160, 187, 499, etc., and the pertinent plates. Ch. Fr. Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, Vol. I, pp. 207, 209, 292, etc. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo, pp. 46, 47, etc. According to the latter (op. cit., (p. 151), the Netschillik Eskimo of King William's Land and of the Adelaide Peninsula erect an especially large snow-hut for the celebration of festivities, in which, at a given signal, everyone assembled, men, women, and children.

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On the Melville Peninsula and the nearby islands, Parry and Lyon found the Eskimo living almost exclusively in snow huts, but at several points there, especially on Iglulik /Igloolik/ Island in the Fury and Hecla Strait, where the explorers spent the winter of 1822/23, there were some permanent dwellings

/345 cont./
342 built out of solider materials, particularly earth, stones, and
184 whale bones (2), which one would be fully justified in calling

2. Parry, op. cit., p. 279.

earth huts, and many traces and remains of such dwellings were found in many other places, such as, for instance, on the Calthorpe Islands in the same strait and on the opposite shore
[237] of Baffin Land (3). These stone or bone huts, as Parry calls

[113] [172]

3. Parry, op. cit., pp. 285, 349. Also, Rae (Narrat. of an Exped. to the shores of the Arctic Sea, London, 1850, p. 133) found remains of such ancient Eskimo dwellings along Christie Lake, not far from Repulse Bay.

them, are not sunk into the ground, which would be too difficult to be feasible for the Eskimo, with the ground here constantly frozen even at shallow depths and only inadequate building implements, but the lower part does consist of a circular stone or earth embankment, over which is raised a roof framework made out of whale and walrus bones converging inward and toward the top (4); in addition, this framework, as well as

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4. The driftwood occurring only sparsely there is too highly prized by the Eskimo as material for making various implements, such as spear points and the like, for them to use it for housebuilding.

all the crevices and in general the whole edifice, is covered on the outside with earth, turf, sod, etc., and, finally, here, too, a low, narrow, similarly covered passageway, through which one has to crawl on all fours, leads into the interior of the hut, so that this completely has the character and the nature of an earth yurt. Around Frobisher Bay in

/345 cont./

342 184 Baffin Land, the Eskimo had lived exclusively in snow huts during the winter for only a few years when Hall stayed among them in 1860-62, and at several points there were still remains of their former bone, stone, or earth huts precisely of the above-mentioned type (5). In 1883 and 1884, in Cumberland Sound

5. Hall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 131; Vol. II, pp. 90, 111, 289. In the last-named places there is mention of the remains of Eskimo huts completely sunk into ground and provided with subterranean entrances.

and along the Davis Strait, Boas saw the Eskimo living in snow huts, but at several places he found rows of old stone-huts, which they provided with new roofs in the fall and very happily [361] likewise used as dwellings (6). /346/ The reason why the

[113] 6. Dr. Franz Boas, "Baffin-Land, Geograph. Ergebnisse einer 1883 und 1884 ausgeführten Forschungsreise /Baffin Land, Geographical Results of an Exploratory Expedition Undertaken in 1883 and 1884/," (Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., Supplementary Issue, No. 80, pp. 65, 77).

Eskimo of all these regions are forced to erect snow huts obviously is that in order to be able to pursue successfully the various branches of hunting necessary for their existence, they are obliged to change their dwelling sites often even in winter, sometimes moving closer to the edge of the oceanic ice, sometimes back farther into the lee of the coast, and occasionally undertaking a greater shift in locality. It is therefore certain [174] that the snow huts have been used by the Eskimo since ancient [197] times besides and in addition to the stone or earth huts. If, [161] however, the latter are disappearing more and more before the

/346 cont./

342 184 [177] 174 [161] former and at present are to be found almost solely in numerous remains, I would explain it by the fact that the Eskimo in these very regions so frequently visited by whalers have been especially heavily decimated as a result of introduced diseases and the like and are already rapidly dying out (1), so it is only

1. See Boas, op. cit., pp. 69 ff., concerning the rapid disappearance of the Eskimo in Cumberland Sound and along the Davis Straits in recent times.

natural that they should turn away from the stone and bone dwellings, which are difficult to erect, and, on the other hand, turn to housing that can be built with less trouble and in less time out of a material present everywhere in abundance (2).

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2. Hall (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 325, with the accompanying illustration) thought that the Eskimo took the pattern for their snow huts from the shelters that the seals make for their young when they are dropped, which consist of mound-shaped excavations in the snow over their ice holes. But the nature of the snow huts of the Eskimo can be explained much more simply and more naturally by the fact that these temporary dwellings are simply modeled after the traditional, permanent, stone or earth huts.

The dwellings of the Greenland Eskimo are similar to those on the American mainland. When Hans Egede went there (1721), everywhere on the west coast in winter they lived in stone and earth huts, of which, because of the still numerous population at that time, there were sometimes very many together; at one place, for example, up to 30, and among them a house of especially large dimensions, in which

/346 cont./
342 some 50 men lived with their wives and children (3). Cranz
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[113] 3. Hans Egede, Ausführliche und wahrhafte Nachricht vom Anfange und Fortgange der Grönländischen Mission /Detailed and Accurate Account of the Start and Progress of the Greenland Mission/ etc., Hamburg, 1740, pp. 27, 28.

gives a detailed description, as well as a ground plan and an illustration, of the interior of these houses (4), which are quite

[113] 4. David Cranz, Historie von Grönland, enthaltend die Beschreib. des Landes und der Einwohner etc., insbes. die Gesch. der dortigen evangel. Brüder /History of Greenland, containing a description of the country and the inhabitants, etc., in particular the history of the Evangelical Brothers there/, Barby and Leipzig, 1770, Pt. 2, P. 185, Pl. IV.

similar to the above-mentioned stone and earth huts of the Eskimo of the American mainland, both in their exterior and their construction out of stones, earth, turf, and sod, and in their interior, especially in the long, low, and narrow covered-passageway which leads to it. The winter houses of the Eskimo on Prudhoe Land, or the "Arctic Highland" of Greenland as John Ross called it (5), with whom Kane and Hayes /347/ often

[113] 5. Entdeckungsreise mit den kön. Schiff. "Isabella" und "Alexander," um Baffins-Bay anszuforschen /Voyage of Discovery with the Royal Ships "Isabella" and "Alexander" to Explore Baffin Bay/, etc., transl. from the English by P. A. Nemnich, Leipzig, 1820, p. 59.

2: Schrenck--506 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Eskimo ND2

/347 cont./

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184 came in contact in 1853-55 and 1860/61 from their winter stations (Rensselaer Harbor and Port Foulk) (1) are quite similar,

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1. Elisha Kent Kane (Arctic Explorations: the second Grinnel Exped. in search of Sir John Franklin, London, 1861, pp. 72, 227, 242, 334) gives detailed descriptions and also an illustration of the Eskimo huts in Anoatok, Itah, etc.

though much smaller, in the form of hemispherical, stone and earth mounds from the outside, and likewise provided with a long, low, tunnel-shaped entranceway. The huts and re-
[192] mains of huts found by the younger Scoresby (2) on Jameson's

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2. Tagebuch einer Reise auf den Walfisch-fang, verbunden mit Untersuch. und Entdeck. an der Ostküste von Grönland, im Sommer 1822 /Diary of a Whaling Expedition Connected with Investigations and Explorations along the East Coast of Greenland in the Summer of 1822/; translated from the English and annotated by Friedr. Kries, Hamburg, 1825, pp. 231, 236, 328, etc., and Plate VIII (map of the deserted Eskimo village on Jameson's Land).

Land, on the east coast of Greenland, on Traill Island, etc. were of precisely the same type, in part even sunk into the ground and provided with a long subterranean entranceway, as, in all probability, were those that Clavering encountered in 1828 on the island named after him (3), and which were

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3. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1868, p. 228, with map, Pl. 17; 1870, p. 325 and Pl. 21.

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342 substantiated by the second German Arctic Expedition of 1870
184 both there and on other points of Greenland's east coast (4).
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4. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, pp. 414, 418. Clavering had also met several natives there, whereas the German Arctic Expedition did not find any.

342 As is well-known, the remains of huts and other traces of
172 human habitations in former times have been brought to light
194 on the islands stretching polewards from the American continent up to the extreme north, where at present there is no longer any population. In 1865, Markham noted the locations of these hut remains on a map and linked them with far-reaching conclusions concerning migrations which, he believes, once took place in the upper Arctic regions of America and Asia (5). He,

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5. Clem. R. Markham, "On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux" (The Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc., London, Vol. XXXV, 1865, pp. 87-99).

too, believes that the Eskimo came to America from Asia via the Bering Strait and spread from there to Hudson Bay and the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, where, in what was formerly Vinland, the Normans, coming from Greenland, first met them and called them "Skrällinger" because of their small stature; but he absolutely rejects the notion that they might have gone from there via Davis Strait or Baffin Bay to Greenland (6). Rather

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6. Markham does not explain further why he regards it as inadmissible -- he quite categorically says only: "the Esquimaux assuredly never crossed over to Greenland by navigating Davis-Strait or Baffins-Bay" (op. cit., p. 89).

/347 cont./

342 he says that southern Greenland received its indigenous (Eskimo)
172 population from the north, from the so-called "Arctic Highland,"
174 and this, in turn, had received its population from the west, from Siberia. According to Markham, the route by which this happened is clearly shown by the above-mentioned hut-remains. These extend in an unbroken belt from Banks Land and Melville Island eastward over the entire Parry Archipelago to Baffin Bay and Smith Sound opposite the Arctic Highland of Greenland. But if one goes westward and southward from the Parry Archipelago, one comes to the part of the Siberian coast of the Arctic Sea, where there are many traditions, handed down to us by Wrangell and others, of peoples who had formerly been permanently settled there, /348/ but have now disappeared and are scarcely known even by name, such as the Omok, Schelager, Yukagir, etc., all of whom are said to have moved northward across the Arctic Ocean (1). According to Markham,

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1. It must almost certainly be regarded as only a slip of the pen when among these peoples who have disappeared and are now barely known by name Markham (op. cit., p. 91) also names the Tungus, this most widespread tribe, in its many branches, in Siberia today, for otherwise complete ignorance of the ethnological situation in this region would be revealed.

the cradle of the Greenland Eskimo is to be sought here, and the point of departure for their migration, which lasted for centuries and finally brought them to their present homeland. In answer to the possible objection against such a migration, that the vast expanse between Siberia and the western parts of the Parry Archipelago appears unbridged to this day, Markham pointed out the possibility that in this area there might be a large mainland or a chain of islands on which one might eventually find hut remains similar to those on the Parry Archipelago.

/348 cont./

114 On the other hand, he completely ignores the fact arguing even
174 more against his above view, that the Eskimo on Greenland and
192 those on the American continent on the basis of language, physical characteristics, customs, etc., undoubtedly belong to one and the same people. Dr. F. Boas has recently presented an even more detailed and complete map of all the traces and remains of the former population of the Arctic-American archipelago (2), but in so doing reached results completely different

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2. "Ueber die ehemalige Verbreitung der Eskimo im arktish-amerikanischen Archipel /On the Former Distribution of the Eskimo in the Arctic-American Archipelago/" (Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, pp. 118-136, plus map, Pl. 2).

from those of Markham. From the fact that the traces and remains of huts, fire and tent or camping places, the bones of slain animals, weapons, etc. are only sparsely found in the western part of the territory in question and even seem to be completely missing on the westernmost island of the Parry Archipelago, Prince Patrick Island, but in the eastern half, on Bathurst and Cornwallis Islands, North Devon, Ellesmere and Grinnell Lands, and even in the extreme northwest of Greenland, are numerous and in fact occur in the largest accumulations in the vicinity of regions still inhabited by Eskimo today, and from the circumstance that the hut remains most completely preserved or described in greater detail by travelers (3), and likewise the weapons and tools, are quite similar

3. For instance, the two huts found in the Bay of Mercy on Banks Land, which had roof frames of whale bones, or the stone huts deep in the ground in the vicinity of Point Palmer on Melville Island (Boas, op. cit., pp. 126, 127), and others.

/348 cont./

114 to the dwellings, weapons, and tools of the neighboring Eskimo,
172 Boas quite justifiably draws the conclusion that all these remains
174 belong to the Eskimo and are not, say, landmarks of their migration from the west, but merely signs of various shifts in locality or irregular migrations such as the Eskimo carry out for various reasons almost everywhere along the borders of the regions inhabited by them, for example, for the purpose of changing their hunting territories, or in their dealings with one
174 another, and so forth. /349/ It cannot be denied, however, that in the course of time a movement or shift toward the north has taken place in the distribution of the Eskimo. This is shown beyond any doubt by a survey of their entire area of distribution and especially from a consideration of the relatively southern latitudes in which the Normans first met them in the eleventh century, their absence on Greenland at that time, and their present far northern, in part even arctic, sites. As I have already
[648] mentioned (1), this northward movement of the Eskimo was

1. See p. 249 /untranslated/ above.

caused by their compulsory retreat before the steady advance, considerably reinforced by the European colonization of the Indian tribes living to the south of them, with whom, on the whole line of their southern boundary, they have had bloody feuds handed down from generation to generation and continuing to this day. The consequences of this movement of the Eskimo are nowhere more apparent than in the extreme northwest and northeast of the American mainland: just as in the former a branch of them, the Namollo, was forced back by this movement across the Bering Strait to Asia (2), so in the latter were

2. See above, pp. 250 /untranslated/, 496.

the Eskimo pushed from the Hudson Bay areas to Greenland. And to be sure, the migration of the Eskimo here could have

2: Schrenck--511 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Eskimo ND2

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174 been to several places simultaneously, or, more probably, successively to one after another: first from Baffin Land and from the Cumberland Peninsula across the narrowest place in Davis Strait, perhaps from Cape Walsingham to South Bay (3),

3. As Cranz (Historie von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 338) also assumes.

from where they spread along the west coast of Greenland southward to its southern tip and then northward along the east coast, and then from North Devon, Ellesmere Land and Grinnell Land, over the northern end of Baffin Bay and Smith Sound, to Prudhoe Land or the so-called Arctic Highland of Greenland, where they remained separated from their southern tribesmen because of the glaciers and ice masses of Melville Bay, but they extended their migrations northward up to the northernmost edge of Greenland known up to now, Thank-God-Harbour and other points along Robeson Channel (4). In part, the migration of the

4. Boas, "Ueber die ehem. Verbreitung der Eskimo," op. cit., p. 134. Boas thinks that it is not unlikely, especially according to the most recent facts discovered by Greely (as yet unpublished), that the Eskimo migrated on Greenland from Robeson Channel to the north and in this manner reached the east coast (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., Supplementary Issue, No. 80, p. 90). Captains Holm and Rink are also inclined to think that the Eskimo of eastern Greenland (Angmagsalikker) reached the east coast via the north of Greenland (H. Rink, "Die Ostgrönländer in ihrem Verhältniss zu den übrigen Stämmen /The Relationship of the Eastern Greenlanders to the Other Tribes/. -- Deutsche Geograph. Blätter, Vol. IX, p. 239).

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Eskimo ND2
Aleut NA6

E 174 /349 cont./ Eskimo to Greenland may have been an involuntary one, in that, according to the testimony of polar explorers, it not infrequently happens that boats manned from the ice by Eskimo or fields of ice on which seal-hunting Eskimo find themselves are detached from the shore by high waves, seized by the wind and current, and driven to other, more or less distant coasts (5).

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5. Hall (Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, Vol. I, pp. 264, 305), Kane (Arctic Explorations: the sec. Grinnell Exped., London, 1861, p. 394), Boas (Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, p. 123), and others report such cases. Hall (op. cit., I, p. 255) even says that no winter passes without similar cases occurring among the Eskimo.

A 175 131 342 171 /350/ Finally -- to return to the winter houses of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples -- it remains for me to discuss the Aleut. When they were first discovered, they, too, lived everywhere, on the so-called Fox Islands, Unalaska, Umnak, etc., as well as on the Andrejanof Islands farther west, in earth yurts, which, as is said in the reports on the old Russian voyages in the Bering Sea (1), were similar to those of the Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Eskimo.

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1. For instance, in the reports on the voyages of Lasaref, Puschkarjof, Korowin, Ssolowjof in the years 1761-1764. See Coxe, Die neuen Entdeck. der Russen zwischen Asien und Amerika /New Russian Discoveries between Asia and America/, transl. from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1788, pp. 75, 85, 118, 178; also Pallas, "Erläuterungen über die im östl. Ocean zwischen Sibirien u. Amerika geschehenen Entdeckungen /Commentary on the Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean between

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1. (cont.)
Siberia and America/" (Neue Nord. Beitr. Vol. I, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1781, p. 311), and the same, "Auszug aus dem Reiseber. des Russ. Steuermanns Saikof über eine bis an das feste Land von Amerika geschehene Schifffahrt /Excerpt from the Travel Account of the Russian Navigator Saikof on a Voyage to the American Mainland/" (Neue Nord. Beitr., Vol. III, 1782, p. 280).

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Koryak, and Eskimo. Like these, they essentially consisted of a pit dug quite deeply into the ground and a roof built over it out of driftwood or whale bones covered with sod, grass, and earth, in which there was one or, in the case of yurts of considerable size, several openings which served as smoke vent and window, and through which one descended into the yurt on notched beams. Sometimes in these, in addition to the central room, there were also side rooms built into the earth walls, which, by means of a narrow channel, opened to the outside and served as another exit out of the yurt for the occupants in case of need or danger, hence an arrangement quite similar to the yurts of the Kamchadal and the shupan, as the Russians call them, of the Kadjaker (2). In Ssarytschof (3), Sauer (4),

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2. See above, p. 473, note 2, and p. 493, note 1.

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3. Puteshestvie po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri i pr., Pt. II, St. Petersburg, pp. 14, 157.

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4. Billing's Geogr.-astron. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, transl. from the Eng., Berlin, 1802, p. 294.

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342 and Langsdorf (5), one finds descriptions of these Aleut yurts, and
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5. Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803-1807, Frankf. a. M., Vol. II, pp. 30, 56.

in the first also a view of the exterior. The most detailed description of their construction and interior arrangement, however, was given by Weniaminof (6), though at the time of his

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6. Zapiski ob" ostrovakh" Unalashk. Otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. II, pp. 204-211.

stay on the Aleutian Islands (1824-1834) there were no longer any yurts of the old original style, because after 1805, when a revision of the Russian-American Company was made by Chamberlain Rjasanof, the Aleut, by his orders, had to build their yurts more according to the model of the Russian log-houses, as much as possible on level ground, with the same kind of doors
175 and windows, etc. Moreover, since that time, instead of the
342 formerly very large yurts as a rule, in which several families
[178] lived beside one another, more and more small dwellings intended for individual families have gradually appeared among
[345] them. Incidentally, even the most spacious of the old yurts were always private houses and not used exclusively for communal purposes, though occasionally dances and festivities took
175 place in them (7). On the other hand, /351/ according to
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7. Thus, on Unalaska, Kotzebue (Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See u. nach der Berings-Strasse, Weimar, 1821, Vol. I, p. 167) watched the dances of many Aleut assembled in a "large subterranean dwelling."

Weniaminof, there were never any kashim, such as among the North American Eskimo, among the Aleut, either in his time or

A 175 345 /351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

G 342 171 After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

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2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

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3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

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000 342 111 [194] winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, is shown, as was mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts in their area, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the 342 Manchu, Chinese and Daur (6). For example, the Chinese

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6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses; along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. Cf. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Wassiljef: "Zapiski o Ningutie" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

2: Schrenck--517 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/351 cont./

352 The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimaĭ-

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8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évèque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Ssan-Ssin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./

342 354 171 352 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

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4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it; for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

342 /352 cont./
352 more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),
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5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kjachta. In Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, espe-

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6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the houses, just as in the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

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7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

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8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/352 cont./

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the

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[984]
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head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

G /353 cont./
352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom in
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
191 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al-
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over the
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse
[184] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their lang,
[199] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
tional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by
G whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.
342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
191 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the
Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the
earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
G Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of
[195] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak
at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-
45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
199 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear
195 before an imported, foreign type of house construction within
the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof
and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the
Kamchadals still lived in earth yurts of the type described above.
Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's
third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

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4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

K 342 175 177 /353 cont./

Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

G 114 175 342 177

1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinsô on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

K 342 177 G [342] [177] K [648]

K 342 177 648

/354 cont./ permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As was discussed above in detail (3),

G 342 177 439 [648]

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

G [174]

G 342 /355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

/355 cont./

342 the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become impossible in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the catching of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

[184] The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places: kăryf. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the west coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur-Liman, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

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1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngywr-wo, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

it mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its banks; and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house itself through the crevices in the floor; this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also [184] have been decisive for the Gilyak living along the seacoast, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/355 cont./

342 184 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Duĭ, however, it was still uninhabited on [122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[3]a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kuĭk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn boards which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched [417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which

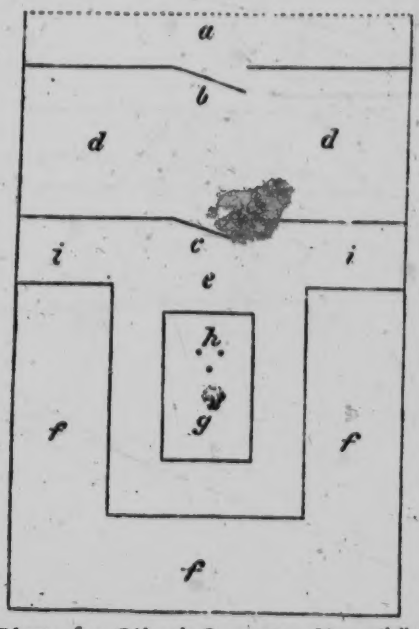
[See category 116, P. 993--Analyst]

/356 cont./

347 one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on [353] Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one



a -- Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c -- Doors. d -- Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e -- Actual living room. f -- Sleeping benches. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the big kettle. i -- Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (käryf).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

[114]

2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for the women, which fitted in with his general conception of a northern Sakhalin population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[352] in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
[354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction
[251] of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/357 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

342 231 The above description also applies, apart from the specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

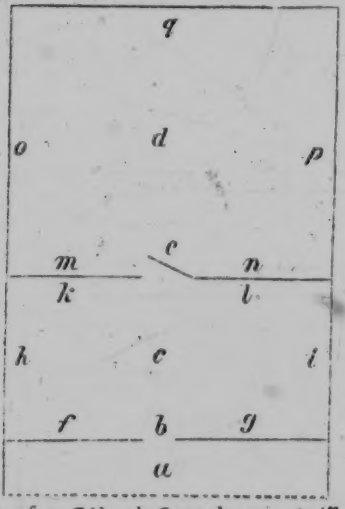
251 [22] [226] [417] Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter, one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see 000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

[343] [251] /358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

[113] [171] 2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.



a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

G /358 cont./
343 merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G
342 /359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings men-
343 tioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original,
191 peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to
K [175] [342] Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan
000 by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along
K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

K [132]

K [178] [179]

2: Schrenck--531 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Eskimo ND2

G 343 171 E 343

/359 cont./ The Eskimo of the American Northwest along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, skins, furs, and the like stored in them during the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

2. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit., pp. 13 and 65) there are also illustrations of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. The designation barabora for them (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., pp. 39, 65), arose according to Steller (op. cit., p. 218; for him, "barabara"), through the corruption on the part of the Russian Cossacks in Kamchatka of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a hut made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

E [192]

G 342 194

Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original dwellings and constructions, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pilework-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on European soil belongs to a far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the designation of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for these remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

/359 cont./

342 Before I leave the Gilyak, I must come back to the question touched on above about an approximate determination of their total number according to the number of their winter dwellings. Such an estimate can only be undertaken on the basis of the winter dwellings, not the summer ones, if only because the number of the former is far easier to ascertain with some precision than is that of the latter. If the large winter houses with their separate chimneys nearby, with smoke sometimes pouring out, more readily strikes the eye of the traveler at any time, this is especially the case in winter, since on the journey then from village to village the dog-drawn /360/ sled brings him directly in front of one of the winter houses, whereas the summer houses off to one side and sometimes at a considerable distance from them, without a road or path, can easily be overlooked, or even confused with the storehouses, which are of very similar construction. Moreover, the statements of the Gilyak themselves, when asked about the number of houses in this or that place, always refer only to the winter dwellings, for it is in these solid, spacious winter dwellings, erected with a great expenditure of labor and energy, that the life of the Gilyak is concentrated during the greater part of the year, from about the middle of October to the middle of May, that is, seven months. Everyone of them finds a hospitable reception there on his winter travels and journeys, shelter and food for himself and his dogs, the bear festivals are celebrated there amid a confluence from near and far, etc.; in short, the winter dwellings are the true permanent dwellings of the Gilyak, whereas in summer the fishing and the gathering of all kinds of provisions puts the whole population in a more or less fluctuating movement and scattered over a broad area, and in addition the mild season makes a house less necessary. For this reason, incidentally, winter is also the most suitable time of the year for ethnographic investigations among the Gilyak. The number of winter dwellings in the individual Gilyak villages is of interest for still another reason, for it gives an immediate yardstick for their size and importance and indicates the principal and central points of Gilyak life both

/360 cont./

342 in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and
[199] central points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because here the national character of a people as a rule appears more sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and customs remain protected longer against foreign influences, whereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a result of personal intercourse, the mixed marriages of the few residents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a national characteristic is obliterated; indeed, in the course of time many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I shall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the following.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the number of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those parts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River and the Liman on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west coast from Poghobi to Duĭ and in the interior along the entire Tymy River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able to ascertain it myself by my own count, and in other adjacent parts, such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Poghobi and south of Duĭ, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. For the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are available (1). Only on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

[113] 1. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 235).

the Sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise visited by me (1).

342 131 361 113 1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Muktelja), the point of this coast

/361 cont./

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1. (cont.)
which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

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For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

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/The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

2: Schrenck--535 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

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List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings[1)]

MAINLAND							
Amur River Upstream from the Mouth. Purely Chinese Yurts.				Amur-Liman form N to S. Purely Chin. Yurts[5)]		Coast of the Sea of Okhotsk from the Liman Westward. Purely Chin. Yurts	
Left bank		Right bank					
Tschcharbach	3	Ngale-wo	3	Langr	8	Abdä	1
Tschchyrkrach	2	Wassj	3	Pulr	3	Olgh-wo	1
Patchä	1	Pyghu	1	Pättach	2	Tägl	1
Kuik (Kuögri-wo)	2	Allof	2	Pronge	2	Kulj (Kolj)	10 [6)]
Ssabach	2	Kaki	3 (?)	Ngalu	1		
Wair (Wait)	16	Erli	2	Chusi	1	Further data lacking	
Kanatif	2	Tebach	7	Tschori	1		
Maghe	11	Chessj	3	My	4		
Kalghe	5	Tschylm	3	Warki	2		
Pall-wo	2 (?)	Tacht	8	Tymi	1		
Tschlja [2)]	1	Kaberazbach	1	Tschemi	11		
Nykhi	1	Kuk	3	Total	36		
Tlals	1 (?)	Augkalm	3	1 earth yurt among them			
Total	40	Kalm	2				
		Hokk [3)]	3				
		Taur-wo	2				
		Tylm	2				
		Achza	1				
		Tschelmek	1				
		Mchyl	3				
		Palych	1				
		Patt	3				
		Chylk	2				
		Holm	1 (?)				
		Pulmi	1				
		Chjaro	1				
		Auro [4)]	3				
		Total	70				

Total on the Amur River 119.

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[361]
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2: Schrenck--536 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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SAKHALIN ISLAND

West Coast from N to S. Chinese and Earth Yurts 7).

Ngywr-wo	5	Chin. y.
Tumi-wo	2	"
Pilja-wo	1	" +1 ear.
Muisib-wo	–	– 1 ear.
Pomyr-wo	3	Chin. y.
Ngyl-wo	1	"
Wisak-wo	5	"
Lyrkr-wo	4	"
Tamla-wo	over 12	"
Matout-tigr-wo	3	"
Tylout-tigr-wo	1	"
Nganj-wo	4	"
Mangal-wo	1	"
Matsch-wo	2	"
Tulksj	2	"
Talvant-tigr-wo	1	" +1 ear.
Tscheghngi	1	earth yurt
Pyrki	1	"
Jugdama	1	"
Loktschi	1	"
Dshongi	1	Chin. y.
Ngyith	1	earth yurt
Warsj	1	"
Wismeryf	1	"
Poghobi	2	"
Tyk	6	"
Wjachtu	1	"
Choji	2	"
Tangi	1	"
Mygnai	1	"
Arkai	1	"
Duï	2	"
Adngi	1	"
Kthous[8])	3	"
Chogranj	1	"
Pilja-wo[9]) (Porokotan)	3	"
Total	48	Chin. y. + 31 ear.

Tymy River Downstream from Its Sources. Purely Earth Yurts

Left bank		Right bank	
Ngachd-wo	1	Dsjak-wo	1
Erling-wo	3	Ud-wo	1
Pud-wo[9])	2	Pud-wo	3
Pahling-wo	1	Sill-wo	2
Dawl-wo	1	Tschlo-wo	2
Iwlk	1	Udmk-wo	7
Ytkym	2	Plub-wo	1
Tchchar-wo[9])	1	Tafis-wo	1
Miwwach	1	Tschchar-wo	1
Total	13	Total	19

Total on the Tymy River 32

East Coast from N to S. Purely Earth Yurts

Koibygr-wo[10])	1
Chankes	1
Ngod	1
Urdkt	1
Kakr-wo	3
Charkr-wo	?
Tschai-wo	10
Laḍ-wo	3
Tyrmyz	?
Nyi	6
Wenggi	2
Kasengat-wo	1
Mandshubafd-wo	1
Milk-wo, Tagri[11])	9
Ngabil	3
Lub-wo	?
Lung-wo	?
Pilngi	?
Tschamr-wo	?

Total without the villages with a questionable number of yurts. . . . 42
with them, assuming the number of yurts to be two each (to be discussed later). . . . 54

G 361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G 361 162 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G 361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G [114] 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G [161] [128]

G [162] [128] 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G [114] 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/363 cont./

361 114 Elisabeth and Maria, and believes that it is the same village that Krusenstern saw on "North Bay." Since the latter, however, was a very large village ("with 27 houses," among which some were certainly only storehouses), larger than the one later visited by him on Nadeshda Bay (Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 162 and 184), and this village, Ngywr-wo, still had five Chinese yurts in my time, it is inconceivable that only a few years later the village on North Bay should have been reduced to one small earth yurt, as Glehn thinks (op. cit., p. 232, note 1).

361 11) Presumably this is the same village that Glehn lists under the name of Takr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on the other side), in contrast to the above village of the latter name, which he calls Tukr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on this side). I must therefore apply the number of yurts given by Glehn for Takr-Nyi to this village of Tagri and the neighboring village to the north, Milk-wo, the first villages located to the south, or, proceeding from the north, on the other side of the Tymy mouth.

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342 As may be seen from this list, very many Gilyak villages consist of only a single winter dwelling, be it a Chinese yurt or an earth yurt. Most Gilyak villages contain only two or three winter yurts. As one can see for himself from the above list, this is the average number of yurts in the Gilyak villages, and, to be sure, on the continent, along the Amur River and Liman, the average is three each, and on the island of Sakhalin, on the west coast and in the Tymy valley, two yurts to a village. For
[128] this reason, in determining the total number of the winter yurts on the east coast of Sakhalin for the six villages whose number of yurts remained unknown to both Glehn and me, I reckoned two earth yurts for each village. Villages with four or five yurts belong among the large ones and are few in number in all the individual areas of the region occupied by the Gilyak; but in each of these areas there are individual places with a larger number of yurts, from six to ten and more, and they can be designated as the principal and central points of the individual areas, indeed, the largest among them as the principal and central points of the whole Gilyak region. The largest Gilyak village on the mainland is Wair, or Wait, as the Russians customarily call it. Located in the estuary part of the Amur River, nearly equidistant from the area extending above its last bend and the Amur-Liman, from North Sakhalin and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Wair lies at the center, as it were, of the entire habitation area of the Gilyak, continental as well as insular. With its 16 winter houses lying somewhat inland from the river in two rows, the many summer yurts rising close to the bank in front of them, the numerous large and small storehouses scattered alongside and in between, open or roofed drying racks, and the like give an impression of a large, heavily populated village, a metropolis of Gilyak life. Only a little above Wair there is another large Gilyak village, Magho with eleven yurts, and diagonally across from it Tebach with seven yurts, which, located at the last bend of the river toward the east, belongs to both the estuary part of it and to the adjacent part upstream. In the latter part of the Gilyak habitation area the villages are closest together, though they are almost purely small villages with two or three yurts, and only the two Principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number.

/364 cont./

361 principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

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1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

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161 Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

342 161 592 [476]

/365 cont./ Just as the Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected more or less with the help and participation of all the fellow-members or people belonging to a place, so also as a rule, in accordance with the communistic spirit which characterizes primitive peoples, are they not inhabited by a single family, but by several together. As may be seen from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with its four long sleeping benches, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 occupants for each Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, as I myself have repeatedly seen, and occasionally one even comes across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire winter. On the other hand, over and above the family members mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of kinship or in return for certain services, find fixed and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family assumed above is undoubtedly not any too large. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 persons for a Chinese winter-yurt, and for an earth yurt, since it contains only three sleeping benches, and much shorter ones at that, and in general provides considerably less space, only half as many, that is, only eight persons on the average. On this basis, approximate counts of the population for the individual parts of the Gilyak area mentioned above can be ascertained without difficulty. The available data are inadequate for this for only one part, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for the number of the winter dwellings of the Gilyak along this coast, with the exception of the small stretch between the Amur-Liman and the village of Kulj, is still unknown to us. Hence
161 estimates must be made here in another way. The part of this coast which is unfamiliar to us, from Kulj to Tugur Bay, is about six to seven times the size of the stretch between Kulj and the Liman, and one therefore only needs to multiply by six or seven the population figure ascertained for the latter according to the

G /365 cont./
161 number of their yurts to obtain the approximate size of the population of the entire /366/ coast up to Tugur Bay. Since, however, it is not unlikely that the size of the Gilyak population along this coast increases as one approaches the mouth of the Amur, the Amur-Liman, and Sakhalin, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there is no second Kulj farther westward along it, I believe that it would be more correct and again not reckoning too high if I take, not six or seven, but only five times the number ascertained for the stretch between Kulj and the Amur-Liman for determining the total Gilyak population along this coast.

Accordingly, the following minimum population figures are given for the individual parts of the area and for the whole area of the Gilyak:

Mainland		Sakhalin Island	
Amur River	1904	West Coast	1016
Amur-Liman	568	Tymy River	256
Coast of Sea of Okhotsk	1040	East Coast	432
Total	3512	Total	1704

Thus the total number of Gilyak on the continent and on the island of Sakhalin amounts to at least 5,216, or, in round figures, some five thousand souls.

Gi 342 [361] In going from the Gilyak to the Tungusic Amur-peoples, a glance must first be cast at the Orok roaming in Gilyak territory. As reindeer nomads they do not have permanent dwellings, but pitch tents, which are of very simple construction, when they stay at a place temporarily or even for a longer period. Long wooden poles arranged in conical fashion, form the framework of the tent, over which a covering stitched together out of fish skins is spread in such a way that only at the top, where the poles come together, does an opening remain to let the smoke escape when a Gi [361] fire is made inside the tent. Since the migrations of the Orok

/366 cont./

342 361 always proceed through more or less forested regions (1) and after

1. See pp. 35, 38 above.

a certain time they come back again to the same points, they leave the tent framework stand when departing from a place and take only the tent covers with them. On my travels in the winter of 1856 I repeatedly encountered these tent frames of the Orok in the Tymy Valley and on the pass from there to the west coast of Sakhalin. I also met their expeditions, but I never saw a tent set up. At all seasons of the year the Orok seem to use only the fish-

342 237 skin coverings for roofing their tents. At least Glehn (2) en-

2. Op. cit., p. 196.

countered them near Kăkr-wo in northern Sakhalin on March 19 (1860) and Schmidt in Tschogbo, on the Bay of Patience, at the beginning of February (1861) in their "conical fish-skin tents," /367/ in spite of the fact that in the latter place at the time it reached a coldness of 30° R. /Reaumur/ so that it was also painfully cold in the Orok tents (1). According to Mamia Rinsô (2),

1. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 114, 116. In mentioning the Orok tents, Schmidt refers to the illustration of them given in Siebold's Nippon. This can only be a mistake, however, by his taking the huts shown in the background on Pl. XX, the only one devoted to the Orok in the work named, for Orok tents, whereas Siebold himself (in his annotations to Mamia Rinsô's "Tôtats-ki ko" -- Nippon, VII, p. 204) says that they "are summer dwellings such as the Aino on Krafto build."

[114]

2. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 190).

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342 the Orok also use tent coverings sewed together out of fish skins,
237 which are soaked in fish oil, and pieces of birch ("kaba") bark.
In a heavy snowfall, they are said to prefer the fish skin coverings
because they do not break as easily under the weight of the snow.
[184] Reindeer-skin coverings, such as the Orochon in the upper Amur
region and other northern peoples have for covering their tents in
winter, seem not to be used at all among the Orok. Perhaps the
reason why the Orok are satisfied with only fish-skin coverings for
their tents is, for one thing, their lighter weight, which makes
them easier to carry, and then, too, they are easily made be-
cause of Sakhalin's great abundance of fish, especially Salmo
342 lagocephalus. It is very noteworthy that the Orok, in addition
to the conical tents which Schmidt and Glehn saw among them
and whose frameworks I repeatedly encountered, have still
another tent form completely different from that one. Poljakof,
who during the winter of 1882 spent some time among the Orok
in Ater-wo and in other places on Nyi Bay on the east coast of
Sakhalin (3), saw them living in rectangular tents which appeared

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3. I. S. Poliakov", Puteshestvie na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/, St. Petersburg, 1883 (Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izviestii I. R. Geogr. Obshch.), p. 81.

to be conical only when seen from the front or from the back,
but from a side view simply roof-shaped. Their framework
consists of two poles driven vertically into the ground, on which
a long crosspole rests; additional poles stuck slantingly into the
ground lean on either side of it, and this is covered from top to
bottom with tree bark weighted down from the outside by a series
of crosspoles and pressed against the framework. There is a door
on each of the two transverse sides, next to the vertical poles,
but only the one protected from the wind is used at any given time
for entering and leaving, and the other one is then kept shut.
In the interior, in the middle of the tent, a rectangular area is

/367 cont./

342 marked off by a series of short vertical sticks connected by wooden crosspieces and is used for making fires. As a rule, two, three, or [354] even more fires are made in it, depending on the number of families living in the tent. On the crosspoles surrounding the fireplace, [251] one sees fish hung for drying, smoking, or for some other treatment, and the sleeping places for the tent's occupants are behind this enclosure, along the walls.

342 184 Thus, the Orok, even though as discussed above (4), they

4. See above pp. 38, 286, and 279 /untranslated/.

are only a branch of the Olcha that migrated to Sakhalin, have neither the winter nor the summer dwellings of the latter, /368/ but, in accordance with their nomadic way of life, always live in tents, which, as we shall see in the following, have similarities in part with those of the likewise nomadic Orochon and Manegir of the upper Amur, in part with those of the Orochi of the seacoast, who for the most part roam as hunters.

343 Finally, as Mamia Rinsô reports, besides their tents, the Orok have permanent storehouses always remaining in place at certain points which they touch on their wanderings or at which they stay for a longer period. They are small bins erected on [179] piles at some height above the ground, evidently for protection against beasts of prey -- a type of construction which they perhaps have copied from their neighbors, the Gilyak.

342 184 [101] The dwellings of the Tungusic Amur-peoples neighboring the Gilyak on the mainland, the Olcha, Negda, Samagir, Goldi, and Orochi are quite different. With a similar, rather sedentary way of life like the former, they all have, like the Gilyak, different dwellings in the winter and in the summer, and for the most part [179] permanent ones. It has already been pointed out with regard to the winter dwellings that the Chinese method of house construction with sleeping benches running along the walls and heated by pipe lines, spreading down the Sungari and Amur, has found entry 000 among all these peoples. It is therefore sufficient with respect to

342 /368 cont./ It is therefore sufficient with respect to
171 it to refer to the above description of the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak and only take note of the few deviations from it, which, however, as I must state immediately, are always only of a minor nature, whereas the basic principles of their construction always remain the same.

342 The winter yurt (hagdu) of the closest neighbors of the
171 Gilyak on the Amur, in general so very similar to the Gilyak one
352 that where houses of the two nationalities are side by side, as in
354 Aure, absolutely no difference can be found between them. In
[563] some Olcha localities, however, especially where a Chinese merchant has taken up temporary residence, as in Kidsi, Adi, etc., one sees houses kept neater than among the Gilyak, the moldings of the roof provided with some carvings, the walls daubed with clay on the outside, in the interior not only the sleeping benches, but the walls directly above them covered with reed mats; small Chinese rugs are spread on the bench for one to sit on, and in the evening, for lighting the yurt, wicks resting in small bowls filled with fish oil are lighted in the four corners.
[285] As I had an opportunity to see in the village of Adi, the above-mentioned plank-bed and wall mats are plaited by the Olcha women out of a type of reed growing along the Amur (Phragmites communis; in Olcha and Goldi holgochta) by first splitting the reed stem along one side lengthwise, pressing it flat, and drying
[84] it. In addition, however, there are among the Olcha, particularly in the southern part of their area, above Kidsi, especially small yurts such as I never saw among the Gilyak, and which on the basis of only half the number of hearths, sleeping benches, and windows in comparison with the ordinary winter-yurts, I would
342 like to designate as only half-yurts, as it were. In these, as the
352 accompanying /369/ plan taken from one of the two yurts of the
[354] village of Pulssa shows, there are only two sleeping benches, along one long wall and one transverse wall, and only one hearth, which, at the beginning of the former, stands immediately beside the entrance. /Illustration appears here./ The dogs' table usually found in the center of the yurt has been moved to a corner diagonally across from the one in which the two sleeping benches come
3/4 [i.e. the Chinese style winter dwellings.--Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Negidal
Samagir

/369 cont./

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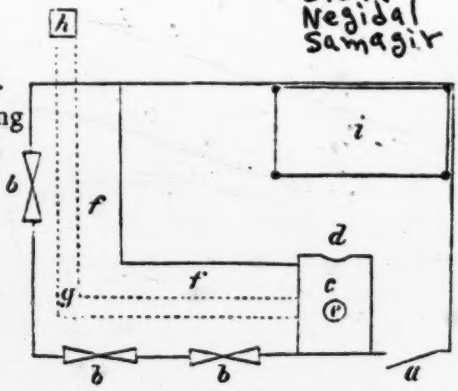
a -- Door. b -- Window.
c -- Hearth. d -- Opening for feeding it. e -- Hole for the large kettle.
f -- Sleeping benches.
g -- Pipes for heating them. h -- Chimney.
i -- Dogs' table.



Plan of a Small Winter Yurt of the Olcha.

342 352 together. There are windows only in the walls along which they run, two in the long wall, one in the transverse wall. The space provided by these yurts is very cramped, and for certain purposes, for instance, for the keeping and leading around of bears in the yurt, which is so popular among the Gilyak, they are quite useless, and this is perhaps the reason why they are not used among them.

342 [171] That the Negda along the Amgunj /Amgun/ have winter yurts quite similar to those of the Gilyak and the other peoples of the lower Amur region is known through Schmidt, who visited them in the spring of 1862 (1). -- I know this with respect to

1. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 147.

[184] the Samagir from my own experience. The three yurts in their village of Ngagha on the Gorin, with the generally customary construction, were very neat and were large and bright to an extent that I saw nowhere else in the Amur region; each of them had ten windows, three in each of the long walls and two in each of the transverse walls. A yurt owned by a Samagir in the Olcha village of Pulu (or Pulj) on the Amur, in which, incidentally, three Chinese traders had taken up temporary residence, was

/369 cont./

342 distinguished by the fact that the entrance was in the middle of a transverse wall, and the two hearths stood at a considerable distance from it, symmetrically to the left and right, at the beginning of the two long walls. The walls of the yurt on the outside and the two transverse walls on the inside as well were daubed with a mixture of clay and chopped straw.

342 184 177 352 Even more than among the Olcha and Samagir, one finds direct traces of Chinese influence on and in the winter dwellings of the Goldi, and all the more so the farther upstream and the closer one is to the mouth of the Sungari. In Turme, on the mouth of the Ussuri, for instance, I saw a Goldi house, one wall of which consisted almost entirely of windows closely beside one another, just as I had previously seen before in the Chinese houses in Zjanka at the mouth of the Gorin. Also, the roomy table for the dogs, taking up the center of the dwelling among the Gilyak, was entirely absent. Farther up, in Sselgako, I even noticed some Chinese furniture in the Goldi dwellings, particularly small chests with many small drawers standing on the sleeping benches, which I had not seen below. In addition, /370/ however, there are very often among the Goldi only those small yurts that I mentioned above in connection with the Olcha. By the way, [563] [439] the houses of the Chinese who live singly or in twos or threes scattered among the Goldi on the Ussuri and are engaged in small-scale trade, or, farther to the south, in seeking the ginseng root, are very similar in nature.

342 184 Finally, the winter dwellings of the Orochi along the upper courses of the right Amur and Ussuri tributaries are the same, but, if possible, even smaller and always more wretched and untidier (1).

[113]

1. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Usuri i zemel' k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands to the West of it toward the Sea/" (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, Res. and Mat., p. 224); the same, Putesh.

/370 cont./

342 184 113 1. (cont.)
po okr. russk. Azii /Journey through the Outlying Districts of Asiatic Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 89, etc.

342 184 [177] [563] Along the latter, incidentally, only the few Orochi who, following the example of the Chinese living among them, lead a more sedentary life based upon a certain amount of field cultivation and in particular the cultivation of vegetables, live in such winter yurts. Early in the eighties, when Lieutenant Colonel Nadarof [195] traveled on the right Ussuri tributaries, these Orochi numbered [162] not more than 20, who lived in three winter huts or so-called [361] fansen, two on the Ima and one on the Biki (2). Most of the

[113] 2. I. Nadarov", "Sieverno-Ussuriiskii krai /North Ussuri Krai/" (Zap. Imper. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp. 73, 77).

Orochi population there, however, in keeping with their nomadic hunting life, had no housing, even in winter, other than tents, so-called tschukdi (3), which will be discussed below. I was told

3. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 74.

342 824 the same about the Orochi living along the upper courses of the Amur tributaries, especially the Chongar, Munamu, etc. The low winter temperature is prepared for, of course, by more carefully covering the tent, on the roof as well as along the walls, with tree bark, as well as maintaining a constant fire in it, for which the extensive forests in which the Orochi always travel provide easily procured and inexhaustible material. Also at that time a mat made of several layers of tree bark is spread on the sleeping places in the tent and, as a poor conductor of heat, gives excellent protection against the cold of the ground.

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/370 cont./

342 Whereas the winter dwellings of the Tungusic peoples of
171 the lower Amur region, built according to a common Chinese
[177] pattern, correspond to one another and to those of their northern neighbors, the Amur Gilyak, their summer dwellings show great and extensive differences. Among none of these peoples are there permanent summer-houses erected piles at some height above the ground like the käryf of the Gilyak. There are always only tents easily set up on level ground, which, however, among each of them are of different shape and construction.

342 The summer dwelling of the Olcha, which among them, as among the Samagir and Goldi, is called dauro, most nearly resembles a house. One of them from the village of Beller on the Amur is shown on Plate XIV, Fig. 1.[3/A] It consists of a rather thin and light wooden frame covered with birch bark. The ground plan is approximately square. For the walls of the roughly square structure /371/ thick poles are stuck in the ground about a foot apart and are connected by thinner crosspoles, sticks, and switches about the same distance apart, so that a kind of wide-meshed network or latticework is produced. In the front and in the rear, along the two transverse walls, the poles, or at least some of them, are thicker, like slender pillars, which increase in length from the sides toward the middle; a number of thin crossbeams rest on them and support the roof structure, which, incidentally, like the walls, consists of a latticework of longitudinal and trans-
[824] verse poles and sticks. The whole wooden framework is covered on walls and roof with birch bark, the individual pieces of which are further held together on the roof by a series of poles placed lengthwise and crosswise. A few holes in the wooden framework along the long walls remain uncovered for window openings, over which birch bark or reed mats may be hung, and a larger opening in the front transverse wall is used as the entrance, which can be closed by a door either likewise consisting of birch bark or made out of several boards. In the interior of this tent-yurt, two thin beams placed on the floor to the right and to the left of the door the length of the yurt mark off the side areas serving for resting

3/A [See category 116, P. 994. --Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

/371 cont./

342 for sitting and sleeping, from the central area. Sometimes each
[352] of the side areas is occupied by a sleeping bench about a foot high, made of boards, and equipped with a raised rim on the
[354] inside. In the central area the fire is made on a place equipped with crude field stones, and above it there is an opening in the roof for smoke to go out. An opening in the front transverse-wall, in the roof gable, seems to me to be intended for the same purpose, clearing the air. In addition such a strong draft is created by these openings and the usually open window-holes that a gathering of gnats can scarcely take place in the tent.

342 353 [122] [184] [354] The dauro of the Samagir on the Gorin is of the same type. During my journey in the winter of 1855, I spent a night in one of them, which belonged to the Samagir of Ngagha and was a few versts from the winter village. With the same shape and construction as the Olcha dauro, it was nevertheless more solidly built and roomier than that one; the central crossbeam running from one transverse wall to the other was supported by a pillar standing inside the tent-yurt. The fireplace, with the smoke vent above it, was near this pillar. Everything was so spacious that a proper fire with blazing flames could be made and maintained without any danger. The reason for this is probably that these dauro, of which there are several in the vicinity of Ngagha, being located in regions rich in forests and game, are not dismantled for the winter, but remain standing and are used for a temporary sojourn while hunting. On the framework inside the dauro, one could see various kinds of hunting apparatus hanging, such as spring guns, bows and quivers with arrows, lances, etc., and many hunting trophies, such as skulls and the head pelts of does and musk deer, a piece of fur from an elk, the wing of a mountain cock, the foot of a merganser, etc. /372/ In the background, however, lay nets and other fishing implements, and outside against the dauro, a boat -- proof of its use as a summer dwelling. The sleeping places were equipped with straw mats, the windows covered. Thus the whole, with a blazing fire, made a cozy abode even in winter.

/372 cont./

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184

According to Middendorff's description (1), the summer

1. Middendorff, Reise nach dem äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 1533.

dwelling of the Negda on the Amgunj, neighboring the Samagir and closely related to them, seems to me to be quite similar. I can see only the one difference that in it, opposite the entrance closable by a hanging of bark in front of it instead of a door, on the rear side of the yurt, there is a second door just like it. This makes it possible to open the one or the other door, depending on the direction of the wind, or to make a strong current of air by opening both. Moreover, Middendorff found in the Negda summer dwelling a grill-like tier made out of many thin sticks, which was used to smoke fish and especially fish roe, a contrivance which perhaps was set up only temporarily for this purpose.

[419]

The dauro of the Goldi, however, are of an entirely different form (2). Usually located in the willow bushes on the low

[192]

2. The term dauro for the summer dwelling is customary generally among the lower Goldi up to the Geong Mountains; above these mountains to the Ussuri and along this latter it is usually called anzo, and I have also heard it called njo by the Amur Goldi above the Ussuri mouth.

Amur islands along the river branches rich in fish, they look like small rounded hills or giant ant hills from a distance. (See Pl. XIV, Fig. 2.) In comparison with the Olcha and Samagir dauro, their construction is much simpler and more primitive. Long, thick willow switches bent in a semicircle, stuck into the ground above one another, and connected by means of thinner switches and twigs plaited together in between form the framework of the Goldi dauro. With the exception of an entrance

/372 cont./ With the exception of an entrance
[342] opening and another at the top of the tent, which serves for the
[184] escape of smoke, this framework is entirely covered with birch
[354] bark, the pieces of which are pressed against the wooden frame-
[824] work and held together by means of crosspieces put on it and longer poles stuck into the ground in a slanting position. Many of the implements leaned against the tent from the outside, such as oars, nets and baskets, wooden idols, etc., perform the same service. The entrance opening, with the log or board put diagonally on the ground in front of it, is just large enough for a person to get into the tent through it in a very stooped position.
[824] The door is represented by a birch-bark mat which can be rolled up and fastened in this position by means of a string. Inside the
[353] arrangement is the same as in the Olcha dauro, except that the
[354] space is much more cramped and smaller: to the left and right of the entrance lie the sleeping places; in the center, beneath the smoke hole, the fireplace. But only a small fire can be
[136] made here, and it does not take much to fill the tent with smoke, but this is usually not disagreeable to its occupants because it keeps off the annoying gnats, which are especially numerous in the willow bushes of the low and humid Amur islands. /373/ Everywhere along the Amur and Ussuri I saw the Goldi live exclusively in these dauros, unless, as sometimes happens, they prefer to remain in their winter dwellings throughout the summer as well, and from here visit the localities in the vicinity which are especially suitable for fishing.

The situation seems to be different, however, among the
[824] Sungari Goldi. In the village of Gaidje, just below the mouth of the Sungari, I saw a few conical straw tents standing beside the usual winter dwellings of the Goldi. The bundles of straw, placed around a conical framework of poles, crossed at the top, form a cup. The door likewise consisted of a straw mat. As I discovered later, these tents were made just like those in the small Manchurian guardposts above the mouth of the Sungari, for instance, in Ssung-bira, etc. Furthermore, there was the same type of straw tent here and there on the islands covered with willow bushes at the confluence of the Sungari and the Amur

Goldi RX3
Orochi

/373 cont./

342 River (1). A few days' journey up the latter river, in the prairie
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[113] [285] 1. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 143) likewise saw in Ssilbi, near the mouth of the Sungari, a conical tent covered with reed mats.

that comes down from the spurs of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, I again came upon a few tents of natives on the left bank of the Amur at a place named for me as Kudjurko. They be-
[221] longed, so the occupants told me, to a few Goldi who had come here from the Sungari, from the village of Lachsso, with their wives and children, in order to spend the summer fishing and hunting. These tents, as Plate XV, Fig. 2, shows, were likewise of a pointed, conical shape, but, instead of straw, were covered with birch-bark mats; the door consisted of a plaited reed mat. The interior was the same as in the tent-dwellings described above. On the basis of these facts I suspect that among the Sungari Goldi, instead of the low, hemispherical form, a tall, pointed, conical dauro form is in use, which has also found entry among the Amur Goldi living closest to the Sungari.

Even simpler and more primitive than the dauro of the Goldi is the summer dwelling of their neighbors on the seacoast, the Orochi. On Plate XVI is pictured one which I had an op-
[114] portunity to become familiar with in Hadshi Bay, or Kaiserhafen, in the summer of 1854 as soon as I stepped from the corvette "Olivuza" onto the coast of the Amur region. It is a simple,
[824] roof-shaped tent which consists of a framework of poles covered with square pieces of larch bark. The pieces of bark are held together and pressed against the wooden framework by means of long poles stuck obliquely into the ground and leaned against the roof. The rear side of the tent is closed; the entrance, with
[353] a bark mat hanging down as a door, is at the front. The sleep-
[354] ing places are to the right and left, along the walls of the tent, in the back there are all sorts of provisions and utensils, and in the center the fireplace, with the cooking kettle hanging over it.

[See Category 116, P. 995--Analyst]
[See Category 116, P. 996--Analyst]

/373 cont./

342 184 [354] the center the fireplace, with the cooking kettle hanging over it. Here there is no special opening in the roof for the escape of smoke from the tent, because it can easily escape through the usually open or only halfway closed entrance and cracks /374/ and gaps in the roof, and in any case may be desired to a certain extent by the occupants as protection against the gnats. I [122] generally found it so strong that I could stay in the tent for only a short time. According to Nadarof's description (1), the tent-

1. Nadarof, op. cit., pp. 75, 76.

dwellings (tschukdi) used in summer and winter by the Orochi of the interior, on the right tributaries of the Amur and the Ussuri, on the Poor, Biki, Ima, etc., are quite similar in nature. [824] Among them, however, the tent framework, as a rule, is covered with birch-bark mats, over which other tree barks are spread as [354] needed; in particular a series of bark pieces bent at an angle are fastened along the ridge of the roof, but in such a way that an opening remains above the fireplace for the escape of smoke. 342 The interior of the tent either forms only one room (as along 184 the Biki and Ima) or is divided by means of tree bark into three 353 rooms (on the Poor): two smaller rooms along the shorter sides 354 of the tent, which serve for an entrance or for storing household utensils, etc., and a larger central room, which is the actual living-chamber, with the fireplace in the middle and the sleeping places on both sides.

342 361 166 As can be seen from the above, the summer dwellings of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region are all of such a type that they can be built without much labor from materials which in part are available everywhere, such as wooden poles, especially willow poles and switches, and in part can be transported easily, such as mats made of birch bark, straw, or reeds, etc. Therefore it is not difficult, if necessary, to tear them down again and move elsewhere. And actually the locality of the summer residence of these peoples is often changed, not only from year to year, but even in the course of one and the

/374 cont./

342 same summer. Where numerous summer tents stood beside one
361 another one year, one perhaps finds in the following year, as
166 has happened to me, not a single tent, and dauros which one discovered early in the summer may be found a few weeks or a couple of months later, even though in the same general area, at other places, on other islands or along other branches of the mighty, much divided river. The principal reason for this frequent change of locality probably lies in the fact that the most favorable localities for fishing are always sought, which may vary not only from year to year, but even change in different months, depending for example, on what species of salmon happens to be migrating upstream or what kind of fish is the best catch at the time.

342 Dauros are built, however, only if a relatively long stay
184 at one place is planned. If, on the other hand, it is a matter of only a quite brief stay, perhaps for only a couple of days or a night, even smaller and more primitive tents are erected, if circumstances require it, for protection against bad weather, rain, or the exceedingly annoying plague of gnats. In such cases the Olcha as well as the Goldi put up a so-called /375/ homorá (1)

1. According to Maximowicz, among the more southern Goldi it is also called komborá.

or an adiangman-a'ungá. The former is a low, longish tent which has the shape of a cylinder cut lengthwise and with the cut surface placed on the ground. The front end of a homora of the Goldi is illustrated on Plate XXX. 2/4 Several willow switches bent into the shape of a semicircle, with their ends stuck into the ground about a foot apart in a line, and joined together by means of others interlaced lengthwise forms the framework. This is covered with mats made of birch bark or thin straw, or with a cover sewed together out of fish skins, for which, in order to make the casing as raintight as possible, the mats are laid over one another so that the side edge of the higher mat always covers the edge of the adjacent lower one. The rear end of the

2/4 [See category 116, P. 1010 -- Analyst]

/375 cont./

342 184 homora is completely closed off with the same material; before the open front, however, instead of a door, there hangs a birch bark or straw mat, which rolls up and can be fastened in this position by means of a string. If a homora is supposed to take the place of a dauro for a whole family and perhaps for some time, it is built about as tall as a man; in this case, a small fire may even be lighted in the center, and a small opening is found in the roof over the fireplace as a smoke vent. If it is intended for only one person, however, or a few persons, the latter is absent, and the height is only sufficient for a person to enter in a stooped position. In this case, the fire is made outside, in front of the entrance, and the smoke, driven over or inside by the wind, keeps the gnats at a distance.

342 354 184

The adiangman-a'unga is even simpler -- merely an overnight tent, as the name indicates, in shape and construction quite similar to the Goldi dauro, but much smaller, meant for only one or two people, and provided with a single opening serving as an entrance, which does not even have a door-mat hanging at it and in front of which the fire is made outside.

342 184 The small tent, the so-called tschoro or tscholo, used by the Goldi above the mouth of the Ussuri, is just as artless and simple. Whereas the adiangman-a'unga is patterned after the hemispherical Goldi dauro, the tschoro is patterned after the conical one: a few willow poles arranged conically forms the framework, which is covered on all sides with straw or hay, as a rule, from the Calamagrostis grass spreading far and wide over the prairies, so that only a small side opening, like the opening in a beehive, so to speak, is left, through which one can crawl into the tent. Such a tschoro is found among the Orochi along the Ussuri tributaries, though they also construct a tschoro patterned after their summer and winter tent, the tschukdi; if it is a matter of providing some protection against wind and weather for a night, two sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground, connected with a crosspole, /376/ against one side of which some poles or switches are leaned in a slanting position, and birch bark is spread over this frame. If the stay

/376 cont./

342 184 is prolonged or if the weather becomes bad, a protective roof is erected on the other side along the same crosspole, and thus a small roof-shaped tent is obtained (1).

1. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 75.

342 484 513 In passing I must also mention here a device which our guides, Olcha and Goldi, made on trips, when spending the night in the open, to protect themselves in particular against the exceedingly numerous gnats in the willow bushes of the Amur islands. From the calico fabric which they requested as advance payment, each one made himself a sack two and a half to three feet deep out of it, the bottom of which consisted of a rectangle approximately as long as a man and correspondingly wide. In order to keep the bottom taut, sticks of the appropriate length were stuck in it along the transverse sides, and by means of these the sack, turned bottom up, was placed on a pair of forked sticks set into the ground, so as to make a low, parallelepiped sleeping-tent, into which a man crawled by lifting one of [177] the hanging side-walls, These maika, as they called them, were copied immediately by our Russian people.

343 [251] [417] Since the supplies of fish needed for the fall and winter are prepared in summer, and especially at the time when the various species of salmon ascend the Amur, one as a rule sees standing beside the dauro the racks used for drying the fish in the sun, and now and then a little house to put supplies in temporarily. Such a storehouse (Goldi tachto) is erected at some height above the ground in order to make its contents safe against humidity and attacks by mice and other animals. Crosspoles are placed on six piles, which rise about four feet above the ground and are covered with a piece of birch bark at the top, and a floor is built on them, on which the little house, with walls and roof made of curved willow-switches and covered with straw or hay, is set.

342 184 484 In connection with the above-described summer tents of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, I must here, in conclusion, mention some more or less similar tents which they

/376 cont./

342 erect in winter for a stay in the forest wildernesses during their
184 hunting expeditions, which not infrequently are very extended
484 in space and time. Among the Olcha, Samagir, and Goldi
these hunting tents generally bear the name alko. In the winter
[114] of 1855, in the Langysk (or Adara) Mountains between the
Amur River and the Liman, I came across such an alko which
was temporarily occupied by four Olcha from the Amur and one
Samagir. From the outside and on the interior it was made like
342 the above-described summer tents of the Orochi. A fish-skin
35 cover hung in front of the entrance. In the middle of the tent
184 a small fire was kept going, at which a few small kettles stood,
484 and off to one side lay various household utensils, several
wooden bowls, hunting implements, spring guns, ski, etc. In
the game-rich hunting grounds along the Gorin, visited by the
peoples named every winter and often from great distances,
/377/ there are many alko always put in isolation in the forest
[122] wilderness. I myself have spent a few hours of the midday rest
or a night in a number of them. The first one of this kind that
I reached from the mouth of the Gorin was of unusually solid
construction and large dimensions. It was named for me as
Poijonge and was said to belong to the Goldi of Bitschu on the
Amur, but among its temporary inhabitants at the time there
were also Goldi from Chongar, Onmoi, and Zollazi even
farther up, who had come here to hunt. This alko even had walls
made of beams laid on top of one another to a height of several
feet; in each of the two transverse sides of the house stood two
posts, which were connected at the top by longitudinal beams and
supported the roof made out of boards. Two other, thinner,
longitudinal beams ran parallel to them, somewhat lower, between
the same posts and were used for hanging up articles of clothing
and drying them near the fire; finally on the ground lay the two
longitudinal beams that marked off the sleeping places in the
tent. Above the fireplace there was an opening with a grill in
the roof, and below it hung a pole which had multiple spikes
342 and notches for hanging the kettle over the fire. Inside the tent
184 many household and hunting implements lay together in confusion,
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Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

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[353]

/377 cont./

as well as some pieces of fur and bone from various animals, such as leg bones from a musk deer, etc. Outside more of the same was hanging on the surrounding trees and racks: the skins of does and musk deer, the stretched skin of an elk, the mighty antlers of a stag (Cervus elaphus), etc. Other alko in the same area, for instance the one belonging to the Samagir of Ngagha in which I spent a night and which bore the name Wai, were smaller, so that four people could find space in it only with difficulty, but otherwise was the same. In an emergency, when it is a matter of building a shelter against bad weather as quickly as possible, the hunters will build a homora, even in winter, large enough for one or two people, as I have seen several times along the Gorin. This winter homora is exactly like the one customarily built in summer and described above, but with the difference that the framework built in the snow is covered with fir branches instead of the bark or straw mats. In good weather,

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however, no homora is needed to spend the night in the open in winter: the night is spent around a blazing fire, and there is merely the campsite to be properly chosen and the resting place arranged as comfortably as possible according to the circumstances. For this, the snow is first tested as to its depth, just as the Gilyak do, and then by means of the ski is shoveled out as much as possible to the ground, so that more or less high, protective walls are made in the rear and to the sides of the fire and sleeping

[824]

places. Then a thick layer of fir branches is spread over the sleeping places, and the surrounding snow walls, in order to keep them from being melted by the radiation from the fire, are also covered with such branches, and finally a supply of good firewood, and as dry as possible, in sufficient quantity for the night,

[122]

is collected. I have spent many a night comfortably, in spite of so low a temperature, at such overnight sites of the Amur natives, which had been deserted shortly before.

/378/

342 171 177 The winter dwellings built after the Chinese prototype are in general use in the upper Amur region just as in the lower. It is self-evident that the villages of the Chinese, Manchu, and Daur scattered among one another in the civilized sector of the Amur River below Aigun only contain houses of such construction. No difference is to be found between the houses of the one or the other of these peoples: the Daur houses in Chormoldin, for example, are of the same nature outside and inside as the supposedly Manchurian houses in Torell, Gulssoja, and other places which I visited. The entrance always leads into a kind of anteroom in which the hearth is found, serving to heat the sleeping benches in the adjoining living room. A kettle which can be covered with a wooden lid is set in the hearth over the fire. The sleeping benches are provided with reed mats and small rugs, on which stand the well-known, low, small, Chinese tables; along the walls there are small chests with numerous drawers. The window frames are covered with Chinese paper and in warmer seasons are removed altogether; on the floor, consisting of clay stamped firm, a masonry charcoal brazier used to light the pipes rises in the center of the room. Each house lies in a farmyard formed partly by various outbuildings, granaries, storehouses, and partly by the fence surrounding the vegetable garden. The fence consists of vertical poles interlaced with straw and now and then is provided with gates leading into the vegetable garden and beyond to roads running between the fields. The outbuildings are in part made of wood, like the dwellings, but in part only of lumps of clay with finely chopped straw kneaded into it and contain in part the implements used for garden and field cultivation, plows, hoes, shovels, two-wheeled carts, etc., and in part the already harvested field and garden produce; in addition there are fenced enclosures for horses, cattle, pigs, a low chicken-coop made of sticks, a pigeon house resting on long poles, and other farm equipment.

342 342 352 353 [354] [415] [285] [354] [351] [241] 417 343 [412] [407] [493] [251] [231]

342 648 17 The exact time when the Daur adopted the Chinese method of house construction cannot be ascertained. It unfortunately cannot be learned from the report of the Russian freebooters and Cossacks who made war on the Daur along the upper Amur and

/378 cont./

342 its source rivers around the middle of the seventeenth century
648 what sort of dwellings they had at that time. Since, however,
17 they were already a sedentary agricultural and livestock-raising
[131] people who were widely distributed, not only along the Amur,
[439] but also along the Nonni, a tributary of the Sungari, and carried on a brisk trade with the Chinese, and also were visited from time to time by officials of the Chinese government to collect tribute (1), it is very likely, indeed probable, that they lived

1. See pp. 337 ff. above.

in houses of the Chinese type even at that time. And they must have succumbed even more to the influence of the Chinese when, upon the orders of the Chinese /379/ government (in 1654), the Daur living on the Amur and spared by the Russians had to leave
342 that river and move to the Nonni (1). With regard to the dwelling
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1. See p. 367 above.

of the Daur, that was confirmed soon afterward by European
[352] travelers. When about forty years later (1693) Ysbrants Ides
[354] and Adam Brand visited the Daur on the Nonni, they found them living in houses which were identical with those of the Chinese, in that they likewise had wide, low sleeping-benches along the walls, covered with plaited reed mats and heated by pipes running under them, etc. (2). More recently Kropotkin (3)

[113]

2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 71. Ad. Brand, Neuvermehrte Beschreib. seiner grossen Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht hat, Lübeck, 1734, p. 132.

[113]

3. "Poiezdka iz" Zabaikal'ia na Amur" chrez" Man'chzhuriiu /Journey from Transbaikalia to the Amur through

2: Schrenck--563 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur

/379 cont./

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175
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[113]

3. (cont.)
Manchuria/" (Russk. Viestn., Vol. LVII, 1865, June, p. 669).

reported on the basis of his own experiences that the Daur living along the upper tributaries of the Nonni, on the Ganj, Gujuil, etc. have houses which are built entirely in the Chinese manner. Later on, when the Daur were permitted by the Chinese government to return to the Amur, though with certain restrictions, they soon gained a prominent position there, thanks to their inclination and aptitude for trade, especially with the Tungusic peoples known to them from ancient times and in part related, and to a certain extent in the upper Amur region there fell to them the role that the Chinese play in the lower (4). As in-

[648]
[439]

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4. See pp. 79, 107, 371 above.

defatigable traders working their way in everywhere, they have done more than the latter to spread Chinese products and wares, Chinese customs, etc. among the Tungusic peoples of the upper Amur region, and if at many places among them a more sedentary life, with field and vegetable cultivation, with permanent dwellings of the Chinese type, etc., has developed, it is certainly to be attributed for the most part to the Daur. It is their work for instance, that the Orochon on the eastern slopes of the Great Chingan Mountains, along the Ganj, Gujuil, and other tributaries of the Nonni, otherwise so greatly devoted to the nomadic hunting life, have in place become sedentary farmers and, living together in villages, have adopted the Chinese agriculture and way of life (5).

5. Kropotkin, op. cit., p. 670.

Tungus RU5
Birar

/379 cont./

342 177 [101] [361] The same thing happened to the Birar on the Amur where they are directly adjacent to the Daur, as above the Bureja Mountains. Despite their nomadic tendencies otherwise, here they changed to a sedentary life with field and vegetable cultivation and also adopted the Chinese type of house construction. I [114] visited such a Birar house in the village of Kalta: its walls were made of thin beams, exactly like the winter dwellings of the lower Amur peoples, built following the Chinese pattern. The entrance in the center of one of the long walls led into a kind of anteroom from which a door to the right and left led into the two living chambers proper, which were identical and approxi-
342 177 mately square. In each of them /380/ stood a low hearth with a kettle embedded in it, and wide, low sleeping-benches ran [354] along all four walls, whose windows had Chinese paper in them [352] instead of panes of glass. Corresponding to these two divisions, a chimney rose from the ground on either side of the transverse wall of the house. In comparison with the above-described winter-dwellings of the lower Amur peoples, this Birar dwelling
351 343 could be called a double yurt. A farmyard made up of out-
241 184 buildings, which contained various field and garden implements, and a fenced vegetable-garden surrounded the house, just as
171 in the Daur and Manchu-Chinese villages with which I became acquainted soon afterward farther up the Amur.

171 177 352 354 114 [439] From the upper Amur, the Daur, advancing along the Bureja, Dseja /Zeya/, the Ssilimdshi, etc. in the interests of trade, exerted their civilizing influence far to the north, as far as the southern slope of the Stanovoi Mountains. It is noteworthy that there in the dwellings of the Yakut traders, who came from the north for the same purpose as the Daur, one likewise finds along the walls those sleeping benches heated by pipes, though the Yakut have nothing of the kind in their yurts in their homeland. Middendorff, to be sure, in imparting these facts, voices the opinion that this principle (1) was borrowed from the

1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 1560) says, "the principle of a pipe built into the clay bench running

Tungus AUS
Birar
Manegir

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1. (cont.)
around the wall," which to me can only refer to the sleeping benches heated by pipes.

Gilyak, but this view can be explained by the fact that he only saw it among the Gilyak (on the Sea of Okhotsk). On the basis of what was said above about the Chinese origin of the sleeping benches heated by pipes, we shall not be wrong if we ascribe its transfer to the Yakut, not to the Gilyak, but to the Daur coming in contact with the Yakut merchants along the southern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains.

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It is only among those parts, more numerous, to be sure, of the Tungusic population of the upper Amur, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, who have remained faithful to their traditional hunting and nomadic life that the winter dwelling constructed in the Chinese fashion has not as yet found entry. They retain the tent occupied in summer also in the winter and content themselves with merely making it serviceable then, even in the severe cold, by means of a thicker and stronger casing made of animal skins.

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In the summer (July and August) of 1856 along the Amur above the Bureja Mountains, I repeatedly came across tents of nomadic Birar, because this was still the time of the year when they stay along this river and its tributaries to fish, whereas later they leave them in order to spend the fall and winter hunting in the mountains (the Bureja Mountains and the Morra or Horse Mountains, as the Birar named them to me, extending to the south between the Amur and Sungari tributaries). These tents

[171] /381/ were of a pointed, conical shape and covered with mats made of birch bark, exactly like the tent of the Sungari Goldi described above and illustrated on Plate XV, Fig. 2.

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[184]

The tents (dshu) of the nomadic Manegir are of the same type. Maack, who spent some time among the Manegir during his trip along the Amur, gives a detailed description of

[See category 116, P 995 -- Analyst]

Tungus RUS
Manegir

/381 cont./

342 them (1). Depending on the size of the family for which the tent

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" v" 1855 g.,
St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 70.

is intended, the framework of a Manegir tent consists of 20-40 poles arranged in a conical shape. Six of them are distinguished by special thickness and forked upper ends. Four of these main poles are arranged in pairs in such a way that the poles concerned are not very far apart, and these two pairs stand diametrically opposite each other; the other two main poles are set to form a cross with them and are likewise diametrically opposite each other. Inasmuch as these six main poles interlock by means of the prongs of their upper forked ends, they provide the principal support of the whole framework. The other poles fill the spaces between them. Birch-bark mats consisting of large [824] pieces sewed together with elk or reindeer tendons are spread [283] over this framework in such a manner that the upper mat always [237] covers the edges of the lower one. To fasten the tent cover to the framework it is weighted down from the outside with a few poles, or ropes plaited out of horse hair are wound around it. In winter the lower part of the framework is covered with elk skins instead of birch bark, and, in order to make the tent even more airtight, snow is heaped around it. Only two openings remain in the tent: an upper one at the top of it, for the smoke to get out, and one at the side, between the two parts of a pair of poles, which serves as an entrance and is hung with an elk-skin or [417] fish-skin cover as a door. In the interior of the tent, supported [354] by the four paired poles, run two parallel crosspoles, one of which is used to hang the kettle above the fire constantly main- [417] tained in the center of the tent. If, however, the tent is intended for only the summer and is of a lighter construction without either the six main poles or the two crosspoles, then a tripod made out of poles for this very purpose is used for hanging the [352] kettle over the fire. At a distance of 2-3 feet from the fireplace, [513] to the right, left, and in the rear, lie the sleeping places, marked

/381 cont./

342 off by means of wooden blocks, where beds are made of grass,
[352] little twigs, and a small rug. Each member of the family has
[513] his assigned place. The places to the left of the entrance and the
[554] fireplace belong to the owner of the tent and his wife; those on the right to the other members of the family. The place in the rear of the tent opposite the entrance is regarded as the place of honor and is granted to guests, but only men may use it. As a
[353] rule a place for idols is found above it. Close to the door, to the
[352] left and right of it inside the hut, there are low benches /382/ supported by small posts driven into the ground and holding all kinds of implements in daily use.

342 Since the Manegir lead a rather regulated nomadic life in
221 that in summer, for fishing purposes, they move to the banks of
361 the mighty river running through their territory and in the fall wander back to the mountains for hunting, there are certain, especially favorable spots and localities in both areas where they appear annually and in great numbers. Even after the departure of the nomads in the fall such places can be recognized by the many substantial tent-frames left standing, by the earth trampled down and grazed off all around by the horses, by means of which the migration takes place, etc. On my journey up the Amur I came across many such places. Though it was late in the season I nevertheless came in contact with Manegir in places where through circumstances of various kinds, such as unexpectedly abundant fishing or hunting booty, on one occasion for example, brought about by the catching of a tremendous sturgeon, they had taken up temporary residence. In such cases, as I saw for myself, only a light, provisional tent is erected, such as illustrated
342 on Plate XV, Fig. 1. It suffices then to make a conical frame-
824 work out of a few poles, around which a birch-bark mat is thrown
285 in such a way that it provides adequate protection against rain or blinding sunshine, and if bad weather sets in or the stay is longer, a few more bark mats are used as needed. As one can see from
[171] the above descriptions, these furnish all the Tungusic peoples of the lower as well as the upper Amur region the most essential and important material for the construction of their summer dwellings,

Tungus RUS
Manegir
Orochon

285 /382 cont./
342 where they are not replaced, as happens in the treeless prairies,
824 by Calamagrostis straw or grass, which is available in abundance
171 and is even easier to obtain. The pieces of birch bark peeled from the tree, in order to make them suitable for tent coverings, are first boiled in water in a large kettle, then rubbed with dry straw or hay, dried in the sun, and sewed together into mats about three fathoms long and an arshin wide (a toiochssa of the Goldi, tichssa of the Manegir and Orochon, tukja of the Orochi). Through this treatment the birch bark loses its brittleness and becomes soft and pliable like leather, so that the mats can be easily rolled up without damage, and they are always stored and transported in this manner. To prevent tearing the mat a narrow strip of similar bark is sewed along each edge of it. About six pieces or rolls of such birch-bark mats are needed to cover a Manegir tent of the kind described above. But, as we have seen, even a single piece can give sufficient protection in an emergency, and therefore an Amur Tungus, whether Goldi, Manegir, or something else, will hardly undertake even a short trip in summer without providing himself with a toiochssa (or tichssa) for any eventuality.

342 /383/ According to Maack's testimony, and Gerstfeld's (1),
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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhiteliakh" Amura/Concerning the Riverside Inhabitants of the Amur/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. 1857, Sec. II, p. 298).

the tents of the Orochon are exactly like those of the Manegir, except that the former, instead of elk skins for covering the framework in winter, use reindeer skins, which are readily available for, instead of horses, they keep reindeer and use them for riding and burden-carrying on their expeditions.

361 As a rule, one sees standing in front of the Manegir and
484 Orochon tents individual racks made out of vertical and horizontal
[417] poles, which are used for drying fish and meat in the sun, for
[251] drying animal skins, and the like. The nomadic life of these peoples, however, forces them to carry along only what is most

T 361 484 25 T 484 343 251 361 /383 cont./ essential for food, clothing, or housing; on the other hand, everything in the way of provisions, clothing, and the like not needed at the moment is deposited and stored for future use at certain points which they always touch on their migrations. For this purpose the most primitive storage-places (dēlkan) are erected. Boards or plaited switches are put in a horizontal position at a height of 5-7 feet on a few piles driven into the ground. All the property to be stored is put on this stand, covered with a birch-bark mat, and weighted from above with poles and stones (2).

2. Maack, op. cit., p. 71. Gerstfeldt, op. cit., p. 302.

It thus remains protected against both dampness from above and below and animal attacks. Plunder by human hands is not to be feared, however, not merely because of the solitude devoid of human beings, but also because the idea of the inviolability of such deposits, and perhaps a superstitious fear of touching them, is widespread generally and to a wide extent even among the neighboring peoples on the same childlike cultural level.

G Gi T 342 171 In casting a general glance at the dwellings of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, that is, excluding the Chinese and the Manchu, Daur, Solon, etc., who are becoming more and more assimilated by them, one reaches the conclusion that they most have the character of permanent, stable, solid, and at the same time characteristic housing among the Gilyak, while among the Tungusic peoples living all around they ordinarily seem to be merely tent-like, easily set up and transportable, and suitable for an unsettled, more or less nomadic or roving life. On Sakhalin, for instance, besides the Gilyak staying in stable, permanent dwellings in summer as well as in winter, one also sees, even within part of their territory, the traveling tents of the Orok roaming with their reindeer. On the continent the difference is all the greater the farther one goes upstream from the mouth of the Amur and from the seacoast into the interior. This becomes especially evident from the summer

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/383 cont./ dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

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In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are

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predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G /384 cont./
361 most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a
433 place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich
[226] in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into
G consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them
[224] with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese
[439] and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for
clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

G The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes sur-
Gi rounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed
T essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the
224 farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in
226 view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in
231 comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less ex-
433 tensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed,
361 and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced.
Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains
that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas
the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions,
makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fish-
ing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a fre-
quent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life
of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly
pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and moun-
tain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and
Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far
more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the
nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, com-
pletely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and fore-
most source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into con-
sideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their
hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the
Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need
any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use
the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is
G possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals,
Gi in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,
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2: Schrenck--572 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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231 are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more
361 abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

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External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

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22 As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our dis-
231 cussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-
175 hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only
439 second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203. above.

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291 Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, be-
439 sides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/386 cont./

291 represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese.
439 Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange,
[179] besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

291 /387/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warsch), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkch) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and
[177] chest. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese,
[296] or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower or foot part of the
[237] boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langr), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back keel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

/387 cont./

291 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under [142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unneces- [824] sary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against [531] rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII, $\frac{2}{1}$ and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2) $\frac{2}{1}$ (2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

291 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
301 shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
177 vided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

$\frac{3}{1}$ [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
$\frac{2}{1}$ [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

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Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

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1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wair or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair was named for me as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uitsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

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characters on it -- no matter whether written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Anville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayev post.

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To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skins in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are performed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII). 3/1 The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never lacking on them.

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3/1 [See category 116, p. 998--Analyst]

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291 [239] [136] The footgear of the Gilyak women is the same as among the men, except that on their boots in summer they almost always, the men only occasionally, have legs likewise of fish skin instead of seal fur, and, to be sure, besides from Salmo lagocephalus, also from Salmo proteus (Gilyak tengi-tscho), which undoubtedly are lighter and airier than the others, and in this season more suitable for them in view of the considerable activity that the performance of their domestic duties requires. The Gilyak women do not have a head covering intended solely for the summer, corresponding to the birch-bark hat of the men.

The winter clothing of the Gilyak is far more complicated and in many respects more unique. A Gilyak in his complete winter outfit is shown on Plate XVIII,[1] as he is about to set out on a journey. The principal garment of the Gilyak in winter, which they rarely take off, indeed, with which they cover themselves at night on the heated sleeping benches of the yurt, undressed down to their drawers, is the ample fur coat (Gilyak okch) reaching down to the knees and made of a double layer of dog fur, the outer layer with the hair on the outside, the inner layer with the hair on the inside. Whenever possible the Gilyak use for the fur coat, especially for the outer side of it, purely uniformly-colored furs, white, brown, gray, or others. The most highly prized is a uniformly black or dark-brown fur, and next a white one. Poorer people, however, content themselves with fur coats of mixed colors, and one sees such coats on children as a rule (Pl. XIX).[2] Attentive mothers even take the trouble to make their children fur coats with back parts made in checkerboard fashion out of white and black or brown pieces of fur (Pl. XII).[3] The fine and pliable fur of young animals is used preferably, particularly for the inner side of the fur coat.

291 237 It can be stated as a general rule that the Gilyak only wear fur coats made of dog skins. Only on the Liman, where they are chiefly engaged in seal hunting, did I meet isolated individuals who, as exceptions, wore coats of sealskin instead of dog fur, and the same may happen occasionally along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong

[1] [See Category 116, P. 998 -- Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, P. 999 -- Analyst]
[3] [See category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst]

/389 cont./ the reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong
291 preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the
237 same ones that, according to Steller (1), made the ancient
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1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 137.

Italmen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing, even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the conservate tendencies of every primitive people, the usage once customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also play an important role. Besides this, however, the advantages of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration, its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it has been exposed to wetness -- characteristics which must make it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed
[231] to bad weather. And finally, in addition to all that, there is still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reason /390/ for the universal use of dog fur among the Gilyak -- it is the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese, Japanese, or Russians.

291 Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other animals
554 are found among some Gilyak. They do not serve for use, however,
237 but are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coat (Gilyak tschlyghi-okch) in particular plays such a role among them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of their countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The Gilyak were: Nenjdan in the village of Allof on the Amur, Mesgun in Patt, each having one coat of this type, and Pawgun in Tamla-wo on Sakhalin, who had two of them; and the Olcha Todo in Tschilwi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his possession.

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000 291 435 439 237 possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

> 1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions 825 171 of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, [439] they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

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> 2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

/390 cont./

825 171 covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

825 171 113

2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

2: Schrenck--581 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2. (cont.)
1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

/391 cont./

825 influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be-
171 come established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

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3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 The trading trips of the Gilyak
439 to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness
171 the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

/391 cont./

825 439 171 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, especially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand, [439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

439/392 cont./
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2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

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3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

825 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast,

/392 cont./

825 291 554 royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

291 [179] But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5),[1] and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called kossjkha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin extending around the body, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII[2] and XIX).[3] [171] The kossjkha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /393/ the Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the kossjkha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak torknbas; see Pl. XXII,[4] Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak wom(a)ch) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX,[5] Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

1 2 3 4 5 [See Category 116, pp. 1009, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively--Analyst]

/393 cont./

291 flap, through which the hand may be stuck outside of its covering if necessary (1).

[171] 1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russians in Siberia the slit for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

[171] The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the more or less far northern peoples, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of

[239] clothing. For the protection of the former a boa made of the tail-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolp; Pl. XIX)[2] is used and is sometimes worn around the head, in mild weather instead of the cap, in cold weather over it, to protect the forehead (Pl. XVIII).[2] About 30-40 squirrel tails go into a tolp of inferior quality, 50 and more into a handsomely bushy and good one. The Gilyak do not use any other fur for this purpose.

First of all, on their heads, on long journeys, in severe cold, or in biting winds, the Gilyak wear ear muffs (Gilyak tapais), which consist of two flaps connected in front and back by a strap or band. These are either made singly out of sealskin

[239] or are lined with fox or otter fur and provided on the outside with a piece of material on which differently colored arabesques are stitched (Pl. XX, Fig. 5,[3] and Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2).[4] Over them there is a large fur cap enveloping the entire head (Gilyak tosn-hak) (2). It is of simple cut, straight at the bottom,

[104] 2. The s is soft in pronunciation here.

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1)[5] for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner sides of the two corners,

2 2 3 4 5
[See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1000, 1002 and 1001 respectively --Analyst]

/393 cont./

291 and in this latter, more common case, to put the cap on, the band mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap
291 is pushed over the head. The cap is always lined with fox fur,
237 which, standing out in front and on the outside, also forms the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and tastefully. /394/ For example, the tosn-hak of a Tschomi Gilyak who visited me in Nikolayevsk, which is illustrated on Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, brown in color, was of reindeer skin; the white arabesques on it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of pieces of dappled sealskin; the front edge, as always, consists of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired, white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps of the Gilyak and gives them all a special, peculiar stamp. The longer the white or gray hair
[171] of the cap reaching down toward the neck, the more beautiful it appears in the eyes of the Gilyak, just as among the ancient Italmen on Kamtchatka trimming the fur coats, which might have been reindeer or fox skin, all around with long dog-hair, was always regarded, as Steller puts it (1), as the "greatest

1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 138.

ornament" on them. This trimming on the caps, by the way, may offer some protection for the neck against wind and snow.

291 On long trips and in severe cold the Gilyak wear several undergarments under the fur coat. In particular, immediately
[177] next to it, for example, there is a short, quilted robe or jacket of cotton material or of cloth, the so-called ssikky in Gilyak, a garment undeniably of Chinese cut, which they wear in mild weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tolp around

/394 cont./

291 [177] the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of [177] the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak panj) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

291 /395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In 171 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots, 175 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord- 824

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/395 cont./
291 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with
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2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113]

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt,
412 in particular as a holder for some of the implements always
[291] accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always
[531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, 2 Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

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4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

3 [See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[531] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[2] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

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5. On Pl. XVIII[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring
[239] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
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1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[581] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5),[4] usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

2,3,4 [See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively --Analyst]

293 /396 cont./
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[239] Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
302 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1, $\frac{3}{4}$ and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1). $\frac{2}{4}$ Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
[321] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[531] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope horn or deer antler, etc.

291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs. In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls, children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,

$\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{2}{4}$ [See Category 116, PP. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

/396 cont./
291 237 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

291 197 53 /397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).[1] It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth. [239] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the 292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl. 197 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is 531 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are [239] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

[191] [113]

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[1] [See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

/397 cont./

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1. (cont.) en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

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fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to
[301] the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women
292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/398 cont./

292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration [554] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
291 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
230 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

171 let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their
291 elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin,
237 to their backs (3). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed
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[113]

3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladienii v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tscharp-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

291 I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

/399 cont./

291 skin undoubtedly affords better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if it were first tested in this position, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

291 The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient
292 to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all
531 kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin birch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV).[1] Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several multicolored patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVII).[2] If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the designs to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian

531 peoples. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance,
[191] who likewise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude curlicues, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimens illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping,

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1003-1004 --Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1005-1007--Analyst]

/399 cont./
531 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate all the other implements in their household and their lives with all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use
531 of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation,
294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as
[439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

531 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak
177 ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

/400 cont./

531 177 artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on ancient Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects such as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar ornamentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example, on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in our possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from ancient Ainu graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are of Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that the [439] Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influence of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, since in view of the anciently established and constant trade relations of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with the Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Ainu completely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

531 177 171 /401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to ornamentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natural route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, in addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation customary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gilyak. In this connection, however, we are met by the striking phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the development of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concerned,

531 /401 cont./
177
171 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
531 not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned,
174 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them-
648 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,
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412
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2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2), worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

294 415 [412] 415 191

/401 cont./ latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[107] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 191 531

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with [189] cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

415 /402 cont./
171 on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be
531 removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by suc-
789 cess -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

294 The thread with which garments are sewed varies accord-
283 ing to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish-
[177] ing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed
[439]
[171]

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the
294 work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak
412 woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although
[177] they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term
(chasa) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing
[531] the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pans), which is

/402 cont./

294 412 531 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak, 286 283 171 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[1] [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/403 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obshch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Ssuprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Krai/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/403 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

/404 cont./

made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

G 291 171 All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

G. G1 291 171 [101] [433] [231] The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same physical conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, G1 [197] the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

G 291 171 G1 291 197 The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people": the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

G /404 cont./
291 patterns and figures embroidered on them, the pendent metallic
171 ornaments, the implements customarily used in making the
Gi clothing and other small hand-tools, everything revealed itself
291 "as an emanation from another center of fashion" (1).
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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1526 ff.

Middendorff realized quite correctly that this center was to be sought among the Gilyak on the Amur and had developed under Chinese influence spreading down this river. In fact, /405/ the illustrations of Negda or "Nigidaler" clothing and utensils shown in his travel account look as though they were made by copying Gilyak articles, as I have already mentioned above in connection with individual ones. Like the clothing of the Olcha, that of the Negda shows the greater distance of their habitation area from the seacoast as compared to the Gilyak, because, instead of the sealskin robes customary among the latter, they wear robes of elkskin (1).

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1531.

Gi
291 A situation quite different from that among the Amur Olcha,
171 who have been completely assimilated with the Gilyak in their way of life, behavior, and clothing, prevails among the Olcha
Gi who migrated to Sakhalin -- the Orok. They remained reindeer
[233] nomads and therefore preserved an essential difference in their
[237] clothing, in that the reindeer also furnish them their chief cloth-
[221] ing material. The Orok whom I met on their winter migration through the Tymy Valley and near Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin were dressed completely in reindeer skins, in that fur coats, caps, and boots were made out of it. The former were of the same cut as the dog-fur coat of the Gilyak, without the hood in the back, but the boots did not have the above-mentioned form of the Gilyak boots, reminiscent of the Chinese, but rather appeared more uniformly wide and clumsier, and the caps differed from those of the Gilyak in that they always were

/405 cont./

29 17 provided with a visor consisting of a piece of cloth sometimes decorated with embroidery. The latter may be necessary for them in order to provide protection for their eyes against snow blindness, in view of their continuous roaming through mountainous stretches and regions that are less forested but richer in the moss needed by their reindeer. On top of the fur coat the Orok wore the short, round apron of sealskin (kossjkha) customary among the Gilyak. The Orok women whom I also saw roaming in the company of their husbands had on fur coats provided with blue material on top and held together by wide belts with inlaid metal, and caps which looked quite similar to the common winter caps (tulv-hak) of the Gilyak women.

29 439 239 22 As Mamia Rinsô reported (2), aside from reindeer skins,

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 190.

sealskins and fish skins were the principal clothing materials of the Orok, corresponding to their occupation in summer and fall of seal-hunting and fishing along the east coast of Sakhalin and especially at the mouth of the fish-rich Tymy River, and, finally, in addition, Chinese cotton cloth which they obtain through the Gilyak. From the latter source they also get the Chinese copper [301] coins and small disks customarily used for decorating the women's 29 robes (3), as well as all their luxury items. It is therefore not 179 294 415

3. Mamia Rinsô, loc. cit.

surprising that the Orok, aside from the reindeer-skin clothing discussed above, are otherwise governed wholly by Gilyak usage and taste in everything else concerning the individual garments, the embroideries and other ornamentation on them, indeed even using precisely the same implements both in the sewing and in other handiwork and activities. For example, /406/ the Orok fish-skin robe pictured in Siebold's Nippon (1) exhibits embroidery

1. Section VII, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1.

Gi 291 294 179 415 /406 cont./ (Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 179 291 Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 179 [114] [171] [439] I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

Ainu ABG
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

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/406 cont./ straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

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2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

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Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows considerable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the extensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and provides the people with their foremost means of getting food and clothing. Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing

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[224]
[433]
[114]

1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.

among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers. For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

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[481]

Gi /407 cont./
291 is required. The full fur cap becomes a fur hood tightly fitting
184 the head. The legs must not be impeded in their movements,
G and as good a service as the stiff apron-skirt of sealskin, the
[291] Gilyak kossjkha, performs for the Gilyak and Olcha usually skimming along on their dog-drawn sleds, it would be useless, in fact, an impediment, to the hunter on his own graceful advance through the forest thickets. Thus, whereas the Gilyak
Gi and Olcha are almost never seen in winter without this apron-
[191] skirt, I never once encountered it among the Samagir on the Gorin, which is not to say that they do not use it on long trips to the Goldi, Olcha, or Chinese traders on the Amur.

As strikingly different as the clothing of the Samagir on the Gorin is from that of the Olcha, as the result of a different way of life, the difference in the clothing going from the Olcha up the Amur to the Goldi is not very marked. Apart from their hair style, to be discussed later, one would imagine himself to be among the same people. In particular, among the Goldi, perhaps even more than among the Olcha, the fish-skin clothing
Gi is generally in use among the women and children. The Goldi
[462] women are especially skilled at preparing the fish skins nicely
[281] and neatly and providing the robes with multicolored and diverse
[294] embroidery of exactly the nature of the forms and figures discussed above. One sees the children, however, and especially the boys, go around in summer as a rule in quite simple short, fish-skin robes, torn or patched here and there (Pl. XXX).I Fish
Gi skins (always from Salmo lagocephalus) have this importance as
[237] the principal clothing material throughout the Goldi territory on the Amur as well as on the Ussuri, and not until one goes beyond the mouth of the Sungari, where the Birar, living by hunting, appear along the spurs of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, do they disappear and give way to the leather of game animals. Thus,
Gi /408/ the Goldi were the first people clad in fish-skins whom the
[195] Chinese, advancing northward and eastward from the Sungari
[197] region, met on the Amur and on the Ussuri, and undoubtedly they
[101] are meant first and foremost among the people whom the Chinese designated with the name "Jupi-tatse," i.e., Fish-skin Barbarians,

I [See category 116, P. 1010 -- Analyst]

Gi 29 184 /408 cont./

[175] and whom the Jesuit missionaries sent to the lower Amur region
[177] in the previous century by the Peking government mention by
[101] this name (1). Only with greater distance up the Amur from the

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1. Cf. Du Halde, Decr. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Vol. IV, pp. 10 ff. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Vol. I, pp. 142 ff.

Olcha does one notice more and more the difference in the total appearance and character of the clothing of the Goldi in comparison with the Olcha. The great, ever-increasing distance
Gr Gi [171] from the sea upstream more and more eliminates sealskin from use (2): the Gilyak kossjkha, still quite general among the Olcha

2. The extreme limit to which seals go up the Amur still lies within Olcha territory (at Yrri; see my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, p. 180), still a good stretch to the north of the Goldi boundary.

disappears among the Goldi, and the fewer dogs in their economy
Gi [237] make the dog-skin coat likewise less general. On the other hand,
[439] however, one more and more sees different furs appear among them, such as red deer, roe deer, musk deer, Canis procyonoides, etc., which they obtain in abundance and inexpensively in part through their own hunting and in part through trade with their hunting neighbors along the tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri, the Samagir, the Kile along the Kur, and the Orochi. At the
Gi 291 184 177 same time, the farther one goes upstream, the more the direct influence of the Chinese appears in the clothing of the natives, in that plainly Chinese garments come into use. Among the Goldi, for instance, I occasionally found black, Chinese sheepskins with a cotton covering; in the Geong Mountains, among the upper Goldi, the use of the above-described birch-bark hats ceases, and, on the other hand, broad-brimmed, Chinese straw-hats and, even more, black or gray felt hats likewise coming

Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

Gi /408 cont./
291 from them (see Pl. XXX) are in general use, etc. The cut of the
184 individual garments also becomes more and more purely Chinese,
197 and the Goldi pictured on the latter plate, for example, is in no way distinguished in his clothing from a Chinese laborer or a Daur raftsman, as I often saw them on the upper Amur. Nadarof (3),

3. Op. cit., pp. 67 and 77.

too, in describing the clothing of the Goldi and Orochi living along the Ussuri and its right tributaries, stresses that over-all, as well as in each individual piece, it is of Chinese cut. Finally,
Gi [648] in the clothing of the Goldi, in comparison with that of their northern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha and especially the Gilyak, one can see in general the difference that it as a rule is scantier, poorer, and more neglected than among them, as a result of the direct oppression and exploitation of this people by the Manchu and Chinese.

This is the case to an even greater extent among the Orochi, especially in the southern part of their area of distribution, between the Ussuri and the seacoast, where they /409/ live mixed with Chinese. In the northern part, on the other hand, where the Chinese do not come and where the Orochi have contact with them only through the mediation of the Goldi and Olcha, the Chinese influence decreases more and more. In Hadshi Bay, for instance, they did not seem to me to differ essentially in their clothing from their related neighbors along the Amur, except that they might, as avid hunters, use various animal skins and, as coastal dwellers, sealskin to a greater extent, just as the foot and leg coverings among them consisted of the latter almost everywhere.

T 291 I can properly pass lightly over the clothing of the upper
191 Amur peoples, since I myself came into only fleeting contact
197 with them during my trip up the Amur in the summer of 1856. It will suffice therefore to note that the Chinese type of clothing prevails everywhere in the entire Manchu-Chinese-Daur culture area of the Amur River between the Bureja Mountains and the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/, regardless of whether the

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291 villages are inhabited by Manchu, Chinese, or Daur. This is also
171 the case among the Birar settled on the Amur directly above the
177 Bureja Mountains, who, like them, live by field and garden
[184] cultivation and can not be distinguished in their clothing from their closest neighbors, the Daur. The situation is different among the nomadic peoples of the upper Amur region, the roving Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, living by hunting. Here, too, Chinese influence diminishes more and more in proportion to the distance from that culture area on the Amur River; in material, cut, and ornamentation the clothing acquires the general Siberian-Tungusic character, and in addition a Yakut influence from the north makes itself felt, and, through the mediation of the Yakut, who follow the nomads as traders, a Russian influ-
291 ence, too. Especially subject to the latter are the Orochon, who
177 live adjacent to the Russians in Transbaikalia and in fact have
[648] remained under Russian rule according to the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1).

1. See pp. 91-95 and 160 above.

[237] It is in this, as well as in the circumstance that the Orochon are
[184] reindeer nomads and consequently reindeer skin and leather play a predominate role in their economy, that the chief difference in their clothing rests, in contrast to that of their neighbors gravitating toward the Chinese-Daur world, the Manegir and Birar (2).

[113] 2. For detailed descriptions of the clothing of the Manegir and Orochon, see Maack (Putesh. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 50 and 71-73) and Gerstfeldt ("O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/." -- Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 294).

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As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

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302 [171] 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, [753] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the [761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and 302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre- 765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are 515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them 136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ [751] fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about 515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this, 825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi- [123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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000 G 302 171 000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A 302 179 It may be pre-sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A 175 302 179 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

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3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

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5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

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6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

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1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

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1. (cont.) der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

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no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

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and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

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3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

A 302 199 413 /412 cont./ with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

Gi 302 171 The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ Gi [184] sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha, with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head, from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl. III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese. In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. Indeed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.) one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's /413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu

M 302 648 656 171 1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by 000 the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

M 113 302 648 171 656 2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

2: Schrenck--620 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu A64

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2. (cont.)
Tartary and now to the Emperor of China/," by the Chinese Dionysius Kao in the appendix to Ysbrants Ides' Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 183. Zusätze zu des Joh.Bapt. Du Halde ausführl. Beschr. des Chines. Reiches u. der Gross. Tartarei /Appendix to the Description of the Chinese Empire and Greater Tartary Given by J. B. Halde/, translated from the French, Rostock, 1756, pp. 91, 101, 110, 157. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Part II, p. 280. Pauthier and Bazin, Chine mod., etc., Part I, pp. 416, 227, 429. Davis, La Chine, translated from the English, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 185. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/ Göttingen, 1830, Vol. I, p. 270; Vol. II, p. 709. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 126) notes with regard to the Chinese of Kjachta that they admit with reluctance that they now cut their head hair in Manchu fashion. Just as in various places in China, the above edict of the Chinese government also caused rebellion among the Koreans already tributary to the Manchu at the time of the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty (Plath, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 297). Even today the Koreans do not shave their head hair, but gather it up and plait it into a braid pointing upward; the women, however, wind it around the head and tie it together (Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 108). Even the small mountain tribe of the Miao-tseu living in the province of Kueĭ-tschen were able to

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2. (cont.)
evade the edict, maintaining their independence (Davis, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 150, 188).

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The Peoples of the Amur region under Manchu-Chinese rule also had to submit to this measure insofar as that rule was effective. In the lower Amur region there were first of all the Goldi, who live next to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari as well as on the Ussuri and have a number of permanent residences of Manchu-Chinese officials in their territory. Perhaps the Manchu way of wearing the hair found readier acceptance among the Goldi because, even prior to the conquest of China by the Manchu, they had had close contact with a tribe of the latter, the Djutscheren, and in part had even lived among them (3). At any rate, it has now been fully adopted among

3. See p. 318 ff. above. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the hair style that the Djutscheren had before they were transplanted to the Churcha. There is no doubt, but that today they or their descendants have the general Manchu-Chinese hair style.

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At any rate, it has now been fully adopted among them. In the region of the Sungari mouth, Maack (4) saw even

4. Putesh. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 141.

the Goldi women, despite the special conservatism that characterizes their sex, wear their hair in the fashion of the Manchu women, that is, brushed back, with or without a part, plaited into two braids, and these wound into a flat or a high pile, which was held together by long, bone or silver hairpins carved at one end or adorned with a stone (Goldi ssopcho). Indeed, [765] even the Chinese custom of cutting off the braid as a sign of mourning over the death of a close relative (5) has found

5. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhit., nravy,

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302 171 177 765

5. (cont.) obychai, prosvieshch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 177. Moreover, among the Chinese the head and beard hair is not cut for a certain length of time as a sign of mourning (Pauthier, Chine mod., etc., Part II, p. 260).

ooo acceptance among the Goldi (6). /414/ Thus, it was probably

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6. Wenjukof /Veniukov/ ("Obozr. r. Usuri i zemel' k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and the Lands to the West of It toward the Sea/." -- Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 199) saw a Goldi who mourned his deceased mother in this manner on the Ussuri.

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Thus, it was probably primarily through the mediation of the Goldi that the Manchu-Chinese hair style was taken up among the Samagir along the Gorin River, especially since close to the point where this river empties into the Amur, in Zjanka, there is a permanent settlement of Chinese merchants, and somewhat farther up along the main stream, in Mylki, a permanent residence of Manchu-Chinese officials, from which the Samagir could constantly be reminded of Chinese sovereignty.

302 171 177 [648] [101]

The peoples living farther to the north and downstream, on the other hand, the Olcha, Negda, and Gilyak, among whom there are no officials of this kind and who are only nominally under Chinese rule, have evaded the Manchu-Chinese governmental edict, if indeed it ever reached them, and retained their old hair style. Hence these are the peoples whom the Chinese designate simply with the name of the long-haired ones -- "Tschang-Mao-tse," according to Venault, in contrast to the "Tuang-Mao-tse" or Tatars (barbarians) with shaved heads, the

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307 Goldi, etc. (1). These peoples therefore regard the unshaved and
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1. Venault, "Excursion dans les parties intérieures de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Annales des voyages, Vol. XXX, 1852 [II], pp. 205, 214. Actually it is not difficult to recognize the Olcha villages of Adi, Pulu, and Uchtr in the Tschang-Mao-tse villages mentioned by Venault, "Aki," the first, going downstream, "Pulo," and "Uktu." It has already been mentioned above (pp. 212 and 388, note 1) that the "Kili-mi" belonging to the Tschang-Mao-tse, who through the murder of de la Brunière gave rise to Venault's voyage, are the Gilyak. Venault also notes that in their physiognomy the Tschang-Mao-tse are closer to the European type than the Tuang-Mao-tse, which is absolutely correct for the Gilyak and Olcha in contrast to the Goldi, Orochi, etc. (See pp. 286 ff. /untranslated/ above.)

unshorn hair as a symbol of freedom, as the Ainu do with regard
G to the braid. This also explains the aversion, heightened to
302 superstition, of the Gilyak, who are especially proud of their
648 freedom from the Manchu-Chinese, against shearing their hair or even cutting the braid plaited with all of it.

Gi How much the distribution of the Manchu-Chinese hair style
302 among the Amur peoples depended on the expansion of the ef-
171 fective, not merely nominal rule of the Celestial Empire can be
177 seen from the Orochi. In the southernmost part of their habita-
[648] tion area, where they, designated as Ta-dse, are under considerable pressure from the many Chinese (Mandse) living among them, they wear their hair exactly like the latter, except that, as is also very frequent among the Goldi and Samagir, it is not shaved on the front of the head, for lack of the necessary tools, but only cut quite short (2). Farther north, such as in

2: Schrenck--624 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Orochi

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2. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Usuri" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 234). The same, Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii i Zap. o nikh" /Journey through the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia and Notes concerning Them/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 88.

Olga Bay or along the upper Poor, where the number of Chinese is smaller and the Orochi can move somewhat more freely, one finds in their hair style the difference from the former in that whereas they treat the front of the head the same, the remaining hair is not plaited into one braid, but rather, by men and women alike, into two braids which, running behind the ears, fall toward the front, and the ends are tied together by means of a string of beads. This peculiarity that the men, /415/ too, wear two braids was not encountered by me among any of the other Amur peoples (1). Finally, still farther to the north, where the

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1. I did see it on a number of Orochi whom I met on the Ussuri and who had come down the Poor in their boats. Mrs. Wassiljef describes it in the same way for the natives of Olga Bay (Olimpiada Vasil'eva, "Gavan' Sv. Ol'gi /The Harbor of Saint Olga/," -- Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VIII, 1872, Sec. II, p. 67) and Beresin ("Ocherk" russk. port. v" Tatarsk. prol. i Iaponsk. morie /Essay on the Russian Ports in the Tatar Gulf and the Sea of Japan/." -- Morsk. Sborn., 1861, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 163) for the Ta-dse of the seacoast, without any more detailed statement as to the locality.

Orochi live quite undisturbed by the Chinese, as in Hadshi Bay, they wear their hair, as I myself saw, in the same fashion as the Olcha and Gilyak, that is, completely uncut and plaited in one braid hanging down the back for the men, two for the women.

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000 braid hanging down the back for the men, two for the women.

SS 302 177 648 With regard to their hair style, the peoples of the upper Amur region had the same experience as most of those of the lower Amur region: subjugated by the Chinese they had to give up their hair style as a sign of their submission. And while a few tribes in the latter place, living at a greater distance, were able to evade the governmental order concerned, all the tribes in the upper Amur region, with one insignificant exception, had to submit, because of the greater number and concentration of the Manchu-Chinese. It goes without saying that at present the Daur and sedentary Birar, clothing themselves and living entirely in Chinese fashion, have also made the hair style of the latter entirely their own. It has also, however, been transmitted further to the nomadic tribes, to the roaming Birar and the Manegir, and unquestionably contributing to its being adopted among them were first the Daur merchants following the nomads, as well as, on the other hand, the Manchu-Chinese officials annually crossing the region to collect tribute and to check the border markers, and intimidating the people with the might of the Celestial Empire. Indeed, the Manegir, if they have the means, even imitate the Chinese to the extent that they lengthen the braid by plaiting in black silk threads (2), and they cut it off as a sign of

T 302 171 177 T [648] T [965]

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 72.

mourning over the loss of a relative and abstain from shaving or cutting the hair on the front of the head for some time (3).

3. Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Nord. und Ost. Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 1505) observed a case of this sort.

The Manegir, incidentally, are the last people, going up the Amur, among whom the Manchu-Chinese hair style is ordinarily customary. Farther west, among the Orochon, we meet the same phenomenon that we have already observed among the Orochi in the extreme eastern part of the Amur region: whereas in the

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2: Schrenck--626 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Southeast Siberia RX1
Gold1 RX3
Ainu ABC

T /415 cont./
302 southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of
171 the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni,
179 along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in com-
[131] plete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4),

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

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Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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/416 cont./ and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand
302 and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the
171 degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-
177 Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard
648 to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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301 Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external
171 appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
Gi [301] cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or
Gi 301 facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this
1/1 [See Category 116, P. 1009-- Analyst]

Gi 301 /417 cont./

1. (cont.) ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway. Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with regard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

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2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

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3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

G Gi SS 301 302 171 177 From what has been said, it is readily seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

G Gi SS /417 cont./

302 301 171 177 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon. Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

T [302] [301] [171]

G 301 171 A more common customary ornament among all the peoples of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

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Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work, however, is not done by the men, but by the women.

Gi [301] [462]

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1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

I A [See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./

however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I myself have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples. Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

/418 cont./

301 is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it
191 made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. -Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

302 In concluding this section I must still raise the question
304 as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

G /419 cont./

302 304 171 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

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1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A [195] [184] to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

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2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

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2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

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among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

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3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

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A 304 175 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsô (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

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1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

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2. (cont.)
in Kamchatka, but for painting with red, a seatang pulverized with fish oil or seal oil.

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304 Among the peoples living farther to the north and east, on the other hand, tattooing is again a locally customary practice. Among the Koryak, to be sure, it is limited to only the women and is not general even among them, where it begins with the wedding and new designs are added every year, so that, according to Ditmar's testimony, some old women look mottled all
ooo over as a consequence of the tattooing (3). The custom of

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3. Ditmar, "Ueber die Korjäken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Very Closely Related Chukchee/" (Bull. de la classe hist. philol. de l'Acad. Impér. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 102; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 5).

C The custom of
304 tattooing is more generally widespread among the Chukchee, for among them it also extends to the girls from their ninth or tenth year on and even to some of the men. The latter, however, as a rule content themselves with only one or two short horizontal strokes above the root of the nose, a cross on each jaw, or the like, whereas the women tattoo more or less the
C entire face and the arms from the shoulder down to the wrist.
[171] According to Nordqvist (4), who has discussed this subject

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4. "Bidrag till kännedomen om Tschuktscherna /Contribution to Knowledge about the Chukchee/" (Ymer, 1882, p. 38).

in detail and has published a few patterns of Chukchee tattooing, they correspond in the basic features to those that Dr. Stuxberg

C 304 171 [113]

/420 cont./ had drawn by the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island (5), except that

5. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /The Circumnavigation of Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, pp. 242, 243.

E 304 171

they are much simpler than the latter. The general spread of the custom of tattooing among the Eskimo, and, to be sure, likewise among the women in particular, is well known and can be followed through all these tribes in an uninterrupted sequence from the Bering Sea and the Yukon Territory (6), along the

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6. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 140.

coasts of the Arctic Sea across the Mackenzie, /421/ the Anderson (1), the Great Fish River (2), etc., to Hudson Bay (3),

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1. Petitot, Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, Paris, 1876, p. 7.

2. Back, Reise durch Nord-Amerika bis zur Münd. des Grossen Fisch-Flusses und an den Küsten des Polarmeeres in den J. 1833-1835, translated from the English by Andrée, Leipzig, 1836, p. 320, and illustration.

3. Parry, Journ. of a second Voyage for the discov. of a North-West Passage, London, 1824, p. 498.

Davis Strait (4), and Greenland (5). Finally, tattooing is no

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4. Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, Vol. II, p. 315.
5. Cranz, Historie von Grönland, 1770, Vol. I, p. 185.

/421 cont./

000 5. Cranz, Historie von Grönland, 1770, Vol. I, p. 185.

304 Finally, tattooing is no
177 less an indigenous custom among the Aleut. When Ssarytschof
175 visited the island of Unalaska (1790), it seems to have been still generally practiced there among the women (6). Langsdorff (7),

[113] 6. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovostoch. chasti Sibiri /A Voyage along the North-eastern Part of Siberia/, Part II, p. 17.

7. Bemerk. auf ein. Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 38.

however, in 1805 found it strongly curtailed as a result of Russian influence, so that mostly only old women were still to be seen with tattooings, and Weniaminof (8) characterized this custom

[113] 8. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, p. 113.

304 as already completely vanquished. Nevertheless, he succeeded
175 (1825-1834) in seeing a few Aleut women with tattooed faces and collected data on the formerly rich and varied tattooing of the Aleut (9).

9. Some of their beauties, like the daughters of renowned and rich people, sought, for example, to glorify in their tattooings the heroic deeds of their ancestors, fathers, and uncles, by having the designs on their faces show how many enemies they had slain in war and how many powerful beasts they had killed while hunting, and the like. Weniaminof, loc. cit.

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In the whole series of Paleo-Asiatic peoples from Jesso to Greenland we find only two small tribes who lack the custom of tattooing -- the Italmen on Kamchatka and the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin. Under these circumstances one might think that the custom of tattooing was formerly indigenous among these two peoples, too, but had disappeared in the course of time. Such an assumption, however, is not permissible. Steller's and Krascheninnikof's reports on the Italmen come from a time when the latter had by no means lost their national characteristics to such an extent that such a prominent and, if it existed among them, ancient custom as tattooing could have already completely disappeared without any remnants or traces and even without having left behind any accounts in the traditions. And, as was pointed out at the very beginning of this work, I became fully acquainted with the Gilyak at a time when they were still in full possession of their individuality. The complete lack of tattooing among the former as well as among the latter must therefore be regarded as part of their individuality in contrast to the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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At first glance it might seem that this individuality of the Gilyak in the Amur region was also shared by other peoples, in particular those living adjacent to the Gilyak, for the Olcha, the Orok on Sakhalin, the Negda, and Samagir do not have the custom of tattooing. But the situation is essentially different among them. I think I can say with certainty that tattooing is not at all customary at present among the Olcha, /422/ for I became acquainted with them on several voyages throughout their habitation area. I became acquainted with the Samagir on the Gorin only in Ngagha, the largest of their villages, to be sure, and concerning the Orok on Sakhalin and the Negda, I met only isolated individuals, but other travelers, too, who had more contact with them, did not observe any kind of tattooing among them, for example, neither Middendorff and Schmidt among the Negda nor Poljakof, after a stay of several weeks on the east coast of Sakhalin, among the Orok there. This is very noteworthy

G. /422 cont./
304 inasmuch as all these peoples belong to the Tungusic tribe, in
171 which in other parts of its vast area of distribution the custom of tattooing existed and more or less still exists everywhere. As can
T 304 171 [113] be seen from the old descriptions of Siberia (1) and the reports

1. Der allerneueste Staat von Siberien, einer grossen und zuvor wenig bekannten Moscowitischen Provinz in Asien /The Most Recent Siberian State, a Large and Hitherto Little Known Muscovite Province in Asia/, etc., Nuremberg, 1725, p. 166.

of travelers of the previous century (2), tattooing was not as

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2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 57. Messerschmidt, "Wasserreise von Mangasea die Nishnaja Tunguska hinauf, im J. 1723 /Journey by Water from Mangasea up the Lower Tunguska in the Year 1723/" (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. III, 1782, p. 109). Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St. Pét. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris, 1746, translated from the English by M***, p. 101. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien /Travels through Sibiria/, Vol. I, pp. 80, 358; Vol. II, pp. 208, 645; Vol. III, p. 432.

generally widespread and popular among any Siberian peoples as it was among the Tungus; indeed, in view of this, it was almost regarded as a specifically Tungusic custom. Among the Siberian peoples of non-Tungusic tribes, such as the Ostyak, Samoyed, Yakut (nothing is being said here about the Paleo-Asiatic tribes discussed above), it was never practiced very much (3). From

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3. For observations on this, see Gmelin (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 79), Pallas (Reise durch versch.

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3. (cont.) Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 41), Erman (Reise um die Erde, Histor. Ber. /Voyage around the World, Historical Report/ Vol. I, p. 637), Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Ost. Sibir., Vol. IV, pp. 1427, 1461), and others.

304 From
171 the later and more recent reports on this subject, which confirm
178 this predilection of the Tungus, it can be understood without any doubt that tattooing is gradually declining among them, too (4).

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4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1428. According to Kostrof /Kostrov/, for instance ("Ocherki Turukhansk. kraia /Sketches of the Turukhansk Region/" -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book IV, 1857, p. 88) it still occurs among the Tungus of the Turukhansk region, but according to Kriwoschapkin /Krivoshapkin/ ("Ob" Ostiakakh", Tungusakh", i proch. inorodts. Eniseisk. okr. /On the Ostyak, Tungus, and Other Foreign Peoples of the Yenisei Region/. -- Zap. Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VI, 1863, p. 66), no longer -- it must therefore be rare and in the process of disappearing.

In passing it should be noted that, whereas the tattooing customary among the Paleo-Asiatic peoples is consistently designated
304 as acupuncture (5), all the statements concerning the tattooing
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5. Cranz (op. cit.), however, describes the tattooing among the Greenlanders as an operation done by sewing.

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304 171 of the Tungus and other Siberian peoples almost without exception say that it is done by sewing, in that a thread or a fine tendon blackened in soot, crushed black crayon, coal, Chinese ink, etc., is drawn through the skin, from which the Russian term wyschiwatj, i.e., "to stitch," arose for tattooing (6).

6. Erman (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 36) disputes this and traces the tattooing of the Tungus, Ostyak, etc. likewise back to acupuncture, but this is untenable in view of the detailed account by Gmelin (op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 649-652), who was present during the operation, and the authentic reports by Stepanof (Eniseiskaia Guberniia, St. Petersburg, 1835, Pt. II, p. 80), Middendorff (op. cit., p. 1478), and others. I know of only one account that speaks of the tattooing of the Tungus and Ostyak by means of acupuncture and rubbing soot into it, the one by Spasskij (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1820, Part XII, Sec. I, p. 45), but I do not know how reliable and authentic it is.

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304 171 174 /423/ In addition, as I must note in passing, the very diversity in the process of tattooing speaks against the widespread view that this custom started in one country of the earth and, to be sure, as is generally thought (1), had its origin on the Pacific

1. Cf. for instance, Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1427.

Ocean or in southern Asia, and from there spread to all the places where it demonstrably has existed or still exists -- and that includes every part of the world and thus practically the whole earth. Now, while it may have arisen, like the painting of the skin, which is likewise very widespread among primitive peoples,

T /423 cont./
304 out of the need of the human being to take away the impression
171 of nudity or out of his natural inclination for adornment, or it
194 may have had its origin in genealogical or religious purposes and motives (2) -- and each of these motives may have been decisive

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2. Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 180. Franz Heger, "Ueber die Tätowirung bei den Südsee-Insulanern /On Tattooing among the South Sea Islanders/". (Mittheil. der Anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien, Vol. XV, Febr., 1885).

here or there -- we must always think of it, like clothing, body ornaments, the production of religious symbols, and other activities arising out of general human impulses, as having originated autochthonously in various places, though the mode of execution may point to its spread from this or that center.

Gi T 304 171 175 From Siberia the practice of tattooing can also be traced farther eastward among a number of Tungusic tribes of the Amur region. Maack (3) observed it, albeit rarely, among the Orochon

3. Putesh. na Amur", p. 144.

on the upper Amur. He did not see any tattooing among the Manegir farther downstream. He again came across this custom however, in the lower Amur region among the Goldi. He came upon it first in the village of Ssilbi on the Amur, near the mouth of the Sungari, where almost all the men and women were tattooed. It was not limited to this village, however, and after repeated observations he regarded it as a general custom of the Goldi on this part of the Amur River from the Sungari to the Ussuri and perhaps even somewhat below the latter. There was only a modest amount of tattooing here; he never saw such colorfully marked faces as he had encountered along the Yenisei. For the most part it was limited to a cross marked out by five blue dots between the eyes at the root of the nose, sometimes

Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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/423 cont./ also a similar cross on the forehead and a series of dots at the root of the nose; on some the hands also bore small designs. The tattooing is said to be done by drawing a thread dyed in the juice of the plant called dafaró by the Goldi, which Maack leaves unidentified, or in Chinese ink through the skin at the places concerned by means of a needle. The method is therefore the same as among the Siberian Tungus. Maack did not see any tattooed individuals among the Goldi living farther down the Ussuri, and Maximowicz and I did not meet any there either, despite our several trips in this part of the Amur region. The

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facts mentioned concerning the upper and lower Amur regions seem to me sufficient for drawing the conclusion that the custom of tattooing existed both among the Siberian Tungus and formerly also among all /424/ the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region and only in the course of time fell out of use among most of them. How and under what influences this happened likewise seem obvious to me. It is quite understandable that the Orochon on the upper Amur and its tributaries still preserve the custom of tattooing in view of their direct contact with their Siberian fellow-tribemen. If therefore among their neighbors, the Manegir and Birar, this custom has in fact disappeared, this may be ascribed merely to a weakening of these contacts as a result of Chinese rule and to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur influence to which they were subjected and which is also demonstrated in their clothing, hair style, and even in the facial features and the language of these

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peoples in contrast to the Orochon. The gradual and almost total disappearance of the custom of tattooing in the lower Amur region must be thought of differently. There, as we saw, it still exists only among the Goldi and only in the uppermost part of their habitation area, though this part is closest to the seats of the Manchu-Chinese. It disappears farther downstream, and it is certainly no longer found among the lower Goldi and their neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, who in their entire habitus, with the sole exception of their language, lead over to the Gilyak. As among the Ainu on Sakhalin, on the mainland, too, it thus disappears as one approaches the Gilyak, to whom the

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/424 cont./

custom of tattooing has always been foreign. As a matter of fact, if one considers that the Tungusic tribes who migrated to the lower Amur in the vicinity of the Gilyak, especially the Olcha, have become assimilated with the Gilyak in the course of time through constant intercourse, mixed marriages, etc. to such an extent that externally for the most part they can no longer be distinguished from them, it is not otherwise conceivable but that they must have also lost their original Tungusic custom of tattooing there. In part directly, in part through the mediation of the Olcha, the influence of the Gilyak system penetrated to the Goldi and spread farther and farther upstream, so that finally a few scant traces of tattooing still survived only in the most remote part of their habitation area. Whether the branch of the Olcha that migrated to Sakhalin, the Orok, had already lost the custom of tattooing on the mainland or not until they were on the island cannot be ascertained; but in any case the absence of it among them indicates a greater influence on them by the Gilyak than by their other neighbors, the tattooing Ainu, as we pointed out above with reference to their hair style and clothing, and as we shall have the opportunity to note in a number of other connections.

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On the basis of all this one is justified in concluding among the peoples of the Amur region, on the basis of their total external aspect, the Gilyak present the most individual and significant appearance, which could not fail to have a decisive influence upon the Tungusic tribes living around them.

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Section 6

OOC

Food. Animal and Vegetable Foodstuffs. Household and Table Utensils. Luxuries: Liquor, Tobacco.

SS 262 171

Since all the peoples of the Amur region are fishermen or hunters and only a small part of them living in the closest proximity to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur practice any field and garden cultivation, their food is predominantly animal, consisting chiefly of fish or meat. Vegetables play only a subordinate role

SS /425 cont./
262 in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment,
171 and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,
SS Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples
[184] of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

G Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are
*262 the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their
G life without fish; it is the conditio sine qua non of their own
[231] existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and
G clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak
*262 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first
226 rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal
251 appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin lagii-tscho) and Salmo proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

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1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[412] side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1),[1]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out

[1] [See Category 116, PP. 1011-1012 respectively--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 252 825 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both qualitatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma, *262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

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3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak 574 264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches, *262 412 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4), with several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

*262 When a Gilyak
484 undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable
594 reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/427 cont./

000 campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not
*262 only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many
[252] dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to
[231] later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for
*262 the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is
221 understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or
226 less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on
252 preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish.
[628] In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

226 However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however,
*262 they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if
361 there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/428 cont./

226 the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat. Needless to say,
*262 the above-mentioned species of salmon used for jukola by the Gilyak are also eaten fresh and even constitute their principal food when they come upstream in great numbers. In addition, however, the river also offers them an abundance of fresh food in its more or less permanent species of fish, such as sheatfish (Silurus asotus L., Gilyak mub), eelpout (Lota vulgaris Cuv., Gilyak mad[r]sch), pike (Esox lucius L., Gilyak iwys), and especially many cyprinoids, among which the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio L.) plays the principal role (1). But more important and

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1. Incidentally, on the basis of the findings of Herzenstein and Warpachowski ("Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens /Notes on the Fish Fauna of the Amur Basin/," in Trudy S. Peterb. Obshch. Estestvoisp. po otd. Zool., Vol. XVIII, 1887), we shall name here a number of the permanent Amur fish, the larger of which are generally used for food by the Gilyak, the smaller only when necessary and if nothing else is available. Thus, the following: lering (Carassius vulgaris Nilss.) uk or uk-tscho (Barbus labeo Pall.), koll (Pseudas pius leptocephalus Pall.), kunung (Parabramis bramula Val.), mimk (Hypophtalmichthys dybowskii Herz.), wa (Culter erythropterus Basil.), mykyk (Idus waleckii Dyb.), isn-ngoch (Pseudogobia amurensis Dyb.), markram (Gasterosteus pungitius L.), and others.

more precious to the Gilyak than all these fish are the two species of Acipenser that occur in the Amur and sometimes reach tremendous proportions, the tukki-tscho (Acipenser schrenckii Brandt), the Amur sturgeon, and the patch-tscho (Acipenser orientalis Pall), ooo the Amur hausen (2). On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from

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2. Cf. J. Fr. Brandt, "Einige Worte über die

/428 cont./

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2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
*262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
439 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
*262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
[439] very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
[252] they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
[196] of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
[231] Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
[439] fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

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226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the entire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its [132] [361] upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest [221] and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

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1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

226 2. (cont.) February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

221 The mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
221 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special
*262 delicacy.

226 Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
*262 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
[361] or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other
252 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
*262 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating
[264] of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local dif-
114 ferences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

/431 cont./

*262 [113] 1. (cont.) topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 252 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

[171] 2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

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*262 [136] Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I

*262 225 [231]

3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

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4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the white whale is not at all like train oil and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale skulls which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently captured by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

*262 17 [136] [231] The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, the so-called keng (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is occasionally stranded within the range of their dwelling sites on the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it is such that keng fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what this abhorrence was based on. It is all the more striking, however, since among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and blubber are among the most popular foods. The Ainu, for instance, do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

/432 cont./

*262 171 been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

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1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

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3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

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4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribu-
[165] tion (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between

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5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

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/432 cont./ they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

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6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

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7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

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8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

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*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence, [165] of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue *262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts, the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as *262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is [136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall., Gilyak njagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt, [191] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that the

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

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3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

*262 Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

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Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

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1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

/434 cont./ from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

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231 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
252 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
*262 the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to kindle the fire under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

114 If one wished as a conjecture to grant for the northern peo-
17 ples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes,
231 namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step
*262 toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbutto People in Central Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On
171 the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these
231 peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is com-
*262 mon only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

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231 relationship to his master as does the hunting or house dog,
*262 who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other character-
171 istics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3) and of

[113] 3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

Jesso /Yesso/, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

[113] 4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

[113] 5. Alois v. Becker, "Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1876, under the Command of Captain Sir. Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1879, p. 455).

present in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of their area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Greenland, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

[113] 1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

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231 dog meat is still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very
*262 high price. The ancient Italmen on Kamchatka seem to be a
171 striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs to pull the sleds and had no other domestic animal besides them, nevertheless among all the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and lizards were excluded from their menu" (2),

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Kraschenin-nikof does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

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4. According to the observations made by the Vega Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen refused to eat the meat of a slain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, p. 96). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, riding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it.
080 From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

Gi 23| 262 /436 cont./ From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at present have quite the same way of life as the Gilyak and likewise have only one domestic animal, the dog, and, to be sure, as a draft animal, nevertheless do not eat dog meat. When Pargatschefskij asked them about this in the village of Pulj, they expressed their aversion to such fare and even designated this as the factor distinguishing them from the Gilyak (5). One might

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimnim" putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 162).

Gi 174 23| 262 one might at first glance see in this a contradiction of the first part of the rule set forth by me above; considered more carefully, however, it is a splendid confirmation of the second part. For, as discussed above, the Olcha were formerly reindeer nomads and were forced into settling along the Amur and into the life of fishermen like the Gilyak only through the loss of their reindeer (6). And since

6. See pp. 284, 308, and elsewhere above.

the memory of that change in their way of life is said to live on in their legends, it should not surprise us that their aversion to eating dog meat, which dates from that nomadic period, has also been preserved among them. Conversely, one can also see in this aversion of theirs more proof for their former reindeer nomadism. The situation may be similar for the Negda, Samagir, and Kile (7).

7. See pp. 322-329 above.

In fact, neither from my own experience nor through other travelers (Wenjukof, Przewalski, Nadarof) /437/ is it known that the Goldi and Orochi eat dog meat. Thus cynophagy in the Amur region, Sakhalin included, remains limited to the two Paleo-

G 23| *262 171| [See category 116, P 665--Analyst]

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231 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
171 cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
114 Amur region farther upriver, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes
113 it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by M***, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

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1. (cont.) d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franc. en Chine /A French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32.

231 *262 171 [113] the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. O.Genest, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. LII, p. 61).

traced back to Chinese influence.

223 *262 Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals, merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At [136] several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus albus Gm., Gilyak parrã, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast [136] of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duĭ, I saw them consuming with great relish the Phaleris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze *262 to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its 231 nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, is 439 consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

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ooo is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls. The Gilyak
* 262 seem not to eat on principle only the crow (Corvus corone L.,
825 Gilyak karr), although, or perhaps because, it lives for the most part on the same food as they themselves do, for it happily and in great numbers stays in the vicinity of their villages and huts in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appears at the midday or overnight campsites of traveling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a march on them in consuming /438/ a nochla-nga
* 262 frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps
825 the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious
171 belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

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1. Kiber", "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

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2. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provisions and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter there-
ooo fore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

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3. Lutké, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 189, 214. According to Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Vol.

*262 /438 cont./
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3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

*262 In view of the great similarity between the
825 two birds in externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible that the Gilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore likewise do not eat the raven.

Among the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single animal that the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but especially snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstitious beliefs, which will be discussed in the following (4).

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4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

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* 262 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few invertebrates must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
[136] on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina venulosa (Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

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6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

jotang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

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*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits, [252] tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium [137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply called

[104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and 222 the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the [221] fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such [251] families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil 252 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment *262 for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

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252 *262 are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mossj. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mossj, the fish skins, from lyghi-tscho or tengi-tscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (sour

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2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kuriles on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

[196] cream). I saw mossj prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with fish oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between lyghi-mossj and tengi-mossj, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the *262 flames, several slices of mossj, and a drink of snow-water. Next [137] to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghych) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak. Just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mossj and other dishes, /440/ and is likewise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, near [137] Tymi on the Liman, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

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*262 [139] (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

[192] The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] [252] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 252 264 [142] [137] The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs), a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra; pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the 252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is likewise *262 not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this [192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/440 cont./
252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
* 262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[192] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtained from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the upper side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those
[113]

3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensis Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork), which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuksj, udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as those
263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a species
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
*262 finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
[137] Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially
[192] reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

[137] Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white
[172] color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[171] small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from
[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

*262 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
434 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
177 able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

/442 cont./

*262 439 177 matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals [554] and legumes, are, to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During *262 439 177 796 the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budá), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak ssjussj) (2).

[192]

2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ssjussu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very [114] distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set 000 before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

*262 439 177 /442 cont./ As soon as the Russians settled in the lower Amur region, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat groats in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They also greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak owa(b)), since they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities of wheat flour (Gilyak rhak) at a high price. All the above-mentioned
*262 252 439 177 cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten with fish oil, which, like melted butter among us, is poured with a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. Flour has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough -- a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is needed run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and, finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They obtain [139] another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with fish oil and partly crushed bilberries or cranberries (Empetrum nigrum /crowberry/) and stirring this to a mush. Only one garden vegetable is used among them, and this almost solely on festive occasions. It is the common white or yellowish beans [139] (Phaseolus vulgaris L., Gilyak tursch), which they obtain from the Chinese living farther up along the Amur and Sungari. They are first cooked and then mixed with fish oil, chopped kyp (see above) and finely chopped dried leeks (hagi), and sometimes also berries from Empetrum nigrum -- a truly peculiar culinary achievement owing to its curious composition.

*262 Thus, not merely the various native vegetable foods, which serve more as supplements, but also the few really nutritious exotic ones which the Gilyak use as food are not eaten by them other than with a more or less strong addition of fish oil. The ichthyophagous nature of the Gilyak remains true even here. And thus, in spite of the not inconsiderable vegetable foods listed above,

/443 cont./

*262 animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes the basis and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

263 A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

> 1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

[113]

> 2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
114 was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of
263 how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some in every Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until Pronge, on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they saw me eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or
[171] non-use of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

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1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
174 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[196] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun (Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

263 Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
439 general, sugar (Gilyak ssăta), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

263 /445 cont./
439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[482] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2; $\frac{7}{1}$ Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
179 ormotsch(?)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

$\frac{7}{1}$ [See category 116, P. 1013--Analyst]

/446 cont./

415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
199 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6, $\frac{3}{4}$ Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
[531] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
[824] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
264 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned
$\frac{3}{4}$ [See Category 116, p. 1014 -- Analyst]

264 /446 cont./
415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
996 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/447 cont./

322 yi-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), 3 A is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among
412 177 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)

[192]

1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschabcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wassj, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

415 As one sees from the above, all the household and table
323 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
439 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[322] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even
323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
114 their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinsô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen-
[191] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/447 cont./
323 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/
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2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

323 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not
114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese
171 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not
174 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored
323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as
174 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion
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323 /448 cont./
171 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the
174 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment,
648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This
415 destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region,
174 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the
171 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls
322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

323 Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed
171 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded
[648] progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tributaries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

[113] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/449 cont./

323 utensils produced there, some of them of very good quality, which
171 were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3), there is

[113]

3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspeditsiia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Maack saw in Ssilbi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the Amur, however, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clearly to the aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

323 If, from the statements by Mamia Rinsô given above, one
19 must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, though they do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless formerly and up to the beginning of this century had it and even manufactured it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that it was by no means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather that they learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatively recent times. He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was said, similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly probable that the many porcelain factories near Kidsi which he mentions arose under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation. And, since it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again disappear altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subsequent unfavorable conditions, without leaving any trace other than the aversion against its products. My view that the making of pottery was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily picked up by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also supported by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, is missing, or was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other Paleo-
000 Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rinsô (4),

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

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[113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
G Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
K
323
415
[113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

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3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., P. 184.

2: Schrenck--690 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Chukchee RY2
Koryak RY4
Aleut NA6
Eskimo ND2

/450 cont./

000 G 323 171 K C 323 415 C [439] 000 C [113]

was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand. Also, with regard to the Koryak and Chukchee, the aforementioned travelers, as well as Nordenskjöld and others, know only of the making of eating and drinking vessels out of wood, bone, etc., but do not report any of fired clay. The earthenware pots that the members of the Vega Expedition saw among the Chukchee were of American or European origin (4). Similarly, Weniaminof notes about the Aleut that they

4. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Leipzig, 1882, Vol. II, p. 122.

G 323 171 A 323 439 A [113]

Similarly, Weniaminof notes about the Aleut that they had only such earthenware utensils, cups, plates, etc., as they had occasionally obtained from the Russians (5). The making of

5. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostrov. Unalashkinskago otdiela, Part II, p. 238.

G 323 171 E 323 E [113]

The making of pottery is carried on as an ancient art by only one Paleo-Asiatic people, the Eskimo of northwestern America, for instance, on Kadjak Island (6), along the Kuskokwim and Kwichpak (7), on

6. Dvukratn. putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitser. Khvostova i Davydova, St. Peters-burg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 104.

E [113]

7. Wrangell /Vrangel'/, "Statist. und ethnogr. Nachrichten über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika /Statistical and Ethnographic Reports on the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America/" (Beitr. zur Kennt. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. I, p. 147). Zagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot Traveler's Description of Part of the Russian

2: Schrenck--691 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Eskimo ND2

G 323 191
E 323 [113]

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7. (cont.) Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847, Part I, p. 58. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 218.

E [177]

Norton and Kotzebue Sounds (8), and elsewhere. Dall says that

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8. Woldt, Cap. Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's /Capt. Jacobsen's Travels on the Northwest Coast of America/, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 214, 215, 299.

among the earthenware vessels made by the Eskimo which he saw on the Yukon (Kwichpak), a few of which are illustrated in his book on Alaska, one was obviously patterned after a Russian model. This may have been the case, for since the Russians settled in this country some Russian drinking and eating vessels undoubtedly reached the natives there. Nevertheless, the making of pottery by the American Eskimo in no way came from the Russians. The latter found it there already, and Dawydof, like Sagoskin, remarks that acquaintance with iron and copper kettles and other implements, which the Eskimo owed to the Russians, caused considerable loss among them in the formerly general distribution of pottery vessels of their own manufacture, with which Dall, too, agrees. Finally, also arguing for the great antiquity of the art of pottery among the Eskimo of northwestern America /451/ is the simple and primitive fashion in which it is practiced: the vessels are shaped freehandedly, and therefore are not quite circular or symmetrical (1), and then are smoothed and decorated by means

E [415] [199]

1. As can be seen from the illustrations given in Jacobsen's travel account (pp. 214 and 215).

of peculiar and likewise very simple instruments (2). Without

2. These instruments are likewise illustrated by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

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2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

G 323 171 E 323 194 without intending to specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

G 323 648 17 To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinsô spoke was or is only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it in any case has nothing to do with the potsherds which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone tools, at various points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Patchä River and in Taraika (3). These potsherds,

G 323 172

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Patchä River, about 10 versts from Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschchyrkrach or Tschnyrrach (as the Russians call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, various stone tools (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

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3. (cont.)
/Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Taraika on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth huts, Lopatin found numer-

[113] ous stone tools and fragments of pottery vessels (Kropotkin, according to information from Lopatin in Izviest. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 307, 308). Subsequently similar finds were made repeatedly at the southern tip of Sakhalin. Finally, in 1881, Poljakof succeeded in obtaining at the site of the Russian outpost near Duĭ on the west coast of Sakhalin a rich collection of stone

[113] tools and old potsherds. The latter were not infrequently marked with patterns which were reminiscent of those that he had found in the Olonez District and in the Oka Valley in European Russia (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 19).

some of which have been available to me (4) and which were

4. The potsherds, in part from the Patchä River and in part from Naiputschi on southern Sakhalin, that were available to me were made of a coarse, reddish-yellow to blackish clay, which in places contained fine gravel, small pieces of quartz, and sometimes little pea-sized pieces of rubble. They were sometimes provided with fine impressions arranged in rows, sometimes with crisscrossed stripes or

G /451 cont./
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4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchã River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

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2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/453 cont./

361 133 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the 226 262 [361] Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak, this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance. 226 648 464 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally, also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175 648 464 113 1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

225 /453 cont./ Next to fish The
262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

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2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of

[139] Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
226 to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
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4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower

[133] animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

/453 cont./
island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

2: Schrenck--699 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/454 cont./

226 178 Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

226 171 113

5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only [171] domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) --and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

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1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old [251] Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
177 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates
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3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

Gi
226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in
Gi
221 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the
226 seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish
262 and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again princi-
251 pally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food
Gi consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several
175 weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region
226 around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because
262 of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period
264 of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish; and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

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4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi
262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

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262 231 224 more since, on the other hand, their second and true draft animal, the reindeer, despite the fact that they are able to keep it only in relatively small numbers, provides a contribution to their diet, and their stay, joined with hunting, in the forests through which their winter migrations take place must provide them with various meat foods. Finally, the Orok cannot conduct their migrations, the very peculiar nature of which I /456/ shall discuss in more detail in the following chapter, without remaining in continuous contact with the Gilyak, through whose territory they roam and, through barter, make some of their food supplies their own.

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262 171 [196] The nearest fellow-tribesmen of the Orok on the mainland, the Olcha, completely correspond to the Amur Gilyak with respect to their food. From many of my own experiences I can testify that both in daily life and on festive occasions, such as, for instance, the bear festivals, which I also had the opportunity of attending among them, they eat dishes of exactly the same composition and preparation as those of the Gilyak, and even use the same implements. The only difference that I could see in the food of the Olcha in contrast to the Gilyak, aside from the aforementioned aversion of the former against dog meat, which, however, as a negative attitude, is not very obvious, was the fact that among them, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution (above Kidsi), hunting begins to play a predominant role for the direct procurement of food, in that it is not limited to merely fur-bearing animals, as among the Gilyak, but is also directed toward those animals whose chief value lies in their meat. Some of these animals, such as the red deer and wild pig, do not even occur among the Gilyak, but first appear, going upstream, in Olcha territory (1); others, such as the roe, musk deer, and elk,

262 224 171

1. See Vol. I, pp. 154, 173, of this work.

occur in greater frequency in the same direction (2). Thus, among

2. See ibid., pp. 162-166, 174.

/456 cont./ Thus, among
262 the Olcha the Tungusic inclination for hunting, favored by natural
224 conditions, again makes headway and has the result that they, even though primarily likewise ichthyophagous, are by far not such to the great extent and almost exclusively as the Gilyak are, but also eat a good share of meat.

262 This proportion between a fish diet and a meat diet which
226 emerges among the Olcha in the upper part of their habitation area
224 rapidly increases in favor of the meat diet among the inhabitants
184 along the left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Negda, Samagir, and Kile on the Kur. Whereas the former, like their neighbors, the Gilyak, are involuntarily forced toward ichthyophagy by the circumstance that they live directly on the banks of a mighty river teeming with fish, which cuts through the entire length of their area, and, in de Castries Bay, have one foot on the seacoast, the situation is different for the last-named peoples. The rivers along which they live are not poor in fish, to be sure, but could not measure up to the Amur in the wealth of fish by far; in particular, they lack the largest and finest fish of the latter, the large sturgeon and the hausen, as well as the carp and probably other cyprinoids, etc. On the other hand, along them there spread extensive forest wildernesses, which, apart from the fur-bearing animals, shelter an inexhaustible wealth of game of all kinds and provide an ample meat diet for the hunter. Among the Samagir, with whom I became acquainted in the middle of their hunting grounds along the Gorin, /457/ merely the clothing, the red-deer and elk leather robes, the roe-deer and musk-deer fur-coats, etc., revealed that these game animals, and especially the largest and most common of them, the elk, called buju by them, that is, simply "the animal," were essential for their existence.

Farther upstream from the Olcha, among the Goldi, as Amur dwellers, fish food is again in first place, though not as exclusively among the former, and still less so compared to the Gilyak. Rather a no smaller, and the farther south an ever larger amount of meat food is associated with them. This is inevitable since some, and among them the largest, of the above-mentioned game animals,

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262 such as the red deer and the wild pig, become all the more com-
226 mon the farther south one goes along the Amur River and reach
224 their maximum frequency in the lower Amur region in the luxuri-
184 ant leafy forests, on the many low river islands overgrown with willows and high grass, and in the swampy prairies, often with reed thickets, near the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. More-
131 over, the Goldi population also extends into the valleys of the
224 right tributaries of the Amur River, the Pächssa, Naiche, and Chongar Rivers, where there is certainly no lack of good hunting grounds, which are probably also visited occasionally by the Amur
224 dwellers. Indeed, along the Gorin I repeatedly met Goldi who
484 had come here from Zollazi and other places on the Amur to hunt
262 and were now returning home with their sleds laden with elk meat.
262 Of course, besides the meat, the fat of large game is also an
[171] important foodstuff of the Goldi and for them substitutes for seal oil, which is so indispensable for the Gilyak and Ainu and to a large extent is also used by the Olcha. In speaking of the meat diet of the Goldi, it should be mentioned that, as a result of the southern location of their habitation area, the Amur River also furnishes them with a food which is lacking among the aforementioned peoples living farther to the north and which, insignificant in itself, to be sure, is noteworthy on account of its uniqueness. It is the Amur turtle, Trionyx maackii Brandt, whose meat and eggs are eaten by the Goldi -- probably the only reptile used for
ooo food in the Amur region (1). Finally, a very important factor

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1. On the Amur the Goldi call the turtle aja; on the Ussuri, kaila.

231 Finally, a very important factor
262 pertaining to the diet and a particularly characteristic one for the Goldi in contrast to the above-mentioned peoples is that among
241 them, going upstream, are found the first domestic animals kept
177 solely for food and similarly the first beginnings of the cultivation of vegetables and cereals. Both are undoubtedly a consequence
[439] of their closer contact with the Sungari region and with the Chinese who for trade purposes permanently reside among the Goldi at

/457 cont./
various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /458/ and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur region and its position among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 98-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. As was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual specimens are found even among the Olcha (2), but

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Ssargu and Naiche on and along the Ussuri. The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their countrymen or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding animals, however, in part from the Man-dse (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

3. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 122).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

2: Schrenck--706 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Historical Manchuria AG2

Gi 231 439 262 [113]

/458 cont./

and Manchu (4) and, as in China, is the principal meat food of the

4. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 69. Barabash", "Sungar. eksp. 1872 g." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 343).

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population (5). According to Wassiljef (6), the pig is the oldest

5. Already in Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, pp. 39, 92), one finds the report that the Njutschi on the Sungari and Nonni (Manchu and Daur) eat pork and bacon with pleasure and in great quantities.

6. "Opisanie Man'chzhurii /Description of Manchuria/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., XII, 1857, p. 52).

of all the domestic animals in Manchuria, and this country, according to Palladij (7), has been famous at all times, even in China, for its Pig-breeding.

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7. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska, chrez" Man'chzhuriiu v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 351). Wassiljef, too, notes among other things that Peking gets its best pigs from Manchuria and that almost all of North China is supplied with Manchurian pork.

/458 cont./

China, for its pig-breeding. Besides the domestic pig, one also finds among the Goldi the first domestic poultry, and, to be sure, primarily chickens (Goldi tscheko), which also come from the Sungari region. Maack (8) came across some in Chula on the Amur,

8. Op. cit., p. 230.

a little above Da, and I myself saw the Goldi in Chaizo on the Ussuri raising chickens just like the Chinese living beside them (9).

9. This fact, noted in my travel journal, was overlooked by me in the discussion of domestic fowl in the first volume of this work (p. 404); on the other hand, it is mentioned there that the hen is known by sight to the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from the Chinese and is popularly represented by them in woodcarvings and metalwork.

Finally, the Goldi also learned from the Chinese about the cultivation of vegetables and cereals, only the rudiments of which are understood by them. The northernmost point along the Amur River where at the time of my journey there was still a small vegetable garden cultivated by Chinese was the village of Zjanka, as the Chinese called it, or Otza, as the Goldi called it, consisting of one Chinese house and two Goldi houses, located on an island near the mouth of the Gorin. At such places, whose number increases going upstream and up the Ussuri, the Goldi were able to learn, indeed, must have learned about a number of vegetables and cereals at first hand, and already in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, in Messur, Turme, and even /459/ more along this latter river, we saw them cultivating beans, squash, cucumbers, cabbage, onions, etc., and even maize, in their own gardens. Naturally at the same time, as the result of greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari and more active intercourse with them, the use of the cereals handled by them in trade, such as millet, barley, sorghum, wheat, etc., increased among the Goldi.

/459 cont./

000 increased among the Goldi. Hence the diet of the basically likewise ichthyophagous Goldi, thanks to the abundance of game in their region and the influence of a closely neighboring civilized people, developed into a far more varied and mixed one than among the Amur peoples living farther downstream.

Finally, concerning the Orochi, who neighbor the Olcha and Goldi along the entire stretch from de Castries Bay to the sources of the Ussuri in the east toward the sea, they correspond, with regard to their diet, more to the former in the northern part of their elongated area of distribution and more to the latter in the southern part. Fish, especially the species of salmon that go from the sea up into the coastal rivers and from the Amur and Ussuri into their right tributaries, among which Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus again play the principal role, are the principal constituent of their diet and also enable them to maintain their only domestic animal, the dog. In addition, however, hunting, always pursued by preference, also provides them with a considerable quantity of meat, which steadily increases in relation to fish toward the south, with the increasing abundance of game and decrease in fish. On the other hand, the plant food of the Orochi is scanty everywhere and in the north of their area of distribution is limited almost entirely to the natural products of their region, a few previously mentioned berries and roots and the like also used among their neighbors. Of all the peoples of the lower Amur region the farthest from the Amur, the main artery for their trade with the Chinese, the northern Orochi receive the least of the plant foods, the various legumes, cereals, etc., which are exported down the Amur from the Chinese agricultural colonies along the Sungari. This changes in the southern part of their habitation area, along the right tributaries of the Ussuri and along the corresponding seacoast, in that the Orochi there live mixed with Chinese, the so-called Ussuri Man-dse, who cultivate various vegetables and cereals, some of which go to the Orochi in barter or as payment for labor. Indeed, some of the latter even have their own small vegetable gardens (1). Nevertheless, even

267 226 224 [184] [231] [222] 262 439 [563] 241 262 184 [113]

1. Nadarov", "Sieverno-Ussur. krai

Gi 241 262 184 [13]

/459 cont./

1. (cont.)
/North Ussuri Region/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, 1887, No. 1, p. 80).

among the southern Orochi the amount of vegetable food is still only very small compared with the meat food and much smaller than among the neighboring Ussuri Goldi (2). Thus on the whole,

Gi 262 184

2. Nadarof (op. cit., p. 79), on the basis of his experiences, comes to the conclusion that the Orochi use about three times less cereal food than the Goldi.

the chief constituents of the diet change among the Orochi from north to south, even though within /460/ narrow limits, just as among the Amur dwellers from the mouth of the river up to the Ussuri and Sungari.

Gi T 262 224 226

While we saw above that hunting and with it a meat diet, as opposed to fishing and a fish diet, play a more important role among the inhabitants of the left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Negda, Samagir, and Kile on the Kur, than among the inhabitants of the main river, this proportion increases still more farther westward and inland, and the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon living on the western and southern slopes of the Bureja /Bureya/ and Stanovoi Mountains and along the left tributaries of the upper Amur River no longer appear to us, on the basis of their principal source of subsistence, as more or less sedentary fishermen, like the peoples of the lower Amur region, but as roaming hunters. This situation, already discussed above (1),

1. Page 571.

must be pointed out again here, because it is of decisive importance for the diet of the peoples concerned no less than for their dwellings.

Tungus RUS
Goldi RX3

T Gi 262 /460 cont./ As a result of it, the roles that meat and fish play among the constituents of their diet in the one place or the other is directly reversed: just as fish food comes first among the lower Amur peoples, meat food does among the upper Amur peoples, and, like hunting among the former, fishing gives the latter only a subordinate auxiliary source of food that is sometimes in somewhat greater supply. Contributing no little to this different proportion of the principal constituents of the diet among the peoples of the lower and upper Amur regions are also the domestic animals accompanying them, basically different with regard to their nature and services: among the former, the dog, for whose support in greater numbers, as a draft animal, considerable supplies of fish are required, and which -- apart from the cynophagous Gilyak and Ainu -- brings its supporter no food in return; among the latter, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, the horse and reindeer, which do not need those supplies and, on the contrary, supply their owners with food themselves. For not only were the animals that as a consequence of injury had become useless for moving to a new locality consumed, and in case of need or on special occasions even perfectly strong and healthy ones, but the Orochon also have a special liking for drinking reindeer milk (2), which is especially noteworthy

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2. Usol'tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nerchi River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. II, p. 91). According to Tscherkassof (Zap. okhotnika Vostochn. Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter from Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 588), the Orochon sometimes even suck the reindeer milk directly from the udders of the animals.

inasmuch as it happens among no other reindeer people of Siberia and only among the Lapps in the extreme northwestern part of Europe (3).

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3. Pallas, Zoogr. Rosso-asiat., Vol. I,

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Gi /460 cont./
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3. (cont.)
p. 209. A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands, Dorpat, 1854, Vol. II, p. 387.

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262 With respect to the small amount of vegetable food in proportion to the animal food in both cases, it seems to me that there likewise exists a not insignificant difference, and to a certain extent analogous to the former one, between the peoples of the lower and upper Amur regions. For, just as among the animal foods fish and meat change roles among them so among the vegetable foods do the native /461/ natural products, on the one hand, and the vegetable products acquired from the neighboring civilized peoples on the other hand. Whereas in the economy of the lower Amur peoples the former foods, on account of their general distribution and accessibility, are on the whole of greater importance than the latter, this is reversed among the peoples of the upper Amur region: the native, vegetable, natural products have lost importance for them, in contrast to the former peoples, while, on the other hand, the imported cultivated products, in particular cereals, flour, groats, etc., have gained considerably. The former is probably related to their nomadic life, which is generally unsuited to the gathering and storing of supplies, especially plant products, berries, roots, and the like, which have little nutritional value and would therefore be required in great quantities, and, moreover, at precisely the time of the year most favorable for it, they are staying in localities which, as immediately on the banks of the Amur River, offer very few of these edible plants and where, on the other hand, they have to devote all their time to a more important activity, fishing. It must be noted in passing that there are also some different species of plants to which they give their greatest preference: whereas the natives of the lower Amur region especially like various berries growing close to the ground, in particular cranberries and bilberries, and gather great supplies of them for the winter, among all the nomadic tribes of the upper

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T Gi 262 /461 cont./ Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, the grape cherries or bird cherries (Prunus padus), acquired with little effort, enjoy ccc the greatest popularity (1). On the other hand, the reason why,

T 262 252 [251]

1. I have seen how the Birar dry great quantities of grape cherries on reed mats over a small fire so that they could store them. They are later eaten by them, just as among the Manegir (Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 78), either plain, or baked in cakes with a dough of flour and some oil or fat, or, finally, pounded to a powder that is used as an ingredient for various dishes. The seeds and the skins are always eaten, too, as I also saw among the Gilyak (see p. 673 above), and as is done in the similar use of this fruit among the Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1535), on Kamchatka, according to Erman (Reise um die Erde /Voyage around the World/, Part I, Histor. Ber. /Historical Report/, III, p. 415), and, according to Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 350), also among the Sagai Tatars, who mix with milk the coarse powder obtained by pounding the grape cherries, and other Siberian peoples.

T (191)

T Gi 262 439 On the other hand, The reason why, conversely, the cultivated plant products, such as flour, various types of groats, etc., have greater significance among these peoples than among the natives of the lower Amur region undoubtedly lies in the fact that these foods are supplied to them by various parties, from more numerous and closer sources, and therefore, on the whole, also in greater quantities, than to the lower Amur peoples. The latter, before the Russian colonization of their region

T. Gi 439 262

/461 cont./ (in the fifties) began (2), could obtain such cultivated products

2. And -- I repeat -- only this period is being considered here.

only from the Sungari and upper Ussuri, either through Chinese traders or on long and strenuous travels undertaken on their own for trading purposes. In the upper Amur region, on the other hand, the role of the Sungari is played to a certain extent by the so-called civilized sector of the Amur River, where, facing the mouths of the Bureja and Dseja /Zeya/ and in the immediate /462/ vicinity of the habitation and roaming areas of the Birar and Manegir, there are large agricultural and livestock-raising villages of Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and even sedentary Birar, in which these nomads can easily obtain various cereals and vegetables. From there as well as from the Nonni and Komar, these articles are brought to them by the industrious Daur traders even far into the mountain valleys of their homeland. Moreover, these peoples, and especially the Orochon and Manegir along the upper Amur and its tributaries, obtain a constant supply of cereals through their dealings with the Russian Cossacks coming down from the Argunj and the Schilka /Shilka/ and other hunting and trading people. Finally, from the northwest, Yakut traders also make their way to the nomadic peoples of the upper Amur region and bring them, among other wares, Russian cereals, flour, groats, etc. Even if these tribes do not consume as great a quantity of these foods at one time as the Olcha and Gilyak do at the time of their bear festivals, their use of them is nevertheless far more widespread and common, and the total consumption is therefore greater. If one now considers the far greater nutritional value of these plant foods in comparison with the wild plants used for food especially among the natives of the lower Amur region, one necessarily comes to the conclusion that, besides the animal food, the diet of the upper Amur peoples is also composed of vegetable constituents to a much higher degree than that of the lower Amur peoples. And this is also in harmony with the fact that the upper Amur peoples use far more

T. Gi 262

T. Gi 263

T. /462 cont./
Gi 263 salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and
T 263 554 the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,

Gi [113] 1. Nadarov", "Siev.-Ussur. kraĭ" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

T 263 439 192 salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a designation borrowed from the Daur ("katà") for it: katachàn. Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argunj, engaged in agriculture and live-stock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

T 262 109 439 174 of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

3. See p. 339 ff above.

Gi Gi 203 206 191 /463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used among them, especially liquor and tobacco.

G 272 273 191 The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems, barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

G /463 cont./
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Steller (1) and Krasheninnikof (2). I came across just as little of

1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

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293 I came across just as little of anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,

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3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss that they gather in the forest and call mogo drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

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292 Even Tea
179 which these peoples must have known for a long time through
439 their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able

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4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht for it.

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptance among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

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5. Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin", pp. 88-90) reported that in 1881 the Orok on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there were any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

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Gi 114 177 272

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

Gi 272 G 273 171 [192]

They did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland, under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic, Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

G undoubtedly 273 171 439 Gi [439]

acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha, and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must have soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called ssaki, and even learned how to make a weak ssaki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

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7. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (8) reported

8. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

G /463 cont./
273 in 1808 that the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Sakhalin hardly know of
197 the Japanese ssaki at all, to say nothing of /464/ making it them-
439 selves, but, on the other hand, "obtain a type of it, called arka,
from the Man-kôs (Amur-dwellers), which in taste is very similar
SS to the Japanese sôtsu." Like all products of civilization, liquor,
G too, is supplied to the Gilyak and all the other peoples of the lower
273 Amur region chiefly from the Sungari region, where there are
439 numerous and some very large distilleries established and run by
Chinese (1) and in part also from the Ussuri, where the production

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1. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, Vol. II, p. 67. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

of liquor is likewise carried on by the Chinese, and, to be sure,
SS exclusively for trade. The liquor made by them varies in quality
273 depending on the grain from which it is made, either from kao-
ljan, i.e., Sorghum vulgare, which is especially used for this
purpose (2), or from one of the species of millet cultivated by the

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2. Barabash (loc. cit.) says that extensive kao-ljan fields along the lower Sungari always indicate distilleries in the vicinity.

Chinese (Setaria italica, Panicum miliaceum, etc.), or from a
SS mixture of the latter with one another and with barley (3). De-
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3. For more details concerning the Chinese liquor and its preparation, especially in the Ussuri region, see Nadarof, Sieverno-Ussur. krai, pp. 105 ff.

pending on the quantity and the place of destination, the liquor is sold by the Chinese either in large bottles inclosed in wickerwork

SS /464 cont./
273 made out of willow switches and lined on the inside with strong
439 paper, or in square chests made of six boards and likewise with
paper stuck on the inside, on which an opening, closable by a
SS bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4). One of the purposes
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4. Williamson, op. cit., p. 68. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 113. Maack, op. cit., p. 196.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, Olcha, or Goldi is to buy such a chest (Gilyak kylmr-wakke) (5) of araki, for the liquor

5. Wakke means box or chest in general.

is naturally much cheaper at the place of production than among the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur.

G Along with the liquor the Gilyak and the other peoples of the
SS lower Amur region have also adopted the manner of drinking it
273 from the Chinese. Like them, they always drink it warm (6) out
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6. Marco Polo already remarks that the Chinese do not drink the "rak" (arrack) until after they have first heated it (Marco Polo's Reisen, the German by Bürck, p. 341, note 284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise buy from the Chinese for the purpose, just like the metal can in which the liquor is heated beforehand by putting the can into hot water or in the hot ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals always kept handy for this
000 purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7). This is how the Chinese

7. The Chinese way of drinking liquor has often been described, for instance, by Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 390) and others.

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/464 cont./ This is how the Chinese merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Rinsô describes the manner in which the Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peoples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This last seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as unlucky (unlucky) -- a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

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preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of araki would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be equaled in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kamchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

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1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

2: Schrenck--721 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX/
Historical Manchuria AG2

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1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 254); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

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Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

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2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

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3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

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3. (cont.)
an attempt was made, to be sure, to forbid the use of tobacco (and opium in China, but the prohibition was unsuccessful, because tobacco had already become an indispensable item for the Chinese (Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/, Vol. II, p. 948).

Tobacco had come to Manchuria from Korea, and to Korea from Japan (4), to where it had been brought at the beginning of the

4. Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 341), following Witsen, states that among the Koreans tobacco is called panggamk-sio, i.e., "herb that comes from the south," because they obtained it from the Japanese:

seventeenth century by the Portuguese and where it likewise had a general distribution in a short time (5). Tobacco found very

5. Schouw, Die Erde, die Pflanzen und der Mensch /The Earth, Plants, and Man/, from the Danish by Zeise, Leipzig, 1851, p. 264.

favorable soil in Korea, as in Manchuria, and was soon the object of general and diligent cultivation. Even today, these countries,
[439] and especially Manchuria, send the most famous tobacco to China, where it is preferred to the Chinese tobacco and costs more than the
000 latter (6). In particular the tobacco cultivated in the Girin region

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6. Huc, Wassiljef, Williamson, op. cit. The popularity of Korean tobacco in China was already pointed out by Lange (Journal de la résid. de Sieur Lange de S.M.I. de la grande Russie à la cour de la Chine, dans les ann. 1721 et 1722, Leyden, 1726, p. 65).

HM 296 439 /466 cont./ In particular the tobacco cultivated in the Girin region is regarded as the best, not only in China, but everywhere in Manchuria, and in the winter the Chinese merchants assemble in the town of Girin on the Sungari in order to make their wholesale purchases of tobacco: "all the inns of the town," says an eyewitness, the /467/ archimandrite Palladij, "are then filled with these merchants, and their spacious courtyards are occupied by bundles of tobacco." "This plant," the same traveler continues, "which, according to the words of Chinese physicians, makes a drunken person sober and a sober person drunk, a hungry person sated and a sated person hungry, finds a market everywhere in China under the name of guanj-dun-ädsy, i.e., leaves of Manchuria" (1). As well as southward to China, tobacco has also

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HM [113]

1. Archimandrite" Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska, chrez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g." (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 398).

spread northward and eastward from Manchuria to all the peoples of the Amur region. And, indeed, this must have happened at about the same time, or at any rate still in the seventeenth century. In 1693, when Ysbrants Ides came to Tsitsikar (for him, Naunkoton) on the Nonni, he saw the Daur of the region cultivating all sorts of field produce and much tobacco, which, in addition to other wares, such as blue cotton, etc., they used in barter-trade with the Tungusic tribes to the north (2), a trade which they later

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2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China, pp. 70, 129.

expanded more and more and are carrying on to this day (3).

3. See p. 79 above.

2: Schrenck--724 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical Manchuria AS2
Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

HM 276 17 /467 cont./ Moreover, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu in the Sungari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were formerly distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur River to far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the present Goldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in large farming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

SS Gi 276 17 tobacco among other things. Finally, it must have also spread from the Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this river to the Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before the Russian military expeditions in the seventeenth century the Goldi had become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation from the Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part even living mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is cultivated not only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also by them themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and on the latter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling sites of the Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, we found the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of Da, which lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above-mentioned Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the Orochi living on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also obtained tobacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak, in contact with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with tobacco as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco could not be cultivated among them because of climatic and other reasons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the mainland tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak and Orok of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the Ainu, probably received it from /468/ another source, directly from the Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had

SS Gi [249] G [276] [249] Gi [249] G Gi 276 17 G Gi SS [192]

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

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Gi 296 19 192 SS [192]

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1. (cont.)
the Manchu (dambagu) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and Olcha damche, tamche, and tamache, among the Gilyak tam(a)ch, among the Ainu tambaku, etc.

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Gi 35 296 439

Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochon, Manegir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was definitely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

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Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

G SS 276 107 /468 cont./ wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for [321] his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192 4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-A [824] shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [111] [129] 1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his A [113] "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

/469 cont./

000 1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
No. 2, p. 99).

276 415 (171) Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)¾ and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily [237] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with [531] Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 574 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. [439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

¾ [See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

G 276 824 /469 cont./

If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked G 276 415 in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghsis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6), I/1 on which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped G 276 824 off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as

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1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a G 276 824 fern. Among the Goldi in Kourmi on the Amur I likewise saw hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

SS 276 The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS [191]

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not

I/1 [See category 116, P. 1008--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--729 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

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2. (cont.)
smoked at all (Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, Part II, 1840, p. 236). The Chukchee, it is said, often chew it first, then dry it behind the ear, and store it in a special pouch in order to smoke it later (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Vol. II, p. 114).

Neither of them is among the customs of the Chinese either. The taking of snuff is found among them (3), to be sure, but is also

3. Staunton, Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China, from the English, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 71.

said to be done only in the upper positions among the learned mandarins and high officials, and to date from the time of the old French Jesuit missionaries who, by their example, obtained entry for it at court and in the aristocracy of Peking, at which place, it is said, one finds most of the takers of snuff even today (4).

4. Huc (L'Empire Chinois, loc. cit.) further mentions that the missionaries had French tobacco brought from Europe for their own use, and, since at that time it bore as a stamp a coat-of-arms with three fleur-de-lis, the latter design became the sole sign for snuff-selling in Peking and is to this day.

With so slight a spread of this custom in China, it is easy to understand why it has not yet spread from there to the Sungari region and hence to the Amur peoples.

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SS 276 On the other hand, it is surprising that up to the present time the Amur peoples have not been afflicted with another narcotic advancing toward them via the route mentioned -- I am thinking SS [114] of opium. At the time of my stay in the Amur region opium was still completely unknown there, and nothing was even to be heard about any cultivation of it by the Manchu or Chinese on the ooo Sungari (5). In 1866, when Williamson traveled through Manchuria,

SS [114] 5. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 243), by the way, saw one Manchu official on the Amur near the mouth of the Sungari, smoke a substance which he thought might be opium.

HM 175 276 249 In 1866, when Williamson traveled through Manchuria, he was assured that a few years before opium had been completely unknown in this country; at the time he saw it being grown everywhere. Near the village of Fata-mun, for instance, somewhat north of Girin, where, according to the natives, there had been no opium 3-5 years earlier, /471/ 130-160 acres of land were planted with poppies. It was said that poppy cultivation was much more lucrative than the cultivation of any kind of grain; to be sure, it was illegal, but the government officials concerned HM could be bought with money or opium. Considerable quantities 276 of opium were already being shipped from Manchuria to Peking, 439 and even in the country itself the smoking of opium had already reached regrettable dimensions, in that the majority of the male youth had succumbed to it (1). It is certainly to be feared that

1. Williamson, Journeys, etc., Vol. II, pp. 65, 230, and elsewhere.

under such circumstances and thanks to the Chinese merchants the Amur peoples will not be spared from it in the future.

/472/

Section 7

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Means of Moving and Going from Place to Place by Land and Water: Ski, Sleds; Draft, Riding, and Pack Animals -- Dog, Reindeer; Horse; Boats and Canoes.

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484 As has already been mentioned frequently, the three principal occupations which provide the Amur peoples with clothing and food, as well as the luxuries that have become necessities, are fishing, hunting, and trade -- occupations that cannot be pursued except with various and more or less considerable moving from
SS place to place. Hence, before I start considering these principal
121 occupations, I think that it is necessary to go into a special dis-
481 cussion of the manner and type of locomotion among the Amur peoples and the means used for it. This will naturally fall into two parts in that it has to deal, on the one hand, with locomotion by land or on the ice-cover of the water and, on the other hand, by water.

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484 A fishing people like the Gilyak, who always set up their dwelling places in the closest proximity to the water, from which
[361] they get their food almost exclusively, and, furthermore, before whom, on the Amur River as well as along the west coast of Sakhalin, direct waterways stretch out for trade and intercourse with the neighboring tribes and with the closest civilized peoples, the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari and the Japanese on southern Sakhalin, such a people must naturally spend a great part of their lives in moving and going from place to place on the water. But the climatic conditions of the Amur region are such that locomotion by water is possible only during about five months, from May to September -- during the remaining and longest part of the year it must be done by land. And when winter shackles the waters and covers the surface of the earth with a thick layer of snow, it makes it possible for the Gilyak to move and go from place to place by land, or on the ice cover of the water, and opens up new
000 territories and routes of communication for them. The

484 /473/ The northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account
224 of the thick underbrush and the many fallen, half-rotted, and mossy trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and light sleds, thanks to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the ground, precisely at the time when it shelters the fur-bearing animals in their valuable winter coats. As a result, [222] the forest, empty of human beings in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, becomes in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain wildernesses hunters and merchants make paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the ice of the Amur-Liman does away with the insular position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the smooth ice-cover of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main artery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari.

481 Let us now survey in greater detail the means which the Gilyak use for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in part even identity, with those of other northern peoples, they offer enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even for only a short walk from the house, indeed, for merely a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, ski are required if one does not wish to sink into the snow up to the waist and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in places, and especially along mountain slopes, in valleys and gorges, in such colossal quantities that crossing them without ski is unthinkable. For such trips as the Gilyak has to make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorms surprise him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to satisfy these various needs the Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones -- lakk; and large ones -- enj.

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /474/ item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for filling

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1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

G [824]

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3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824] with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of

G [237] sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

/474 cont./

481 the feet are like the ones on the small ski, but wider and stronger throughout. The tip of the foot, beyond the toes, is stuck under the front loop fastened to two straps running through the ski and its cover; the rear loop lies over the heel, and the two lateral straps, provided with several holes, are also fastened together there, and, to be sure, by one /475/ strap being passed through the other and a wooden peg inserted to prevent slipping. In fastening the ski to the foot in this manner, the heel retains full freedom of movement up and down as well as to the right and left, and forward motion takes place merely by a forward push of the ski with the tip of the foot. The ease and speed of the motion thus depends chiefly on the ease with which the ski glides over the surface of the snow, and this is effected to a high degree for the Gilyak ski by the cover with the short-haired and smooth sealskin and the whalebone rails or the wooden ones rounded off on the outside and polished. The principal advantage of the Gilyak ski lies in this extraordinary smoothness. The rails, whether of whalebone or of wood, also serve to prevent skidding toward one side or the other. The more easily the Gilyak ski glide over the snow for the above-mentioned reasons, however, the less suitable they are for mountain climbing, since the only slightly cross-grained sealskin can offer only all too little resistance to sliding backward, and this resistance is paralyzed by the smooth whalebone or wooden rails projecting beyond the fur. As in the case of great unevenness of the terrain, another essential disadvantage of the Gilyak ski appears with a slight unevenness of the ground such as the northern primeval forest exhibits everywhere. This disadvantage is their lack of flexibility. The Gilyak take for their ski, perhaps for greater durability and because they count on the smoothness provided by the fur cover and the rails, not especially thin boards and, moreover, as was already mentioned, make them so flat and level that, when they are placed upon the ground without weight, they rest on it with their entire lower surface, apart from the front end curving upward. As a result of their lack of flexibility, however, they cannot accommodate themselves sufficiently to the unevenness of the ground and therefore sink in more deeply, which understandably, greatly impedes and

G 481 /475 cont./

slows travel on such ground. All things considered, and on the basis of their construction and their entire nature, the ski of the Gilyak are less suitable for traversing uneven mountain and forest wildernesses than for rapidly sweeping over broad, flat surfaces deeply covered with snow, such as the ice-cover of the Amur River, the Amur-Liman, the many gulfs and bays, and other level stretches offered to them by their homeland. In conclusion, mention must be made here about the stick which the Gilyak, like other northern peoples, use when traveling on ski and which serves both as rudder in skiing down mountains as a support in ordinary forward motion. The latter is made possible by the fact that there is attached to the stick a little above its lower end, which tapers into a straight or curved tip, a wooden hoop which has a somewhat movable connection with it by means of several straps drawn like spokes from its periphery to the stick and through it. Thanks to it, the stick has sufficient resistance in the snow to give some support, whereas its movability facilitates pulling the stick out of the snow again and thus avoids unnecessary effort. Finally, the upper end of the stick, widened somewhat like a shovel, is used /476/ /illustration appears here/ to remove the snow that collects and packs together under the foot.

Gi 481 [192] Both types of ski, the small and the large, are also used among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region who neighbor the Gilyak. The small ski, called kángulta by the Olcha and Goldi, have the same form and nature among them as among the Gilyak.

Gi 481 191 The large ski among them (the Olcha and Goldi ssultá, or also ssoch-ssultá), however, in comparison with those of the Gilyak, show very considerable and characteristic differences, which I must discuss here in some detail. As a whole they correspond to the ski, described in detail by Middendorff, "of the nomadic hunters of Siberia," a general designation which in this case, as I think can be definitely concluded from the pertinent description and illustration (1) refers to the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, in whose

1. Middendorff, Reise in den Nord. und Ost. Sibir. /Travels in Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1349.

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Ski Stick

company Middendorff undertook his journey along the southern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains from the Sea of Okhotsk to the upper Amur, and whom, among all the peoples of Siberia, this general designation best fits. Corresponding, however, to the greater prosperity and polish of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region in contrast to their Siberian fellow-tribesmen, their ski, too, especially those of the Goldi and Samagir, are finer, more skillfully and artistically made, so that they probably represent the highest degree of perfection that has yet been achieved for this implement. They are longer and proportionately wider than the large Gilyak ski. The length can be given only in general terms at about five to six feet, because the rule is that they must always be the length of the individual for whom they are intended -- a rule which, of course, is not always observed. In spite of their larger dimensions, the Amur-Tungusic ski, as I shall simply call them -- the Gilyak call them rdhy-enj, i.e., Samagir ski -- are much lighter than the Gilyak ski because of the extreme thinness of the board. This thinness of the board and the peculiar, slightly wavy shape that is imparted to it during the drying result in the extraordinary flexibility of this ski. As one can see from the illustrations

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[192]

Gily. kyssj: a -- upper, shovel-shaped end, b -- movable hoop, Gily. tschrop, c -- tip of lower end, Gily. itusp.

48 [126] /476 cont./ As one can see from the illustrations shown on Plate XXXV, Figs. 7-9 /see p.1015/ sketched from a pair of Goldi ski which I acquired in the village of Ssamahagdu on the Amur and, like /477/ the Gilyak ones illustrated beside them, used myself during my stay in the Amur region, the board of the Amur-Tungusic ski runs in a double wavy line. At the place where the foot stands, and this does not lie in the exact middle of the ski, but rather at the beginning of the rear half, the board is gently arched upward and descends from there toward the front and toward the rear, only to rise again at both ends, though only slightly at the rear and very considerably in front. Therefore, if this ski is placed on level ground with no weight on it, it does not rest on it with its entire under surface, as the Gilyak one does, but only at the two places where it begins to rise toward the ends. Only when the foot steps in does the intermediate, middle portion of the ski-sole come in contact with the ground. Because of the characteristics mentioned, these ski accommodate themselves much more to a slight unevenness of the ground and present sinking into the snow much better than the Gilyak ski. [237] Leg fur from elk or reindeer is used to cover the Amur-Tungus ski; sometimes, too, the middle strip consists of the former, and the rest is of the latter. The pieces of fur are turned up along the edges and fastened there by means of a few flat straps drawn through the board, as well as by isinglass. The Amur-Tungusic ski never have rails of whalebone or wood, but the outer strip of the fur covering is always set off somewhat from the side pieces, which adequately prevents the ski from skidding sideways. As a result of this covering, the Amur-Tungusic ski are less smooth than the Gilyak ones, to be sure, but, thanks to the greater cross-grain of the furs mentioned, offer far greater resistance for mountain climbing. For the further protection of the thin board, arched upward somewhat at the place for the foot, from damage by the pressure of the foot, it is covered at this place with a second thin little board, or even with a plate of bark or fine bone, on which the foot stands. Finally, with regard to the straps, one can see from the illustrations that they are very similar to those of the Gilyak ski, but are also more practical inasmuch as putting on or taking off the ski by means of them does not require any bending

/477 cont./

481 down and help with the hands: in order to put the ski on, once the rear strap, which slides along the side straps, is fastened in the right place, depending on the size of the foot, one need only place the foot in the straps in such a manner that the rear strap comes over the heel, and then by a sideways movement of the foot the tip of it is brought under the wide front strap. Removing the ski is just as easy, since one need only slip the rear strap down over the heel with the ski stick.

It is apparent from the above what great advantages the ski of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir, have over the Gilyak ski, and how much more suitable they are for winter travel across forest and mountain wildernesses. Like the clothing and food, the nature of this /478/ important means of locomotion also shows that among these people, despite the fact that in general nowadays they are likewise sedentary fishermen, hunting plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak. And especially noteworthy is the circumstance that the Olcha, who otherwise have made so much from the Gilyak system their own that one cannot distinguish them from the Gilyak in their external appearance, nevertheless, with regard to the ski kept the Tungusic type traditional among them, though improved in the Amur region.

[132] The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes the use of the ski necessary throughout the entire area to the southern border. The missionary de la Brunière (1), for instance,

[113] 1. "Excurs. en Mandchourie en 1845" (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, Vth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 110).

mentions the speed and skill with which the Goldi ("Jupi-tatse") on
481 the Ussuri move on their ski. Indeed, they are even used south of
121 the lower Amur region. For even old Witsen (2) reported, on the
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2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 48.

G1 /478 cont./
481 basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea
171 in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one
175 binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole
G1 life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake
484 their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this re-
171 spect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the
492 ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and
231 among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in
G fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.
226 These requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the
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3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

/479/

23/136 The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over to North America with the Eskimo: wolf-like, long-haired, with short, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking wolf-like yellowish-gray color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Jana /Yana/ and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among

23/[232]

1. In the summer of 1854, in Peter-Paul Harbor, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the peninsula. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimeters long from the point of the snout to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the withers, and at the latter seven and a half to eight decimeters high.

the Gilyak to improve the breed: they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into breeding animals nor sort out and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the deterioration of their breed of dog is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they shortsightedly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as circumstances permit, are fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they will not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees them, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurts and in them and greedily snapping at any scrap.

/479 cont./

231 The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided [136] in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially lyghi-tscho and tengi-tscho (Salmo lagocephalus and Salmo proteus), and in winter along the seacoast the kangi fish (Gadus wachnja), which, however, on account of its smallness, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2),

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there is no

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosstj, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the jukola intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, seal and white-whale meat, and along the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of stranded whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the latter, which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the yurt, according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russians do, but rather cooked to a soup. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in [462] the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the [352] tschadryf, the table found in the center or in a corner (Gilyak kyll) (1) is used for this purpose; in the toryf, the platform of the

1. See pp. 458, 462, 546 above.

[462] hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned ma- [512] terials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is always one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

/480 cont./

231 [462] [512] long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the kyll or on the ground in front of the troughs. Meanwhile, the women, with the help of large ladles (2), have filled several

2. See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch everything for himself, furious struggles and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by the women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashes or chains. Plate XII /see p. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in over the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yurt. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager; for instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little jukola, reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, only every other day. On long journeys, however, the Gilyak, if [484] [197] about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some chark or ma twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

/480 cont./

23 [484] [191] feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps even more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding are managed by the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs, kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

[113] [191]

1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 The dogs
171 of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure,
439 but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions
[123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11
[192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles / runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward.
[192] Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

/482 cont./

493 all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather,
[192] if one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motassj, b in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather straps to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of
[237] wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring, however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mountings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where this material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

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1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 193), these quite long whalebone plates come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud. (Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 238). According to information given by A. Schroot in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

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/482 cont./

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1. (cont.)
etc., and such bones have been found a number of times in excavations in Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the March, in Moravia, and even in the pile dwellings of the Swiss lakes (St. Petersb. Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

493 Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the total length of the sled, while the two ends rise to a considerable height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen measured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot,
493 ten inches. Between the two ends of the thus shallowly arched
192 soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak kigi, c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration) set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are connected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece
493 (Gilyak kernghi, h in the illustration). The ich, of which a/483/ Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their position and distance from one another and from the ends of the sled likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of 1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double that, therefore 3' 8" or two-eighths of the length of the sled each. The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

/483 cont./

493 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles. 493 The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross-192 pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross-493 piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak [824] make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula [192] alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

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1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

/483 cont./ 493 [192] [829]
exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled, which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger dimensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski, the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in movement, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent substitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled soles with bone or whalebone plates serves the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore do not need the ice coating; on the other hand, it does not allow for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the [237] baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a long strap.

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[237] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

[104] 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

492 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
[237] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/485 cont. /In this it is far behind the
492 harness used among the Russians
191 both in eastern Siberia and along the Amur, which forces the dogs to pull with their chests, and this may explain why the Gilyak dogs tire and are exhausted more quickly than the Russian dogs. On the other hand, it has the advantage over the latter in that it does not get tangled so easily, and, if this happens, can be promptly put to rights again. With the Russian harness, the dogs, except

A dog's head adorned with the rüssk.

the front one, do not run singly, but in pairs, and each animal is fastened by two straps to the long guide-line running between them: by means of the rear strap the dog pulls the sled, but the front one prevents him from running sideways. With so complicated a harness, confusion arises all too easily as a result of the tempers of the dogs: sometimes the two dogs of a pair run toward the same side, sometimes an animal jumps over his harness strap, which then gets caught between his legs, etc. And when two sleds meet, especially a Russian one and a Gilyak one, without stopping in time, the dogs of the two vehicles angrily jump at one another, forming a cluster of perhaps twenty or more biting dogs, which can be disentangled only by a violent tugging and pulling apart of the fighting animals amid a rain of blows from both sides, and causing great confusion and damage in the harness, especially of the Russian dogs. The Gilyak, as well as the Russians, therefore carefully try to avoid such encounters by turning aside promptly, stopping and setting the sled, and holding fast to the pack, especially the lead dog.

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492 17 [192] The Gilyak stop and set their sleds with not one but with two simple, iron-tipped sticks (Gilyak kaur, Russo-Siberian oschtoll), which are thrust into the snow on either side of the sled. To put little bells on the upper end of such a stick, as the Russians do on Kamchatka and in other /486/ parts of Siberia, is not customary among them, and therefore the spur of the tinkling bells is unfamiliar to their dogs, which is why it has been abandoned in the Amur region by the Russians who get their dogs from the Gilyak and other natives. These Russians, however, spur their dogs at the first signs of fatigue in many another way that is likewise unfamiliar to the Gilyak. For instance, they sometimes hurl the braking stick at one or another of the animals appearing too lazy, which the Gilyak cannot do because, riding astride the sled, he cannot jump off during the journey, as the Russian does, to retrieve the stick and hoist himself back on the sled (1). And he just as little copies the Russian practice of

> 1. The Russian dog-drivers, or "Kajuren," as they are called along the Amur, in Kamchatka, and elsewhere in Siberia, always sit sidewise (on the right) on their sleds and can easily jump off, which they are often obliged to do in order to give the sled a push toward one side or the other to prevent the soles /runners/ from passing over the fresh excrement of the dogs and thereby lose their smoothness. If this is ever neglected, one must stop after a brief time and turn the sled over on one side, in order to scrape off the soles and, if possible, apply a new ice-coating.

spurring on the dogs in extreme exhaustion by throwing small pieces of jukola ahead of them. He cares too much for his dogs 492 to strain them excessively. If the shouts of "tach, tach" are no

492 /486 cont./
longer sufficient to make them run, he climbs down, continues on his way on ski, and pulls the dogs with the sled behind him. Incidentally, thanks to the circumstance that he is seated astride and has ski on, he can be more or less helpful during the trip: if the movement is impeded because the sled-soles /runners/ cut too deep into the snow or otherwise meet an obstacle, he gets up on the ski, and not until the dogs have got the sled, relieved of its chief burden, moving again does he let himself down on it again. If the snow is too deep and loose and the dogs sink into it, the Gilyak helps them by going ahead on ski and making a firmer path for them (2). But if in this case the sled is heavily

2. Often enough this must also be done in the case of the broad-soled Russian sleds, and on Sakhalin I myself have had to go in front of my sled on ski in order to probe the path, drifted over by snowstorms, with a long stick and make a new trail.

loaded and the route uneven and sloping first toward one side and then toward the other, he will even harness himself in front of the sled, in order, in part, to help pull it and in part to prevent it from overturning in the deep snow. This is done in the following manner: across the front end of the sled a braking stick or a similar stick is tied, and by means of it two long poles gently sloping upward are attached to the sled. The Gilyak stands on
[192] ski between these poles /Pfiemerstangen/ (Gilyak tädf), embracing the poles with his arms, and, by a timely lifting of the one or the other of them, prevents the overturn of the sled and at the same time helps to pull it, while the guide-line to which the dogs are harnessed runs between his legs or, as I have also seen, is tied
[481] to his belt. /487/ In a similar manner, incidentally, the Gilyak sometimes has himself pulled, standing on his ski without any sled, by a couple of dogs which he holds by a line in his hands and urges to run over a level surface of ice or snow, whereby he moves forward exceedingly fast, especially going homeward. Just

G 492 484 /487 cont./ Just as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G 492 191 194 Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A 492 493 [648] Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113] 1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [191] A [191]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

Ainu ABG
Kamchadal RY3
Northeast Siberia RY1

A 492 493 698 /487 cont./ oppression of Japanese domination weighing down upon them and paralyzing the general life of the people.

It is known from the detailed descriptions by Steller (2) and

A 492 493 [113]

2. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 132 ff, 370 ff.

Krascheninnikof that the Italmen on Kamchatka since time immemorial have used dogs for traveling, for which they selected and trained the largest and strongest of them and built sleds of a peculiar form and construction. Like the Gilyak sleds, the Kamchadal sleds, too, were characterized by their extreme lightness, flexibility, and durability; /488/ but whereas the former are shallow and low, the latter had a relatively high-placed and deep sled-basket, on which the dog-driver usually sat side ways and only at times astride. Later the Russians in Kamchatka adopted this type of sled and have them even today (1). Besides them,

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K 493 171 NS 493 177 171

1. Several sleds of this type brought from Kamchatka in the previous century have been preserved in the Anthropological-ethnographic Museum of the Academy.

however, they were also, even in Steller's time, and especially for the transportation of heavier loads, using the above-mentioned long and broad-soled dog-sleds or narten (2) such as are also

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 370) calls them "narden."

customary elsewhere in Siberia. They may therefore have already been familiar with them before their arrival in Kamchatka. There is no reason to assume with Matjuschkin (3) that the Russians first

NS 492 114 177 [113]

3. Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu, Part II, p. 110, footnote *.

NS /488 cont./
492 learned about the use of dogs for harnessing through the Kamchadal,
179 for before they reached Kamchatka they had come into contact
114 with many other peoples among whom this practice prevailed,
either in traditional fashion or in a manner adopted from one of
NS the neighboring tribes. Without intending to settle the question
492 of from which people the Russians learned of the use of dogs for
171 harnessing, I must point out here that in the seventeenth century,
Y along the Jana /Yana/, Indigirka, and Kolyma, the Russians
492 encountered the Yukagir, a Paleo-Asiatic people who had likewise
493 used dogs for traveling since ancient times and for this purpose
built sleds of a peculiar form, as may be concluded from a specimen
of this type found on the island of Kotelnyi, which I have dis-
000 cussed elsewhere (4) at great length (5). Later, just as in

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4. "Zur Vorgesch. der von der Akad. der Wiss. ausgerüsteten Exped. nach den Neusib. Ins. und dem Jana-Lande /On the Early History of the Expedition to the New Siberian Islands and the Yana Region, Sponsored by the Academy of Sciences/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, third series, Vol. III, pp. 11-13).

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[113]

5. Ssarytschof /Sarychev/ (Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri /Journey through the Northeastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. I, p. 65) also mentions the use of dogs for traveling in the case of the Yukagir.

NS Later, just as in
492 Kamchatka, the largest and strongest draft-dogs (6) and the
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6. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1296. The best are said to be the dogs from the Jana, next those from the Indigirka, and only then those from the Kolyma. Gedenshtrom", Sib. Viestn., 1822, Part 19, Sec. III, p. 156. See also my above-mentioned work (Beitr., p. 29).

NS /488 cont./
492 development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use
484 of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic
231 people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker
[361] /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise
[492] have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

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7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all
Gi animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and
NS therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to
K speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this
231 oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subse-
171 quently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like
231 other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic
171 animal and used it in harness when they were still on their
174 original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

E /489 cont./

231 part of the continent, from the Bering Sea to Greenland, which
191 explains the fact, so surprising at first glance, that in America
194 there are no peoples at all devoting themselves to keeping tame reindeer, as in the Old World, in spite of the fact that the physical conditions for it are not lacking there, and the reindeer in the wild state occur there frequently and commonly enough and
C are hunted by the Eskimo for food and clothing. America re-
194 ceived all of its population in the reindeer zone from an Asian
231 group of peoples who did not yet know the domesticated reindeer
191 and had only the dog as a domestic animal, and, to be sure, for the purpose of harnessing it, and thus necessarily kept in great numbers and in a stage of domestication in which the nobler qualities of personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance were still missing in it, and, on the other hand, its predatory nature appeared on every occasion. This latter circumstance in itself makes inconceivable a separate domestication of another animal defenseless against the dog, like the reindeer, by such peoples (1).

> 1. Middendorff (Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1302) remarks that in those places of Siberia where the harness dogs prevail, neither sheep nor poultry can gain a foothold, and even calves are threatened by constant danger. In Kamchatka, not only poultry, but pigs and cows, too, were attacked by dogs, which gave rise to the removal of the latter for the summer from Peter-Paul Harbor, as is done today, and keeping them at another place.

And, furthermore, why should a fishing people, such as the Eskimo and all the Paleo-Asiatics, think of domesticating an animal for which they have no food, and on this account they would be ob-
Ch K liged to give up their permanent habitation sites and change their
194 entire way of life? The ancestors of the nomadic Chukchee and
231 Koryak certainly did not domesticate the reindeer themselves,
191 but obtained it already domesticated from a nomadic tribe wandering toward them -- as was mentioned above, presumably from the Tungus.

Tungus RUS
Circumpolar Culture R3

/489 cont./

000 Tungus. Whether the latter did it[1] and how cannot be ascertained,
T but it seems conceivable, since they, in accordance with their
231 original and most typical character as roaming hunters, had the dog,
194 not in great numbers for harnessing, like the Paleo-Asiatic peo-
171 ples, but only individually, as faithful companions and helpers in hunting, who also very probably adapted themselves to being watch-dogs /490/ and protectors of the reindeer herds of their masters. As unsettled hunters it must also have been of the greatest utility for them to make an animal useful for locomotion, one which, like themselves, needed a frequent change of locale for its support. Finally, perhaps also contributing to the domestication of the reindeer by the Tungus was the circumstance that on the northern and eastern rims of High Asia they came in contact with the nomadic pastoral peoples of the latter, who use horses and camels for getting from place to place. Some Tungusic tribes, as is well known, adopted the former, and presumably in this way; such a tribe, the Manegir, is found even in the upper Amur region. And this, in turn, may have induced others of their fellow-tribesmen living farther to the north or higher up toward the mountains to use, instead of the horse, another animal native to their country and adapted to its environment, namely, the reindeer, and at first in exactly the same way, as a riding and pack animal. But whatever the case may be, one can designate the reindeer as the most typical domestic animal, the characteristic form, of the Tungus, and the latter in particular as the reindeer people, who through their extraordinary expansion in all directions also gave the reindeer a correspondingly large homeland and were also instrumental in its adoption among the neighboring tribes as far as the Koryak and Chukchee, on the one hand, and the Samoyed and Lapps on the other. As was mentioned above (1) and is to be discussed at

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1. See p. 248 /untranslated/.

greater length in the following, some waves of this movement of reindeer-nomads even reached Sakhalin and Kamchatka; America, however, was and remains beyond their reach. Thus, it seems to

[1 i.e., whether or not the Tungus domesticated the dog -- Analyst]

C 231 194 171 /490 cont./ me, the fact that this continent, despite the wide distribution of wild reindeer in it, nevertheless has no reindeer nomads among its peoples is sufficiently explained by the geographic and ethnographic conditions discussed above, which are essentially different in comparison with the Old World.

E 231 194 171 Before continuing, I should like to be permitted to insert a remark concerning the dog-keeping Paleo-Asiatics of America, the Eskimo. Though the dog is of essential use to them throughout their entire area of distribution (2), its use for harnessing has

2. Very significantly R. Brown says (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 463): "If the Greenland dog becomes extinct, the Greenlander must perish, and more surely than will be the case for the Prairie Indian when the last buffalo has been shot."

not developed anywhere among them to the extent that it has in the Old World (3). This is the case most of all along the American

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3. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amer. /A Foot-Traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, 1847, Part I, p. 59. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV p. 1266.

coast of the Bering Sea closest to their original homeland, in the fish-rich drainage areas of the Kwichpack and Kuskokwim (4), where the

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4. Cf. Wrangell ("Statist. u. ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Norwestküste von Amerika /Statistical and Ethnographic Information about the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. I, pp. 130, 147, and elsewhere), Whymper (Travel and Adventure in the territory of Alaska), and Dall (Alaska and its resources, passim).

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
E dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the
[492] use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

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After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

Gi 231 177 /491 cont./

One of these peoples, the Orok on Sakhalin, even today is a hybrid of reindeer nomads and sedentary, dog-keeping fishermen, a strange phenomenon resulting from the contact of the various peoples on this island. As has already been mentioned above, even the oldest report concerning the Orok, dating from the beginning of the previous century, gives the information that, instead of horses, they "keep a kind of tame deer which they use for pulling the sleds" (3). A century later (1808) the Japanese traveler,

Gi 175 492

3. See p. 277 above.

Mamia Rinsô (4), reported that the Orotsko on Krafto (Orok of

4. "To-tats kiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 190.

Sakhalin) take with them, instead of dogs, other animals called tonakai (the Ainu designation for reindeer) and on their migrations load them with their household utensils, food supplies, etc., and in this form, as beasts of burden, they are shown on Siebold's plate (XX)[7] made from the drawings of the traveler. According to this, the Orok use the reindeer in a dual capacity, as a beast of burden or pack animal and as a draft animal. The former in particular seems certain on the basis of Mamia Rinsô's testimony and is in accord with the natural conditions, the mountainous and densely forested character of the island, as well as the customs and habits of the Tungusic tribe, for on the mainland of Asia, too, the Tungusic peoples, such as the Orochon and all the other Reindeer Tungus, use the reindeer for riding and burden-carrying. In view of these facts and considerations one would almost be inclined to doubt the trustworthiness of the older statements coming from the Manchu concerning the use of the reindeer among the Orok for harnessing. /492/ Nevertheless, I myself have seen this use of the reindeer among them. On my trip through Sakhalin in the winter of 1856, I met an expedition of the Orok on February 17/29 in the Tymy Valley. As we crossed

Gi 492 171 174 T 492

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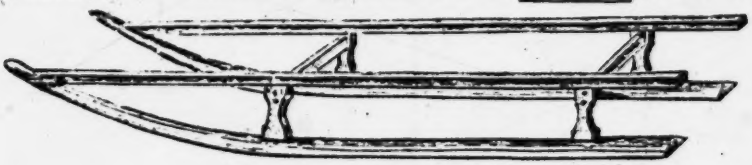
Gi /492 cont./
492 the river near the Gilyak village of Plub-wo, we saw in the willow
493 thickets along its bank three sleds harnessed to dogs, whose drivers
[114] had climbed down and were holding their dogs. They informed us
G. at once that an Orok reindeer-expedition was approaching and that
Gi we must likewise hold back our dogs. Two of the men could be
[291] recognized as Orok merely by their clothing, the reindeer-fur coats, caps, boots; the third was dressed like a Gilyak, in a coat of dog fur, with sealskin boots and apron-like skirt (kossjkcha), the latter



Orok Sled

Gi of which was not lacking on the other two. Their sleds differed
493 no less than their clothing: two of them could not be distinguished from the Gilyak sleds, but the third, a national Orok reindeer-sled, was of an entirely different nature. The accompanying illustration which was made from a hastily drawn sketch in my diary, may give an approximate idea of it. In comparison with the Gilyak sled, it was far shorter and somewhat wider, with the same height; the soles /runners/ were likewise wider than among them, triangular in cross-section, and provided with a sharp edge at the top. Toward the rear they were completely horizontal up to the blunt ends; toward the front they gradually sloped upward to join the longitudinal side-bars of the sled at an acute angle; but there was no curved piece of wood connecting the soles and the longitudinal bars on either side, so that from the front the sled seemed to gape, so to speak. Two of the waiting sleds were loaded with reindeer
Gi moss; the third contained some household utensils, ski, lances,
492 bows, etc. It was not long before the reindeer-expedition of the
493 Orok could be seen and passed by us in a curve. It consisted of 5-7 sleds of exactly the type described above. Each of them was harnessed to one reindeer, which pulled the sled by one strap. The guide-strap ran from the horns down under the neck and chest

Goldi RX3
Orok

/492 cont./

492 and between the legs and was fastened to a crosspiece of wood
493 in about the middle of the sled. A man sat in each sled, quite far toward the back, a long switch in his hand, with which he urged the animal on. Since the guide-strap was fastened to the sled near his seat, he could stop the animal and bring the vehicle to a standstill by means of it without standing up. One or two reindeer walked behind each sled, in some cases tied to it, in other cases completely free and totally unburdened. As soon as the expedition had disappeared, the sleds harnessed to dogs set off behind them. We, too, set out again, and, since we had to take the same path along which the Orok had just come, our dogs, constantly sniffing the reindeer tracks, sped along in frantic haste without interruption, even though they were no longer fresh, /493/ until we stopped for the night, their violence giving us an idea of what would have happened in case of a sudden and unexpected encounter between them and an Orok reindeer-expedition.

492 There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Orok use the
493 reindeer for driving, like the polar peoples, the Chukchee,
171 Koryak, Samoyed. This gives Sakhalin a feature that is polar in character, such as the nature of the northern half of the island far out into the Sea of Okhotsk bears. But whereas those polar peoples harness several reindeer side by side in front of their large and high-set sleds, the Orok, like the Lapps on the opposite end of the Eurasian continent, are forced by the mountains and forests of their homeland to use only one animal harnessed in front of a small and low vehicle. As different as the clumsy sled-trough of the Lapps is from the lightly-built sled of the Orok, not even closed in front by a knee timber, the analogy of these phenomena in the ethnic picture of the extreme east and west of Eurasia is obvious. And it is all the more remarkable because the Orok, among all the so very numerous and widespread Tungusic tribes, are the only ones who use the reindeer for driving.

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114 492 But how is this fact to be reconciled with the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô that among the Orok the reindeer serves as a beast of burden for carrying loads? I did not see it, to be sure, and I know of no later report which confirms it, but I believe that his statement cannot simply be dismissed, both on the grounds of inherent probability cited above and because Mamia Rinsô had been on Sakhalin himself and perhaps had met some Orok there, but in any case could have collected reliable information on them from the Ainu and Gilyak there. On the other hand, however, it also seems inadmissible to me to conclude from a comparison of that statement with what I saw that since the time of Mamia Rinsô there has been a change among the Orok in the use of the reindeer, because for that the interval of less than 50 years between Rinsô's trip and mine is too short. And so no other conclusion 114 492 remains for me but that if the Orok, on their migrations, use 484 the reindeer for driving as well as for riding and burden-carrying, such a dual use of a domestic animal for getting from place to place may be unique among primitive peoples. And, to be sure, the Orok may use one or the other mode of locomotion, depending on the area and locality of the island through which they are roaming. If, hunting fur animals, they roam in the deserted mountainous wildernesses east and west of the Tymy Valley, which are entered only by them, the reindeer may accompany them there, just as, under similar conditions, it does among their tribal relatives on the mainland, as an indispensable beast of burden used for riding and burden-carrying. The statements by Mamia Rinsô obviously refer to these migrations when he speaks of the use of the reindeer among them. This comes out also in his further remark, "the tonakai is by nature extremely gentle and tame, but very fearful before the dogs, and therefore one cannot under any circumstances /494/ bring them into villages where there are any in great numbers" (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, op. cit., p. 192.

G: 114 492 484 [22] [439] /494 cont./
He had no knowledge of the Orok migrations through the Tymy Valley studded with Gilyak villages in which there are many dogs. And on these migrations, which take place every winter for the purpose of trade with the Gilyak, Ainu, Chinese, and Japanese, and which have already been discussed above with regard to their direction and final aims (2), the Orok use, as

2. See p. 38 ff. above; also Vol. I, pp. 169 and 170, of this work.

has just been described in detail, the reindeer for harnessing in front of the sleds.

G: 492 194 177 648
Although in the above I had to reject the idea that a change in the way the reindeer was used could have taken place among the Orok on Sakhalin since Mamia Rinsô's trip, on the other hand, this seems to me quite undeniable much farther back in time. Undoubtedly the Orok formerly, when they roamed on the mainland with their tribal relatives, the Olcha, used the reindeer, like other Tungusic tribes, only for burden-carrying and riding. It was not until they went to Sakhalin that they also learned to use it as an animal to harness to the sled. But how could this have happened? I think that it must be ascribed merely to the influence of their new homeland, especially the inevitable contact with the Gilyak surrounding them everywhere there. Even though the Orok, when they migrated from the mainland to northern Sakhalin with their reindeer, found favorable natural conditions for a continuation of their nomadic life in its coniferous forests rich in moss and lichen, they could nevertheless gain a permanent foothold on the island only if they established friendly relations with the peoples there and the latter also benefited from the newcomers. This was particularly necessary with regard to the Gilyak, because they occupied both coasts in the northern part of the island and all of the Tymy Valley, and it always lay in their power, because of their greater numbers and energy, to deprive the encircled newcomers of all means of existence and to destroy them.

G [361] [648]

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Fortunately for the Orok, however, the Gilyak intellect, directed less toward warfare than toward gain and profit, soon made them recognize that they did not have to fear any curtailment of their interests by the immigrating newcomers, but rather could get considerable gain, for the treasures of precious furs that they, as skilled hunters, brought to light on their migrations in the remote mountainous forests of the island would have to benefit them the most as the first buyers and inevitable middlemen in the trade with the Chinese and Japanese. I shall return to this trade later. The advantage that the Gilyak derive from the Orok by means of it sufficiently explains the tolerance and forbearance that they show toward the latter in allowing them, despite the many inconveniences to themselves, to pass unhindered with their reindeer on the /495/ paths made by their dog-sleds through the Tymy Valley. Such a possibility for the Orok, growing out of their good relations with the Gilyak and enabling them to use the paths made by the Gilyak sleds through the entire Tymy Valley and beyond, across the mountains and the Liman to the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use their reindeer on these migrations in the same manner as the Gilyak and Ainu did with their dogs, that is, to harness them to sleds constructed for this purpose. Indeed, they must have come to it all the more readily since, as a result of their relations with the Gilyak, they were sometimes forced, for example, when they came into the latter's villages for trading purposes, to use dogs for driving. Furthermore, a few sleds harnessed to dogs are indispensable to them on their migrations in order to hasten in front of the reindeer expedition and prevent sudden encounters with Gilyak or other dog-teams. The sleds that I met near Plub-wo were of this kind. Later on I repeatedly saw Orok traveling on dog-drawn sleds near Nyi and in the region of the Tymy mouth. Thanks to their contact and intercourse with the Gilyak, the Orok on Sakhalin represent for us the certainly very rare, though not wholly unique case of a primitive people that has no less than three methods of locomotion by land, in that the reindeer is riden and driven, and in addition the dog is used for

/495 cont./

492 driving. They have simply borrowed the latter from the Gilyak,
177 and therefore the sled and harness among them for this type of locomotion are exactly the same as among the former. Their dogs, however, kept alongside the reindeer from the time they are small, presumably become so accustomed to them that they are less dangerous to them than the Gilyak dogs and therefore can be used as escorts for the reindeer expeditions. In order to
[221] be able to feed the dogs, which are scarcely less necessary to
[433] them than the reindeer, the Orok are forced to lead the life of sedentary fishermen along the east coast of Sakhalin during part of the year, and, to be sure, as was mentioned above, in summer and fall, and only after the fur animals have donned their precious winter coats, do they again set out on their migrations for hunting and trading with the help of their reindeer.

231 Just as the area through which the Orok roam is a very
422 limited one and cannot remotely be compared with the migra-
556 tion areas of the mainland nomads, so is the number of reindeer at their disposal only very small. Mamia Rinsô reported in 1808 that a rich Orok often had 12 or more. Boschnjak, who became acquainted with this people in 1852 in the vicinity of Nyi and the Tymy mouth, expressed the opinion that the number of reindeer for the richest Orok does not amount to more than 30 (1).

[113] 1. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 11, Unofficial Part, p. 189).

About 30 years later (1881) Poljakof visited them in the same region, and his estimate is even lower than that of his predecessor, for, according to him, an Orok of /496/ average means has about 10-15 reindeer, only very few have more than 20 of them,
231 and poor people only two or three animals (1). In the vicinity

[113] 1. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 82).

/496 cont./

231 of Taraika near the Bay of Patience, at the time of Schmidt's voyage (1861), only a few reindeer were still kept in the village of Walendsä; everywhere else they had perished from lack of food, since the deep snow in those regions makes the maintenance of these animals very difficult (2). In view of

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. /Historical Report/," etc., op. cit., p. 115.

the lack of endurance of the Orok reindeer herds, their future does not appear very secure, and it is to be feared that they might even become extinct under unfavorable conditions, such as epidemics, devastation by wolves, etc. With the loss of their reindeer, however, the Orok, deprived of their foremost means of existence, would either likewise perish or, at best, if they were still tolerated by the Gilyak, would meet the same fate as their tribal relatives on the mainland, the Olcha, that is to say, they would have to lose all the peculiar characteristics of their life and activities and adapt themselves completely to the way of life and the customs of their mightier neighbors, the Gilyak.

492 How far this has been accomplished among the Amur
177 Olcha has already been pointed out several times in discussing
174 their food, clothing, and behavior. The same can be said in connection with the methods of locomotion among them. The use of the dog as a draft animal, the treatment of them, the method of harnessing, in the shape and nature of the sleds, everything is precisely as it is among the Gilyak. Undoubtedly the Olcha borrowed this from the Gilyak, not the other way around, for, as was discussed above at great length (3), the

3. See pp. 284-306 above.

Olcha formerly lived as reindeer nomads, and it was only after the loss of their reindeer that they became sedentery fishermen along the Amur River in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, who have kept dogs since ancient times.

/496 cont./

492 179 194 184 Such an altered way of life was also most probably experienced by the other Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, especially the Negda, Samagir, and Goldi, though it is less demonstrable among them than among the Olcha, who in the Orok have a branch continuing to lead its nomadic life even today. Like the Olcha, and presumably in part through them, they have also adopted the Gilyak method of winter locomotion, with all the peculiarities of the dog harness, the sled form, etc. also repeated among them (4). Nevertheless

[114]

4. When Maack (Putesh. na r. Amur" /Journey to the Amur River/, p. 202) taking the Goldi as his point of departure, asserts that the dog harness among the natives of the Amur region is of such a kind that the animals run in pairs, this is entirely incorrect and no possible distinction between the Goldi and the Gilyak is found in this: rather, among all of them, the dogs are harnessed in the same way, and, to be sure, alternating, as has been described in detail above.

492 17 [433] Nevertheless it cannot but be recognized that among all these peoples, to the extent that, in comparison with the Gilyak, they are more hunters than fishermen and do not /497/ have such extensive trade relations as the latter, the keeping and use of dogs are less in the foreground of their lives, because the number of animals, the concern about them, and thus also their value and efficiency are far less than among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, driving with dogs, even among the Goldi, is done throughout their area of distribution, up the Amur and up the Ussuri and the Sungari (1). In addition, however, one sometimes also sees

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1. De la Brunière, "Excursion en Mandchourie, en 1845" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, year 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 114). Cf. also Wenjukof ("Obozr. r. Ussuri

/497 cont./

492 113 171

1. (cont.) /Survey of the Ussuri/." -- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., pp. 230, 237; the same, Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii /Journey to the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia/, 1868, p. 81); Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 100), and others. In the summer of 1855, among the Ussuri Goldi, I myself saw dog sleds in storage that were exactly like the Gilyak sleds.

[114] [493]

492 In addition, however, one sometimes also sees horses among them along the Amur above the mouth of the Ussuri and along this latter river. During my journey in the summer of 1855, the Goldi in Turme at the mouth of the Ussuri told me that they used to have horses, which, however, had been destroyed by tigers a short while before (2). Going upstream

[114]

2. See Vol. I, p. 177, of this work. Maack was told the same thing (see his Putesh. na Amur", p. 170).

492 171 I encountered the first horses in the village of Sselgako on the Amur. According to the Goldi, they had obtained them from a people living far upstream, whom I later recognized as the Manegir (3). There I also saw crude wooden saddles used for

[439]

3. See p. 100 above.

riding on the horses, presumably stemming from the same source. Next to them, however, stood the dog sleds used for traveling in the winter, and which were exactly like the Gilyak sleds. For here, as among the Manegir, horses serve only for riding. Thus, among the Goldi of Sselgako, one could see side by side means of locomotion which had been borrowed

[493] 492 171

/497 cont./

492 179 from two peoples basically different and living as far apart as the Manegir and the Gilyak. Horses reached the Ussuri Goldi [439] from the Sungari region through the agency of the Chinese living among them, who use them, in part with the assistance of the Goldi in their service or dependent on them, chiefly for the transportation of goods from and to the Sungari towns on the road leading from the Ussuri to Ssan-ssin, for which the horses are loaded directly as pack animals in summer, but in winter are harnessed to sleds (4) -- a use to which I shall return

[113] 4. Korsun; see Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl." (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX and X, 1867, p. 374).

[224] in the following. In addition, however, the Goldi use their horses in spring, after the snow has melted, in order to go now and again for hunting purposes up along the Ima, Waku, and other right tributaries of the Ussuri.

231 224 Whereas the significance of the dog as a draft animal decreases among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region in proportion to their distance from the Gilyak, on the other hand another use of it, foreign to the Gilyak, appears among them, its use as a companion and helper of man in hunting. Thus, the 231 184 224 Ussuri Goldi not infrequently, in addition to draft dogs, keep hunting dogs, which, to be sure, are of the same breed as the former, but are used only for hunting, not for driving (5). This

[113] 5. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 237).

takes place to a still greater extent among the Orochi. They

Goldi RX3
Orochi
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi 231 224 184 [492]

/498/ They use dogs for driving in the northern part of their habitation area, on Hadshi Bay and along the right tributaries of the Amur, entirely in the fashion of their neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi; in the southern part of their area, on the other hand, along the right tributaries of the Ussuri, where they live almost entirely by hunting, they are usually not in a position, simply because of a lack of fish, to keep draft dogs, which in any case would be of little use to them in the mountainous wildernesses of their homeland, and therefore limit themselves to keeping hunting dogs, which they feed with the scraps from the slain animals, especially with a broth prepared from their bones, but in winter communication among them takes place only on foot, on ski (1). Nevertheless it can be seen as a reflection of

Gi [563]

1. According to Korsun; see Budistschef, op. cit., p. 355.

the custom generally prevailing there that the sedentary and well-to-do Chinese living among the Orochi and Goldi keep dogs for driving (2).

2. Budishchev", op. cit., p. 414. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie, p. 139.

SS 492 184

At the southern borders of the Orochi in the Ussuri region and of the Goldi along the Sungari the use of dogs for harnessing ceases entirely, and in the Sungari region, among the agricultural and livestock-raising Manchu, Chinese, and Daur, there is a whole series of domestic animals foreign to the natives of the lower Amur region, such as horses, mules, donkeys, and cattle, serving for locomotion, which will not be discussed further here. Concerning them, I refer to the information given in the zoological part of this work (3), to which

3. Vol. I, pp. 160 and 175-179.

/498 cont./

492 184 I add, concerning their use for locomotion, only that the first three are used among the peoples named, both in the Sungari region and in their colonies in the so-called civilized area of the Amur River, mostly for riding and for burden-carrying, whereas the horses, as well as the cattle, are harnessed in summer to carts and in winter to sleds (4). The frequently

[113] [493]

4. Thus, for example, in 1844 the missionary Kimaĭ-Kim traveled from Kuang-tschen-dse via Girin and Ninguta to Hun-tschun in a horse-drawn sled (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 1847, Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.), and in 1850 Venault made his trip from Ssan-ssin to the Ussuri in the same fashion (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 1852, Vol. I, p. 209). Pargatschefskij ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru /Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur River/." -- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 175), guided by Manchu, came to the city of Aigun in a sled drawn by oxen. According to his description (Putesh. na Amur", p. 303), like Maack's, these sleds are of such a type that the thick soles /runners/ extend out in front directly into the guide poles /Pfiemerstangen/, which makes them very clumsy and awkward.

The frequently

114 493 484 191 mentioned Chinese U-tschen, who was born and grew up in the Sungari region, adds by way of explanation in his article on Ninguta, when he mentions travel in sleds as customary in the country, that the sled (pa-li) is a vehicle similar to a cart, but without wheels, and the translator of his article, the Sinologist Wassiljef, notes that such an explanation was necessary for the Chinese, because in their country they had no

493 /498 cont./
484 conception of sleds. (5). Therefore, when the Chinese /499/
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5. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96). In passing it should be noted that John Barrow (Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den J. 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China from Peking to Canton in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794/, from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 160) expressed his amazement that the ingenuity of the Chinese had not extended to the invention of sleds or other vehicles suitable for traveling over ice and snow. Yet the embassy of the Netherlands-Indies Company to the Peking court in 1794 and 1795 noted that chairs put on sled-soles were pulled or pushed by human beings over the ice of the ponds (van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des Indes orient. Holland. vers l'Emper. de la Chine, ed. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, pp. 187-189; Vol. II, pp. 271-277).

493 Therefore, when the Chinese /499/
171 and Manchu in the Sungari region use sleds for traveling, one
179 may see this as a consequence of their ancient and multiple re-
492 lations with the Goldi and other natives of the lower Amur region, although among them the harness animal is a different one.

492 The upper Amur region, from the mouth of the Sungari up-
184 ward, in general stands in absolute contrast to the lower Amur region with regard to the nature of the locomotion by land of its indigenous tribes, for whereas all the peoples of the latter, from

SS 492 184 /499 cont./

Sakhalin, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the mouth of the Amur to the Sungari, use their dogs for driving, this kind of locomotion is not used by a single people of the former -- a fact that better than any other distinguishes the contrasting character of sedentary fishermen in the one and a nomadic hunting population in the other. Except for the few sedentary Birar living just above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, who have become completely assimilated in their entire way of life, and hence also in their manner of locomotion, with their neighbors, the Daur, Manchu, and Chinese, there are in fact in the upper Amur region only hunting nomads, who either, like the Manegir and nomadic Birar, wander on horses, or, like most of the Orochon, on reindeer, but keep dogs only as individuals for hunting purposes (1).

T 361 492

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 310.

T 492

Horses, like reindeer, are used only as a riding or pack animal. The Manegir horses are identical with those of Transbaikalia and Manchuria; they are not large, but are strong and have great endurance. Constantly kept out in the open, they are used to any inclemancy of the weather and in winter have to be satisfied with whatever food they can scratch up from under the snow -- a circumstance which in itself would suffice to make their existence impossible under the same conditions in the lower Amur region with its deep snow. Also, in view of the abundance of snow in this area they would not be as useful by far to the natives there as dogs, which along with everything else, have the advantage of having the same diet as their ichthyophagous masters. As the designation for the horse, which is practically the same among all Tungusic tribes and was borrowed from the Mongolian, shows (2), they owe their first knowledge of this

T 492 124 177

2. Cf. Klaproth (Asia polyglotta, pp. 267, 287), Pallas (Zoogr. rosso-asiat., Vol. I, p. 256), and my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, p. 175.

T /499 cont./
492 animal and its use to their Central Asiatic neighbors, the
174 Mongols--a fact that finds further confirmation in the circum-
177 stance stressed by Maack (3) that the designations referring to

3. Putesh. na Amur", p. 77.

the coloring, pace, and other characteristics of the horse and
T to the various parts of the harness among the Manegir, as
492 among the Manchu, are of Mongolic orgin. The truly charac-
174 teristic form of the Tungus, /500/ however, is and remains,
[178] as has already been mentioned (1), the reindeer, and even the

1. See p. 759 above.

Manegir are no execption to this inasmuch as they, as was discussed above in detail (2), were formerly likewise reindeer nomads

2. See pp. 376 ff. above.

and only later, as they advanced from the mountains into the prairies along the Amur and the Dseja /Zeya/, exchanged the reindeer for the horse, just like the Orochon who descended from the Chingan Mountains southward and eastward into the river valleys leading to the Nonni. In the north and east, however, the Orochon of the upper Amur and its tributaries
SS are followed by the Russian Reindeer-Tugus living entirely
492 in the same manner, who move along the Stanovoi Range and
184 its northern spurs as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. In general,
Gi therefore, concerning the means of locomotion of the Amur
T peoples, the dog and the horse may be designated, in very
492 sharp contrast, as the characteristic forms, the former of the lower Amur region, the latter of the upper. The use of the reindeer, however, appears in the entire northern expanse of the Amur region, along the Chingan and Stanovoi Mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk and from there to the northern and eastern part of Sakhalin as far as the Bay of Patience, but the above-discussed difference exists between the mainland and the island

SS /500 cont./
492 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and
184 Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack
GI animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a
492 harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea
501 and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are
184 more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to
484 place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the
501 water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and
484 who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long
[226] river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined
G or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concen-
[361] trated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers
[181] them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

/501 cont./

501 for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are
484 timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators.
[36] And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the
[181] coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and
501 trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p. 1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily
[192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-
[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from
[192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/501 cont./

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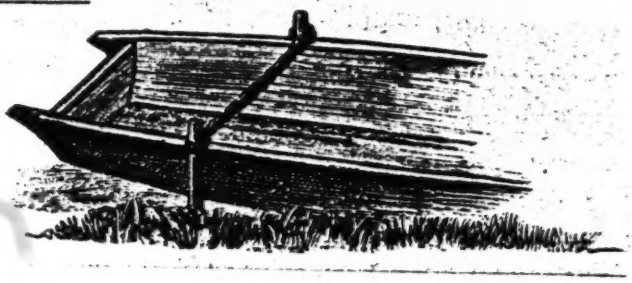

Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can
[192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening
[412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other
[192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauws, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements,
531 not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the
412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

412 /502 cont./ Two persons are required to
[372] work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another
[192] connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[174] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated, but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sselgefő and sseldschefő.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pőfo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction
[192] of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)ms), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alp), the left one always rising a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
[412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips
[192] put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled.
[532] Needless to say; the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too, with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surfaces, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/503 cont./
396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII
501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

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1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From
114 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a
501 Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to re-
501 pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the rough and incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn off and detached from the bottom board along their entire length; no amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams would help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up altogether, and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only with great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in Ssabach, I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated from then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted it only to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served me very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Amur and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in the following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part of the Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and the cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the Argunj.

501 [192] Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering oar (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade and at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig. 3). As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to give the helm more support in high waves or a strong current, however, a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip through which the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of the board on which the helmsman sits.

[192] The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of this, the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, use two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck by their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the side boards of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper ends
[192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. The sail (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed together out of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper ends of the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lower ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or loosen the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is understandable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sailing,

/505 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen [157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-[484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

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501 above-mentioned forward continuation of the bottom-board, which, in other situations, is so very useful, contributes no little to the cumbersome movement of the Gilyak boat against the current. Finally, it also affects the method of landing customary among the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and generally among all the other Amur peoples with the same type of boat: this is always done with the rear end of the boat, which is not very easy in high waves beating against the shore, because the boat must then first be put with the bow against the waves in order to be lifted by them and carried toward the shore. The Gilyak, /506/ or Olcha, etc., lands in such a way that he literally sits down on land with his boat, as it were.

To conclude these considerations I am giving the measurements of an ordinary, medium-sized Gilyak boat as I took them from a specimen in the village of Kalgho, from which the above-mentioned illustration was also made:

Length from the tip to the rear edge of the steersman's seat . . . . . 25'--

Width at the steersman's seat . . . . . 3'4"

" from edge to edge in the middle . . . . . 3'2"

" " " " " at the bow, immediately in front of the prow boards . . . . . 2'2"

Width of the bottom board . . . . . 1'--

" " " steersman's seat . . . . . 1'--

Depth of the boat in the middle where it is the greatest . . . . . 1'6"

The length of a medium-sized oar is about 7 feet; that of the steering-oar 6 1/4 feet; the width of the blade on the latter, 4 inches.

I never saw boats other than the type described for the Gilyak either on the Amur and Liman or on the west coast of Sakhalin, and Middendorff does not mention any from the coast
501 of the Sea of Okhotsk. In the interior of Sakhalin, however,
184 on the torrential and in places shallow Tymy River, quite a different vessel is used, a boat hollowed out of a single tree-

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501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [171] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75;
Kraschenimnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

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396 longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).
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2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also
Gi in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur
501 River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some
G of my own experiences. They are completely different from
Gi one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are
396 made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of
824 the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi
Gi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra,
184 var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and
Gi Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we
114 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabit-
501 ants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case.
Gi But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only
501 boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite
184 different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

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501 [184] which they in part hunt and in part also have permanent settlements. For such waters, however, as we saw, the Amur boat is not suitable, so they have various kinds of boats hollowed out of tree trunks. They are always made out of the trunks of [824] a species of willow growing in the tributary valleys of the lower Amur River, as well as along the seacoast, the Salix praecox Hoppe (Olcha and Goldi hămmagda) (3). The most character-

[113] 3. Maximowicz, "Prim. florae amurensis" (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. par divers sav., Vol. IX, p. 242).

istic and most interesting among them is the one that the Olcha call unj- or unni-magda, the lower Goldi likewise onni-magda (4), and the upper Goldi awarpe (Pl. XXXVIII /see p.

[192] 4. Unj or unni among the Olcha and onni among the Goldi means "river" in general, especially a smaller river or tributary of the Amur River.

1018/ Fig. 4). /508/ It seems to be patterned after the Amur boat; at least it has the most characteristic feature of the latter, the continuation of the bottom projecting to the prow. Otherwise, however, both ends of the boat are cut off bluntly. Several crosspieces serve to give the thin side-walls more support. It is propelled against the current by means of poles and rowed downstream. The measurements of such a boat which I saw in Dshare among the upper Goldi, and which in shape was exactly the same as the one in which I went with the Olcha from Pädanj up a long stretch of the torrential Pä River, were the following:

Length . . . 24 1/2 feet, 2 1/2 of which on the front bottom-projection
Width . . . . 1 foot, 8 inches
Height . . . . 1 " 4 "

Oar and steering-oar were small in size, each 4' 8".

[824] [192] The small canoes, likewise hollowed out of the hammagda tree and tapering to points at front and rear, which are distinguished

Goldi RX3
Olcha,
Orochi,

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[824]

by the Olcha and Goldi as otongo and gulba on the basis of minor differences in the proportions, are much simpler and more primitive. Both in general have the same shape, pointed in front and back, but the gulba is not as wide in proportion to its length and, on the other hand, more deeply hollowed out and with thicker walls than the otongo, is more suitable than the latter for use even in high waves or in water full of stones and rocks. These canoes are propelled by means of a double oar (Goldi ssoje) with long and narrow blades, swung alternately from one side to the other, and in places, over shallow and calm water, only by a pair of small paddles with short handles (Goldi mylpku), and over very shallow spots one pushes himself forward with the help of two short sticks (Goldi gao), which are planted against the ground on either side.

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In the main, boats of various kinds hollowed out of the trunks of the hammagda tree are used among the Orochi of the seacoast and of the rivers flowing from the coastal mountains to the sea or to the lower Amur or Ussuri, and, up these latter rivers, even reach the Goldi and Olcha on the main river. For example, the awarpe described and illustrated above was made by the Orochi on the upper Munamu River and was brought down it to the Amur. Conversely, though only rarely on account of the long trip, a boat made out of boards on the Amur by Goldi, Olcha, or Gilyak sometimes finds its way to the Orochi on the seacoast. But the latter, for their trips along the seacoast, make for themselves precisely just such boats as are used among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. For fishing in the rivers, however, they use the hollowed-out boats. During my visit to Kaiserhafen I noticed two unj-magda of somewhat different sizes lying in front of the Orochi tent at the mouth of the Hadshi River (Pl. XVI /see p. 996/). Of the wooden canoes pointed at both ends the Orochi use in particular the more stable gulba, which they call momä.

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2: Schrenck--791 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orok

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The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

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171 adze is essentially of the same shape and construction as the ones formerly used, and still used to some extent, for similar purposes by the inhabitants of various South Sea islands. For the sake of comparison two of the most interesting specimens of this kind from our museum are shown beside an Orok one: Fig. b -- an adze of the Tahiti islanders which stems from Cook's third voyage (1), and Fig. c.-- a Papuan adze brought

1. In passing it might be mentioned here how this specimen, along with other objects collected on the same voyage, came into the possession of our museum. It is well known that Captain Clerke, who became the head of the expedition after Cook's death, went from the Sandwich Islands to Peter-Paul Harbor in Kamchatka and was given a very hospitable and friendly reception there. In gratitude he donated to Major Behm, then the commanding officer of Kamchatka, part of the "curios" which the expedition had collected on various South Sea islands (cf. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungs-Reise nach der Südsee in den J. 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Cap. Cook, Clerke, Gore und King /Dairy of a Voyage of Discovery to the South Seas in 1776-1780 under the Leadership of Captains Cook, Clerke, Gore and King/, translated by J. R. Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 321). These articles were sent by Behm, with labels from his own hand, to the Russian government in St. Petersburg, which turned them over to the Academy of Sciences.

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[194] by Miklucho-Maklai from the Admiralty Islands. But both belong to the Stone Age, for the former has a stone blade, and the latter has one made out of the shall of a marine snail (presumably

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412 Terebra maculata). And one would naturally suppose that the
171 adzes used in other countries in the Stone Age far in the past
[194] were of a similar character.

The birch-bark canoes, used far more and more generally
501 by the Olcha and Goldi than the wooden canoes and also
184 customary among other Tungusic tribes both along the Amur
[191] tributaries and in the Stanovoi /510/ Mountains (1) and other

1. Cf. Middendorff, Sib. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1357 (with illustration) and elsewhere.

places, consist of only a thin wooden frame covered with birch
[192] bark. In general of the same nature and of the same form, pointed at both ends, everywhere, these canoes, called dsaï by the Olcha and Goldi, show some differences in form and measurements, as well as in individual features. Thus, roughly corresponding to the gulba and the otongo, there is a form that is narrower and deeper in proportion to the length, usually with the front and back part likewise covered with birch bark on top, and with only slightly curved tips, and a broader, shallower, completely or almost completely open form with the tips curved
[126] sharply upward. The drawing on Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 5 made from a specimen from the Olcha village of Mongole, gives an idea of the former; the accompanying woodcut /see p. 794/ showing an Amur Goldi from above the mouth of the Ussuri in his dsaï gives a notion of the latter. /Illustration
501 appears here./ The former, because of its over-all shape, as well as because of the covering on the ends for protection against the bursting in of water, is more suitable for use in high waves; the latter, on the other hand, offers /511/ more space for accommodating fishing or hunting equipment and the catch
[411] concerned. A long-handled harpoon is always hung along the outside of the dsaï. The handling of this bark canoe is exactly the same as that of the above-mentioned wooden canoes, the otongo or the gulba. The measurements of the dsaï from

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5

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Mongole illustrated below are the following:

Length from one tip to the other . . . . 18 1/2 feet
Width in the middle where it is greatest . 2 1/4 "
Height or depth, ibid. . . . . 11 inches.

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Broader and shallower, and thereby completely open form of the birch-bark canoe (dsaï) of the Goldi (original sketch by Mr. Poliwanof).

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On these unsteady and light bark-canoes the Amur Tungus, Olcha, Goldi, etc., like their Siberian fellow-tribesmen, develop a skill and dexterity which, especially in the high waves of the mighty river, often reminds one of the boldness and proficiency of the Aleut in their bidar and is in great contrast to the clumsiness and wary caution of the Gilyak. What the ski are in winter is what these birch-bark canoes are to the Tungus as soon as the waters have cast off their covering of ice. In addition, their light weight permits them to be carried easily, if necessary, for some distances on

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50 [502] land in order to reach other water, which makes them even more serviceable for hunting expeditions, temporary migrations, etc. Thus, the birch-bark canoe is the most peculiar, typical, and characteristic vessel of the readily mobile Tungus, who, even as a fisherman, aleays enjoys hunting and roaming.

The above-described boats hollowed out of a tree trunk and pointed at both ends, as well as the birch-bark canoes, are also found among all the native tribes of the upper Amur region. Since they are chiefly nomads living by hunting, who only temporarily descend from their hunting grounds and from the Amur tributaries to the main river in order to engage in fishing, those simple, easily constructed, and to some extent also easily transported vessels, which, in addition, are useful on rapidly flowing and on shallow waters, completely satisfy their needs. And, to be sure, one finds both types of vessels among them, the boats hollowed out of a tree trunk as well as those made of birch bark, and not merely in the small sizes of the otongo or dsaï, but also in quite considerable dimensions. In particular they do their moving from their winter quarters to their summer quarters and vice versa in such boats, when, besides wife and child, all kinds of provisions and implements are to be taken along. For example, among the Birar of Ossika on the Amur, I saw a boat hollowed out of a trunk, called mango among them (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 6), which was 28 feet long, 3 feet wide, and a foot high or deep, and another time I came across a much larger one in which Birar from the Aar River were returning from their summer fishing grounds along the Amur to their winter quarters. It was heavily laden and even carried a mast and a sail, which consisted of a piece of linen and was held at its lower ends with the hand instead of [824] sheets. According to the Birar, these boats were hollowed out of the trunks of the dshagda tree, i.e., the pine (Pinus sylvestris L.), growing commonly along the upper course of the Aar and other tributaries of the Amur River and even [191] farther up along the latter itself. Likewise, the Birar and the Manegir have birch-bark /512/ boats which are exactly

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like the dsai in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 ½ inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

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It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak boats, but essentially and in general are the same in form and construction. For example, like the latter, the Manchu-Chinese boat also consists chiefly of three long boards -- a bottom board which projects for quite a distance beyond the prow, and two side or edge boards, which are bluntly closed off in the rear by a vertical stern-board, and in front, in a pointed prow, by two small boards of uneven length. Furthermore, the way in which the boards are joined and fastened to one another, the way in which the seams are stuffed with moss and covered with strips inside and outside, etc. are the same in both cases. The far larger dimensions of the Manchu-Chinese boats (the bottom board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms long), however, permit or demand certain additions or modifications in contrast to the Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example, the sides are always raised by a second board on either side, which /513/ is attached to the first one from the outside; this is done among the Goldi and Gilyak only as an exception, in case a boat is to be used for a sea voyage. These upper side-boards project toward the rear about a fathom beyond the stern board serving as their support, and at their rear ends they are joined to each other by a plank, but on top are covered with boards placed crosswise so that at the rear end of the boat there is a wide bridge or platform. On this, at the rear edge, are placed two vertical rods, between which the rudder is stuck in order to be controlled by the steersman standing on the platform. The greater depth of the boat given by the considerable width of the lower side-board and the added upper side-board further permits laying a floor made up of crossboards loosely set against one another in the rear part, over which a piece of wickerwork made out of several rods bent into a semicircle and a few horizontal ones is erected, which, covered with reed or straw mats, gives a kind of tent or cabin in which one may sit, or even stand in a stooped position, protected against rain and bad weather. A similar, though much smaller and lower covering under which a few persons may crawl in case of an emergency is found in the frontmost part of

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the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only [177] the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

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boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

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1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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/514 cont./ transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

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How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /515/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 332, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seems, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 72, 119.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples on the water route connecting them, and thus also a compromise in the means used for it, was prevented by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the conditions for any possible independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the natives were lacking in the upper

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GI GT 501 171 174

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

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In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

2: Schrenck--802 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Section 8

000 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 [171] [433] In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences [361] [221] of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail. [121] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

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226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
[501] one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
[192] automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
[174] to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

/517 cont./

796 226 782 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure, they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up it from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occurs in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and in the Argunj /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

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1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

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1. (cont.)
Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and stony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (bieluga) and sturgeon (osetr") in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Parschin (Poiezdka v" Zabaikal'skii krai /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 351), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Arguni /A Few Words about the Argun/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1367), and others, undoubtedly the two Acipenser species named, which go from the Amur up its source rivers, are to be understood.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The
226 situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is
171 eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

/518 cont./

226 [177] in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples prefer one or another method of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the /519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between [192] them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schab-tschamrch, Pl. XI /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and [411] taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

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226 [411]

ancient use of this weapon from the Stone Age (1).

1. I myself did not see it among the Gilyak, but received a picture of it through one of my friends in Nikolayevsk, as well as one of a similar instrument used for smashing the bear skull, which are to be shown on a later plate.

When the water is more agitated and the sturgeon or hausen stay at greater depths, the net, especially at its lower ends, is weighted with larger stones so that it will sink deeper, and at the same time an arrangement is made so that from each of the two lower ends of the net a string runs through several rings plaited out of willow bast on the side edges of the net to the hands of the fishermen. Since, in addition, with more agitated water the entry of a large fish into the net would not be indicated as noticeably by the wooden floats, there are attached to the rear wall of it several thin strings (Gilyak umyssj), the ends of which are likewise in the hands of the fishermen, and which by their subsequent jerky tension, reveal the presence of the fish in the net. As soon as this is recognized, the net is raised by pulling on the aforementioned two strings, and thus withdrawal from it is cut off for the fish, whereupon it is killed in the previously described manner.

Finally, the Gilyak also use a bag net for catching sturgeon and hausen. It is likewise equipped with stones at the lower edge of its opening and with wooden floats at the upper one. At each of the places where the ones end and the others begin, there are a ring plaited out of willow bast and a few strings which serve for holding or fastening the net. Fishing with this bag net is done in the same manner as with the above-mentioned net, in that the fishermen go out in two boats, cast the net, and, holding it in between at the sides, go downstream toward the ascending fish. As soon as the movement of one of the wooden floats or the jerky tension of one of the signal lines

/519 cont./
226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

[227]

1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[227] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long,
[532] flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.

[532] The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon

[825] and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 171 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as ssamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

/521 cont./

226 [192] Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An anchor (Gilyak tschabch) consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 411 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

/521 cont./

226 411 is also used for seal-hunting and is to be described in the following in discussing this; the other is a trident (Gilyak tschak, Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 8), with barbs put on each prong. The one as well as the other is /522/ put on the tip of a wooden pole for hurling and, in addition, is tied to the end of a long strap remaining in the hand of the fisherman, by means of which the fish hit is pulled in and out of the water. The former weapon is more common among the Gilyak than the latter and bears the name tugngy.

226 Finally, it not infrequently happens that sturgeon and hausen get into the nets set up for salmon and are caught together with the latter, or, and especially in midsummer with receding water, as I myself have seen, they are stranded in the shallows and then merely need be simply clubbed.

Soon after the opening of the river, the ascent of the species of salmon in the Amur and its tributaries begins, which, all together, lasts throughout the summer and early fall until into October, in fact, even after a new ice cover has formed, not ceasing suddenly and completely. Some species go upstream singly or in small parties, others in mighty processions repeated at intervals, and in particular there are two species of the greatest importance to the Gilyak on account of the great numbers in which they appear. These are the tengi or tengi-tscho, [136] Salmo proteus, and even more the lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho, S. lagocephalus. How essential and indispensable they are for the diet and the total economy of the Gilyak has already been discussed in detail above. We shall therefore have to go into somewhat more detail on the catching of these fish, and especially the latter. First, however, space might be found here for a few remarks about their seasons of migration both in the Amur and along the adjacent seacoasts to the north and south.

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226 Salmo proteus, the gorbuscha of the Russians (1), is not

1. I.e., the same as saying hunchbacked fish or hunchbacked salmon. As is well known, it is called this because of the bulge that develops on the back of the spawning fish.

only one of the most abundant, but is also one of the earliest species of salmon entering the rivers along the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, northwest of the Amur-Liman, and along the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan south of it. Here it always precedes Salmo lagocephalus (the Russian keta) by a few weeks. According to Mizul, it appears on the west coast of Sakhalin in June and goes up all of its rivers and streams indiscriminately and in great quantities (2); the keta, however,

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Standpoint of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 46.

appears in them somewhat later and in smaller numbers (3).

3. Mizul /Mitsul'/, op. cit., p. 49.

The situation seems to be similar along the opposite coast of the mainland (4), with the difference, however, that there the keta,

4. In the Ssuifun, according to Barabasch ("Sungar. Eksp. /Sungari Expedition/." -- Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 167), the gorbuscha is caught chiefly and is sold by the Chinese fishermen to the gold-washers in the interior of the country, and in part even as far as Ninguta.

G /522 cont./
226 too, appears in great quantities, at least at the mouths of the large rivers. For one spot along this coast, Kaiserhafen at the mouth of the Hadshi River, there are detailed reports concerning the date of the appearance of the two species of salmon named, which here, too, play the principal roles. Margaritof, Gi 226 [114] who, for the /523/ purpose of ethnographic research, spent a whole summer among the Orochi in Kaiserhafen, reports that there the gorbuscha (okó among the Orochi), as well as the keta (dawá among the Orochi), have three migration periods each, during which they enter the bay and the rivers emptying into it in greater quantities and alternate with each other in intervals of half a month each, in that the gorbuscha comes there during the first halves of the three summer months, but the keta during the second halves. With regard to the keta, he says in greater detail that their first migration begins around the middle of June and lasts until the first days of July, whereupon a pause of about ten days occurs, after which, about the 20th of July (the statements follow the old style /calendar/), they appear anew and continue to come until the beginning of August; then there is another interruption of a couple of weeks, after which, toward the end of August, the third migration period begins, which lasts far into September. The first of these migration periods, however, for the one species as well as for the other, scarcely deserves the name as such: the fish only appear in small numbers and do not go up the rivers but appear only at their mouths as far as the tide reaches in them. During the second period of migration they advance upstream in shoals, and, finally, in the third, they reach their maximum number, whereupon, however, as a result of exhaustion and the process proceeding in their organisms and, as is well known, manifesting itself by external changes, their goodness decreases in the same proportion, so that the jukola supplies made during the third migration period are the easiest to procure, to be sure, but at the same time are the most Gi 226 262 251 inferior in quality. Incidentally, the Orochi are said to prefer the gorbuscha generally for making their supplies of

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226 jukola, despite the greater tastiness of the keta, both on ac-
262 count of its greater quantity and because, as a result of its
251 smaller size, it can be dried or smoked more easily and there-
fore keeps better (1). It is obvious that the above data based on

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1. V. P. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperat. gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, pp. 15-21. In this connection I cannot refrain from noting that the cited work by Margaritof contains some valuable information about the Orochi of Kaiserhafen, especially about their catching fish and game, but his comments on their relationship to the Olcha are totally wrong and indicate that he completely misunderstood what I have said on the subject in the first number of this work, in spite of the fact that this has also appeared in Russian. He does not even know where the Olcha are to be found, though this would require only a glance at the ethnographic map appended to the work, and even denies completely the existence of the Olcha as a separate branch of the Amur Tungus, and, to be sure, merely for the reason that one Orochi to whom he directed the question as to whether he were an Olcha answered in the negative, as, of course, was to be expected. Finally, in addition, he distorts the name of this people, in that he always has it "Olitschi," and this, allegedly, following my example ("Schrenck's Olitschi," op. cit., p. 3), whereas no such distortion is to be found anywhere in my work.

Goldi RX3
Orochi

226/523 cont./It is obvious that the above data based on
262 research in the field and the experiences of one summer can
25 have only an approximative value and that in individual years
[114] more or less considerable shifts in the time of the migrations of the one as well as of the other species must occur. In 1854, for instance, between July 25 and 28 (old style), I found the Orochi /524/ in Kaiserhafen busy at preparing winter provisions from the still abundant S. proteus, but S. lagocephalus was not yet to be seen.

226 These species of salmon, and especially Salmo proteus,
[175] also appear in the same quantity in de Castries Bay. When La Pérouse discovered it in 1787 and spent five days there (from July 28 to August 2; July 17-22), he found the cove at the bottom of it so filled with salmon that he called it Salmon Cove (Baie des saumons). The fish entered the mouths of the small rivers or jumped up in great quantities from the seatang on the ocean floor, which was exposed at low tide, and it was not difficult to catch more than two thousand of them in one day.
[251] They were smoked and dried in great quantities by the natives for winter supplies (1). La Pérouse does not name the species

1. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, pp. 61-63.

of this salmon, but from their small size and their light weight (from 3 to 4 pounds each) it can be assumed with some certainty that it was S. proteus. He also, however, mentions a larger species (30 to 40 pounds each) which furnishes the skins used by the natives for making their clothing, and adds that they are not caught in summer (2). We know (3) that the species of

2. La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 69.

3. See pp. 576, 609, and elsewhere above.

salmon serving the above purpose among all the peoples of the lower Amur region is S. lagocephalus and must therefore conclude from La Pérouse's above statement that the latter does

Gi 226 /524 cont./
not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.

G 226 114 221 184 484 Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by the Tschomi Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho, were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers insufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been mentioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.

G 114 226 Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff. In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, is given with the reservation, "as is said." It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

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5. (cont.)
utilized for the above-mentioned list of the migration dates of the fish (op. cit., p. 1228) is limited to only a part of them and many remain completely incomprehensible.

Moreover, /525/ the statement that S. lagocephalus does not seem to occur in the waters of Great Schantar Island, whereas S. proteus is caught there (1), is of interest for our purposes.

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1261

226 Finally, so far as the mouth of the Amur is concerned, S. proteus enters it as early as May, soon after the ice goes. But it appears then only in small numbers, only as the vanguard, so to speak, of a second, large migration which takes place in June. During the latter month it is eagerly caught by the Gilyak for use in the preparation of supplies of jukola and also goes up the first major Amur tributary, the Amgunj /Amgun/, where it, together with S. lagocephalus, is the mainstay of the economy of the Negda (2). In July, finally, some stragglers

2. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1524.

appear around the mouth of the Amur, but they are scarcely worth mentioning. It would therefore be an exaggeration to speak of three migration periods for S. proteus into the Amur; it is more correct to assume an initial weak migration in May and a second strong or principal migration in June. Salmo lagocephalus does not appear in the Amur mouth until August and, in fact, except for a few forerunners, its actual great ascent into the river in shoals begins around the middle of August, reaches its peak toward the end of this month and the beginning of September, and then lasts with waning energy, all through this latter month and continues into October, until

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226 the ice cover forms. Middendorff's migration date for S.
226 lagocephalus into the Amur (end of August) known to him
114 through the work of Przewalski (3) -- who, however, had not

3. Puteshestv. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 97.

been at the mouth of the Amur himself -- did not seem to agree with that for the same species along the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (4). But for this he had in mind only the

4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1201.

statement, questioned by me and, one can almost say with certainty, erroneous, concerning the migration date of S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Udj, which has been discussed above (p. 816, note 5), The subsequent entry of S. lagocephalus into the Amur, much later than Middendorff presumed (5), explains quite simply and naturally the fact stated

5. Op. cit., p. 1220, where it is said that the keta salmon goes up into the Amur at least at the same time as into the Tugur (June 17-20), and probably even earlier.

by him (6) that the keta salmon going up the Tugur arrive much

6. Op. cit., pp. 1220 and 1485.

earlier than those going up the Amur and Amgunj at the point where the Tugur and the Amur systems come close together as a result of a bend in the river beds of the Tugur and Nemilen, so that the Tungus have plenty of time to do their fishing at the Tugur bend (near Burukan) and then to move over to the nearby Nemilen to fish anew for keta salmon there.

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226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

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1. (cont.)
it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

226 /527 cont./
192 tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).
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[128]

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/527 cont./

226 throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until
000 the 30th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na o. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. I. R. Geogr. Obshch., p. 97).

226 For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and
184 especially along its upper course in great density, September
805 is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantities of laghi-tscho, so essential to their economy, and in which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter. This explains the fact, repeatedly told to me by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September bears the name pilja-long, "great month," whereas August, less rich in fish in comparison with it, is designated only as matschki-long, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak takes place there (4). Whether this also extends to the Tro Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to their countrymen on the Amur will be discussed later where appropriate.

whom the names customary along the Amur would actually be more appropriate, I am unable to say because I had too little contact with them. But it is not impossible, since the Tymy Gilyak speak the same dialect as they do and generally have a /528/close and, to a certain extent, decisive relationship with them, similar to the one that the Amur Gilyak have with those of the Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

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226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and children participate in this work, and within a short time one boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

[251] [252] [462] [462] 227 [192]

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227 quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size
192 of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon [192] weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down [192] as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above- [192] mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

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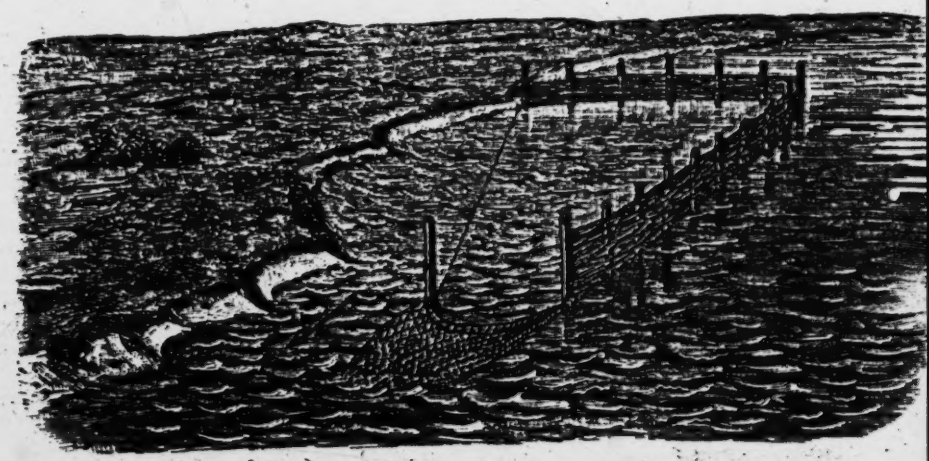
226 [192]

thin cord, initially single, but very soon divided into three strings which are attached by their ends, at about half the length of the net, to its opposite wall. When the net is to be set up, its lower end is drawn together into a bag by means of a strap, it is weighted with stones above at the lower edge of the bag opening, and, by means of the cords on it, it is fastened to the above-mentioned myr piles, whereby the side of the net equipped with the slit in its upper part is turned toward the middle of the river, and the opposite one toward the bank. In order to give the net more support and also in order to pull it out later, a long, thick cord runs from the opening of the bag to the bank and is fastened there to a pile. /530/ Once the net is set up, a Gilyak stations himself in a boat at its exterior point of attachment at the end of the second row of piles and holds the signal cord in his hand, putting each part of it between two fingers. The salmon ascending along the bank and now coming upon the willow plaiting built out crosswise to them find no way through it and, in order to get around it, crowd along the plaiting running downstream and thereby get into the net. This is made known to the Gilyak



A salmon-weir (Gilyak myr) in the Amur River.

on guard by a pulling and tugging on the signal cords, and, as soon as he can assume from the repeated and strong tension on them that the net is

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226 full of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the opening of the bag, whereupon it is dragged ashore with the booty. Needless to say, besides the salmon going upstream at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and hausen, are caught in these bag nets. Since some labor and trouble is connected with making a myr, the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time ascending in the greatest multitudes, the lyghitscho. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of its ascent the myr are not infrequently seen throughout the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

The Gilyak pursue salmon fishing in the Tymy River on Sakhalin in the same manner and with no less zeal. But this is less suitable for the erection of myr on account of its smaller size and, in places, its shallowness. They are nevertheless in use in its lower course and at the point where it empties into Nyi Bay. It is here that at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus, 226 171 648 in addition to the Gilyak, the Orok, too, zealously engage in fishing and the preparation of fish supplies. Indeed, during the last decades, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Ainu, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of S. proteus at the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus and engage in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Poljakof, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a weir of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river and opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demand, but then immediately above the first erected a second weir blocking no less than nine-tenths of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

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226 [197] [648] Tymy River; no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the Amur, such as carp, eelpout, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /531/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, under the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small watercourse, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the kangi fishing along the west and east [136] coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the kangi fish (Gadus wachnia Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All [192] they need for this is a span-long iron hook (Gilyak kätsch-kossj, Pl. XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 1) hung on a cord about three feet long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak sitting beside the hole in the ice casts with this short fishing-rod without any bait, in that he lets it down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another onto the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by -- it was on February 27 (March 10), 1856, near Arkai on the west coast of Sakhalin -- my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, which the hook had sometimes caught at the gill flaps and sometimes at the lower jaw or the mouth. Some fir branches

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226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 283 [824] In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

286 /532 cont./
283 this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for

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1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

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[227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

[192] The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net-knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

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2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

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286 192 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 192 226 [225] The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu. The net used for catching hausen (patch-tscho) and occasionally also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kă -- has the largest meshes and, correspondingly, is made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kă-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kă-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kă-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kă, follows: tukki-kă-kilks (also jaghsin-kă-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kă-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kă-kilks or also nokn-kă-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as myrch-kă-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (myrch-kă) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, 286 226 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/534 cont./

226 286 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

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1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The [286] nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
[286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
[784] are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

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226 /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
433 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
G part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
Gi First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G. all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
Gi to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
[224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
G. away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
Gi ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/535 cont./
kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely suppressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them, as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

The Olcha likewise
practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Mariinski post in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi, too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Ussuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the holes in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fur instead of bait, /536/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure, it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi 114 226 224 184

/536 cont./ I found the Samagir along the Gorin, during the few days that I spent among them, likewise occupied only with hunting in the winter and not with fishing at all.

Gi 226 [184] [192]

As among the Gilyak, so, too, among the Olcha and Goldi, of all the fish the sturgeon and the hausen, Acip. schrenckii and Ac. orientalis, come first, the former of which among them is called kundo or kongdo below the Geong Range, ssura above it, and kilfu or kirfu along the Ussuri and above the mouth of the Ussuri, but the latter is called adi up to the mouth of the Ussuri, and above it and along the Ussuri adsi. Both are distributed throughout the Olcha area, since from the Amur they go up into its two large southern tributaries, the Ussuri and Sungari, and some of their tributaries. According to Przewalski (1), they are found

1. Op. cit., pp. 62, 95, and 204.

all year round in the Ussuri and in Lake Kengka (or Chanka) connected with it by the Ssungatschi River, but they are especially numerous just after the ice has disappeared. With low water in the fall, they are said to move downstream again toward the Amur and in doing this always keep to the same river-branches through which they came -- a fact which is taken into consideration by the Goldi who as a rule fish when the water is low (2).

Gi [113]

2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Usuri /Survey of the Ussuri River/" (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. or Res. and Mat., p. 231). The same, Putesh. po okr. Russk. Azii /Journey to the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 82. Maak", Putesh. v" dolinie r. Usuri /Journey to the Valley of the Ussuri River/, pp. 200-203.

SS 226 SS [175]

The situation with regard to the presence of these fish in the Sungari may be similar to that in the Ussuri. The fact that there are many sturgeon, or, judging by the Chinese designation

2: Schrenck--836 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
olcha

SS /536 cont./
226 zin-jui (3), hausen, in the Churcha or Mutwan-ho (Mudan-dsan
175

3. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Acip. orientalis is called zing-huan by the Chinese.

in the Russian version), the last large right tributary of the Sungari, and that they are speared with iron fishhooks through holes in the ice in winter, was reported even by the Chinese U-tschen in his memoir on Ninguta written in 1722 (4). But of all

SS [113]

4. Vasil'ev", "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 88).

the Sungari tributaries the Nonni is said to be the richest in fish (5). The big sturgeon or hausen which Father Paranin served

5. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 149; No. 2, p. 346).

to the Russian ambassador Ismailof and his party in Peking in the winter of 1721, and which allegedly had been brought from the Amur frozen and packed in snow, may even have come from the Sungari or Ussuri (6).

SS [113]

6. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St.-Pétersb. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris, 1746, translated from the English by M ***, p. 366. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Chinese merchants annually bring hausen and other fish from the Ussuri to Peking to sell.

G 226 184 G 226

Aside from some minor differences in details, the methods of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Olcha and Goldi are exactly the same as among the Gilyak, but the inclination toward

Gi 226 184 G 226 Gi 226 184 G 226 127 Gi [192] /536 cont./ hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the striking correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschaghbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuital and kuitzale by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dshogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tugngy, was probably theirs originally. In the preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing, which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen. Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

Gi 226 [224] Gi [501]

/537 cont./

226 501 birch-bark canoes even in high waves. As soon as the one thus traveling catches sight of a large fish, he puts his double oar aside and takes up the short paddles in order, with their help, to approach the animal silently and close enough so that he can hurl the always ready and never absent harpoon at it. If it penetrated the flesh deeply enough, the fish is pulled in by the strap extending from it and, depending on its size, is either lifted into the boat or taken in tow and thus brought to land. If one considers that many an Amur hausen reaches a weight of 30 to 40 pood and a length of more than two fathoms (2), one

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2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 63) tells of a specimen caught at the mouth of the Ussuri that weighed 47 pood, so the statement of the Chinese there that there are animals even weighing 50 pood does not seem exaggerated.

can imagine that the battle which the lone hunter or fisherman in his light birch-bark canoe has to engage in with such a colossus is none too easy. The reward which the catching of 226 [262] [237] [439] sturgeon and hausen offers the Olcha and Goldi lies not only in the meat and fat of the animals serving as food and in the fish glue obtained from the hausen bladder, but also to a very considerable extent in the cartilage and the spinal column (chorda dorsalis) of the animal, which are highly prized by the Chinese and therefore, carefully cleaned and tied into bundles, are used by the natives in trade with them.

[433] /538/ Though the Olcha and Goldi like to fish for sturgeon and hausen, their economy, like that of the Gilyak, remains based essentially on the catching of the salmon which 226 251 262 go upstream in great masses. For they, too, need a winter supply of fish consisting of dried or smoked salmon (makore and dalong, see above p. 645 ff.) for themselves as well as for their [224] [439] dogs. Since, however, they spend the greater part of the winter hunting, which yields them a considerable amount of immediate foodstuffs, and, as a consequence of less active and

Gi 262 33 226 /538 cont./ extensive trade relations, keep a smaller number of dogs than the [224 439] Gilyak, their requirements for winter supplies of fish are not as large as among the latter. And naturally they spend less time Gi 226 184 and effort on obtaining and preparing them. Linked with these more or less purely quantitative differences in the salmon fishing of the Olcha and Goldi in contrast to that of the Gilyak, there are also qualitative ones inasmuch as the individual species of salmon go up the Amur and its tributaries in varying numbers and frequency and therefore vary in their importance for some of the G [226] dwellers on it. Salmo proteus, for instance, highly regarded among the Orochi, the Gilyak on the coast and on the Amur, and the Negda on the Amgunj on account of its mass migrations, very soon loses its importance farther upstream. To be sure, it Gi [227] occurs throughout the Olcha area and is said to go up the small river emptying near the village of Kada as far as the lake in its upper course; indeed, a fine-meshed net used among them, as well as among the lower Goldi, for catching smaller fish bears the designation oko-magda after it, but it was not named for me among the Gorin fish by the Samagir in Ngagha, and it is likewise not mentioned by Maack, Przewalski, and others for the Ussuri. On the other hand, another species of salmon, S. G [226] lycaodon, which is less important to the Gilyak, receives greater consideration among the Olcha and Goldi. Whereas it plays only a very subordinate role in the mouth part of the Amur River, in comparison to the great masses of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, between whose migrations it appears in incomparably smaller numbers, its appearance farther upstream comes at a time when there are relatively few fish, in that the former gradually declines Gi and the latter appears later, and therefore meets a definite need [114] of the river dwellers. On July 3/15, 1855, I saw the Olcha of Adi and in the days following also the Goldi of Kōurmi and the G Gi adjacent villages upstream busily catching chelke or sselke, as [251] they call S. lycaodon; not only did they feast on the freshly caught fish, but they also took advantage of the great schools in which they traveled for the preparation of supplies, which the Gilyak, as a rule, disdain to do with this species of salmon (their well).

Gi /538 cont./ 1
226 In spite of the fact that the Olcha and Goldi villages named,
184 where I saw S. lycaodon in great numbers, lie quite close to the
[36] mouth of the Gorin, it does not seem to enter this latter river, for among its fish enumerated for me by the Samagir the chelke was absent. In the Amur, however, it also occurs farther upstream and is designated by the Goldi above the Geong Mountains with the name uru. Nevertheless it does not seem to reach the Ussuri; at least I did not get any information about it there, /539/ and in the later reports by Maack and Przewalski concerning the fish fauna of this river, it is not mentioned.

Gi By far the most important of all the species of salmon,
226 however, for all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region,
G as for the Gilyak, is S. lagocephalus, called daua or dawa (1)
[226]

1. The w here is pronounced like the English w.

by all of them. This salmon goes from the lower Amur into all its tributaries, the Amgunj, Gorin, Chongar, and Ussuri, and goes up to their uppermost tributaries. In the region of the latter, strange to say, it avoids Lake Kengka, otherwise so rich in fish, and, to be sure, as Przewalski (2) suspects, because of its all too

2. Op. cit., p. 97, footnote.

muddy water. Its migration up the Ussuri is said to last for about
Gi 14 days, from the middle of September on. Late in the summer of
[114] 1855, when I traveled down the Amur from the Ussuri mouth, I met the first specimens of S. lagocephalus going upstream on August 25 and 26 (September 6 and 7) near Ssoja and Emmero at the outlet from the Geong Mountains. Just three days later, near Chongar and Onmoi, I met it in mass migrations, and the Goldi were completely absorbed in catching it. In the latter village, where I rested for a few days, an old and very intelligent man told me that the mass migration of the daua lasted here for about ten days, after which it was scarcer, to be sure, but continued to migrate for another 20 days or so. Farther downstream

[i.e. The villages of Adi and Köurmi.--Analyst]

Gi 226 [251] /539 cont./ Farther downstream everything revolved exclusively around the catching of this fish and the preparation of winter supplies out of it, everyone feasted on it, the drying racks standing around the yurts were hung with tight rows of cut-up fish, like wide red ribbons, and the refuse poisoning the air yielded abundant food for the dogs, crows, and blowflies. In Mongole, near the northern boundary of the Olcha, on September 13/25, the people thought that the mass migration of the daua had already come to an end, and only stragglers were still going upstream. Nevertheless I found the Gilyak as far as G [226] Nikolayevsk still busy everywhere catching lyghi-tscho, either at the salmon weirs or with the help of ordinary nets. By the way, the catching of S. lagocephalus is done among the Olcha and the Goldi in precisely the same way as among the Gilyak, Gi Gi 226 Gi 184 in part with ordinary nets, which, with meshes of a definite size, bear the name daua-magda after this principal fish, and in part with the help of the above-mentioned salmon weir, called mynga by them. The bag-shaped net on this latter (adule) is also made exactly like the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is likewise equipped with signal cords (Gilyak umyssj, Olcha and Goldi ssiracha), and is also handled in the same way. But the salmon weirs of the Olcha and Goldi, in accordance with the above general remarks about their fishing in comparison with that of the Gilyak, are, as a rule, smaller, less carefully made, and less numerous than among the latter.

Gi 226 136 Prior to the surplus of fish brought about by the appearance of S. lagocephalus, there is a rather long period that is relatively poor for fish, during which the Olcha and Goldi /540/ are dependent on the fish living permanently in the Amur. The most important among them, aside from the species of Acipenser already discussed, are several cyprinoids, such as Cyprinus carpio (Olcha uja, Goldi kyzzi), Carassius vulgaris (Olcha and Goldi changa), Pseudaspius leptocephalus (Olcha and Goldi ssowa and ssua), Hypophtalmichthys dybowskii (Olcha and Goldi takko and tawo), Culter erythropterus (Olcha and Goldi dsadsch), and others, as well as Salmo fluviatalis (among the Olcha and Goldi dshäl, among the Samagir on the Gorin dshöli), the sheatfish, Silurus asotus (Olcha and Goldi lacha), and the pike (Olcha koro, Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha).

Gi 226 [252] /540 cont./ Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha). I have even seen jukola made from the last two, though only in small quantities and for the immediate future. Certainly a river so rich in fish as the Amur G Gi 226 157 could provide the dwellers on it with a rich yield of fish even when it is not filled with species of salmon going upstream, if only they were willing to fish with diligence and energy, but in Gi 184 this respect the Olcha and Goldi fall far behind the Gilyak. I sometimes saw the Goldi badly in want in the middle of summer, but instead of energetically going fishing, which would certainly have crowned their efforts with success, even though not to the same extent as in the period of the migrating salmon, they contented themselves with lazily and comfortably angling for small fish near the shore, which were supposed to relieve their momentary distress. They lack what is needed to overcome their natural indolence, the peculiarly Gilyak love of fishing, if it does not have the character of hunting, as in the case of sturgeon and hausen fishing carried on with a harpoon.

Gi 227 184 [824] With regard to the fishermen's nets of the Olcha and Goldi, it is to be noted that, with the same nature as the Gilyak nets, they nevertheless present some variety with regard to the materials used in making them, for they are not only made out of nettles, but also, and, to be sure, the more frequently the farther upstream one goes, out of the stems of the hemp plant (Cannabis sativa L., Olcha and Goldi onochto), which grows in great profusion along with nettles and artemisia around their Gi 227 184 323 yurts. Moreover, instead of the stones which the Gilyak sometimes use to weight their nets, they use oblong-parallelepipedal pieces of clay (ilbicha) intended expressly for the purpose, which fit exactly in between the two willow-bast cords (Olcha and Goldi bartoche) framing the net and are equipped with suitable straps for being fastened to them. For making these net-weights, a wooden mold consisting of two individual halves is used: it is first greased with fish oil, then the clay is packed in, and any protruding beyond the mold is cut off with a knife. These pieces of clay are not fired, however, after they are taken out of the mold, but instead are dried and slightly hardened on the warm sitting-benches or in front of the hearth-fire in the yurt.

/540 cont./

warm sitting-benches or in front of the hearth-fire in the yurt. And finally, instead of the wooden or bark floats customary among the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi use on their nets pieces of cork cut into parallelepipedal shape (Olcha and Goldi kokto and kochto) from a tree peculiar to the Amur region, Phellondendron amurense Rupr., and, to be sure, one finds them among the former even below Kidsi, though the tree in question does not appear until much farther upstream, from about the Chongar mouth and Onmoi on. It was these pieces of cork on /541/ the fishermen's nets of the natives that first drew our attention to the presence of a cork-forming tree in the Amur region.

While among the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, in spite of their innate love for hunting, fishing nevertheless continues to be their main occupation, which provides a livelihood for them as well as for their only domestic animal, the dog, kept in large numbers for harnessing, the situation is completely reversed among their fellow-tribesmen in the upper Amur region. Whereas the former, upon reaching the giant river and its large tributaries teeming with fish, gave up their hunting lives and became more or less sedentary fishermen who, the farther downstream they went, all the more adopted the way of life of their teachers in fishing, the anciently settled Gilyak, the Tungusic peoples of the upper Amur region have to this day remained hunting nomads who only temporarily, during the summer, come down from their hunting grounds to the Amur in order to take advantage of its wealth of fish, and, to be sure, only for their own food, since their domestic animals, or, more accurately, roaming animals, the reindeer and the horse, are herbivorous in nature. Fishing, therefore, in comparison with hunting, plays only a very subordinate role among them, in that it merely provides a supplement to their diet and brings some variety into it.

There is a causal connection between this phenomenon in the life and history of the Amur peoples and the fact that the Amur River in its upper course does not by far have the wealth of fish that is found in the lower one. In particular those fish that through their regular and mass migrations from the sea and

Gi T 226 T [114]

/541 cont./

into the lower Amur River and its tributaries provide the dwellers there with a certain and abundant source of subsistence, the various species of salmon discussed above and among them Salmo lagocephalus in particular, which stands in first place throughout the lower Amur region, are more or less absent from the upper course of the Amur. Middendorff was told, presumably by the Tungus accompanying him, that the keta salmon did not go as far as the Bureja /Bureya/; the Unmü, a river which I cannot identify with any that I know, was said to be the highest tributary of the Amur to which it goes (1). Maack says that it goes

1. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1261. This river does not appear on the "Hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges /Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountains/" drawn up by him on the basis of Chinese sources.

up as far as the mouth of the Komar and then into this river, but only very rarely occurs in the Amur above this mouth (2).

2. Maak", Putesh., p. 74.

The first seems very questionable to me, but the latter is quite creditable. It is totally absent in the source rivers of the Amur, the Schilka and Argunj, and therefore the settlers on the upper Amur coming from there did not want to eat it, according to Schmidt's statement (3), /542/ because it was completely un-

3. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 20.

known to them. Thus, Salmo lagocephalus, thanks to its distribution, limited to the lower Amur region, and to the great significance that it has for its entire population, may be designated from an ethnological viewpoint as a significant characteristic form of the lower Amur region in contrast to the upper one.

Gi T 226 /542 cont./

Whereas an essential and characteristic difference between the upper and the lower Amur regions with regard to fishing is caused by the above-mentioned distribution of salmon and especially of S. lagocephalus, the Acipenser species characteristic of the entire Amur River as far as its Daurian source rivers provides a common feature directly connecting the two sections with each other. Like their fellow-tribesmen in the lower Amur region, so, too, do the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon take special pleasure in catching these largest fish of the Amur River, especially the gigantic Amur hausen, and they practice it for the most part, not with fishermen's nets, like the Gilyak, but with the harpoon hurled from the light bark-canoe, just as would be natural and appropriate for a hunting people (1). Each individual

T 226 [411] [501]

T [262] [439]

1. Even the designations for these fish among the upper Amur peoples are very similar to those among the upper Goldi: for example, according to Maack (op. cit., pp. 58 and 60), among the Orochon, Ac. orientalis -- adsin, Ac. schrenckii -- kilemma.

catch of this kind provides the hunters with a considerable quantity of meat for food, like their major forest animals, such as elk, deer, etc., and, in addition, a large amount of the cartilage to be very advantageously turned to good account in trade with the Chinese. When on my journey up the Amur I crossed the Manegir area and, on August 17/29, came to the place where ancient Albasin had stood and where there were now two Manegir tents, I saw how a large hausen, just slain, was brought to land in tow by a bark-canoe, in order to be cut up and divided among all the tent occupants. First the head was separated from the body and submerged in the water not far from the bank, for protection against its spoiling and against flies, so it was said, but more probably on account of a superstition prevailing among the natives of the lower Amur region with regard to many a game animal, To which I shall come back later.

T [114]

T 226 252 [251] [825]

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226 /542 cont./
252 animal, to which I shall come back later. Then the rows of scales were removed, the animal was eviscerated, and its stomach and intestines were thrown away, but the other soft parts, such as the heart, the liver, and all the meat, were so divided and cut up that everyone received an approximately equal share of the fish, which he could dispose of as he liked.

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[114] Unfortunately my voyage through the territory of the Manegir
[221] and Orochon fell in a period of the year when most of them had already left the Amur and had moved to their fall and winter hunting grounds. Hence I am unable to report on their methods

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of fishing in detail on the basis of my own experience. The
[251] wooden racks for drying the fish, however, left standing here and
[417] there on the deserted tent sites, are evidence that fishing in the Amur served not merely for a temporary food supply for them during their stay along the river, but also for the preparation of /543/ some provisions for the future. But, on account of the inadequate means of transportation available to the nomads, there could only be a small amount of them, no more than there could

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be during a change of hunting grounds. In briefly summing up
226 in conclusion, for these peoples fishing is not, as it is among
433 those of the lower Amur region, a constant source of subsistence
361 absolutely necessary for the entire economy, forcing them into
224 a more or less permanent sedentariness, but rather is an auxiliary occupation that is only practiced from time to time and fitted into their otherwise nomadic life as hunters. It is in this different significance of fishing and hunting for the peoples of the lower and upper Amur regions that the most essential and decisive difference in their whole lives and existence lies.

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225 Before I go into a specific discussion of hunting among the Amur peoples, I must mention two ways of catching animals that, as a consequence of natural conditions, are practiced only in the lower Amur region and therefore, along with the previously discussed situation with regard to fishing, provide essentially different features in the pattern of life for the lower and the upper Amur peoples. I am referring to the hunting of seals and dolphins, or white whales.

/543 cont./

225 184 Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see well enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next [433] to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, along the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, often wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It 225 should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman 36 there are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or [103] "Langr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulksj. /544/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures [438] associated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur-Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-hunting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for bartering with them.

/544 cont./

000 225 184 [361] bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the southern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsō Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Uïsut is an especially favorable spot for it.

225 136 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak. 225 237 136 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was discussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph. barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the 225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

[113] 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/544 cont./

225 184 [192] [221] Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in general as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wait for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of the ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon, the tugngy (2) (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), also used for spearing

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the ice itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club them. The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in the spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschomi [221] Gilyak whom I met in Poghobi and the inhabitants of Tägl on the mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month of April, arkail-long, was the month in which more productive seal-hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the Amur, on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the river has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the piljatschrar-long, because then the seals go into the river in greater numbers in order to feed on the masses of keta salmon (S. lagocephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mouth of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper course of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting as well as fishing. [192] For the former and in open water everywhere, in the sea as well as in the Amur-Liman and the Amur River, the Gilyak sometimes use the ordinary harpoon (tugngy, Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), which is hurled from the boat, and sometimes, and most often, another weapon intended especially for seal-hunting, which is called lych among them. It consists of a board about a foot long, which rises a little in front and runs out into a horizontal

/545 cont./

225 184 [192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uĭsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

[128] [126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

/546/

225 825 789 532 Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. 225 825 Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain [799] animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the [191] above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

G 225 825 /546 cont./ seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it, I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

Gi 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of subsistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in par- Gi [439] ticular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred Gi [361] hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the Gi [191] ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory. [197] There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers. Gi 225 Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amgunj, and espe- 221 361 cially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

G1 225 221 361 /547 cont./
Lake Tschlja, across the mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk, in order to occupy themselves there for a time with seal-hunting (2).

2. According to Boschnjak and Schmidt, see pp. 26 and 63 above.

G1 225 197 For the other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region nothing can be said about seal-hunting.

G 225 136 Catching the white whale comes into consideration for the Amur region within even narrower limits than seal-hunting. The distribution of the white whale (Delphinapterus leucas Pall., Gilyak pomi-tscho, Olcha malta) in the Amur region approximately coincides with the habitation area of the Gilyak; only along the east coast of Sakhalin and in the Amur River does it go somewhat beyond it to the south, whereas on the west coast G 136 of the island it falls back to the north behind it. An inhabitant of the arctic seas, among which the Sea of Okhotsk also belongs in view of its general character, the white whale goes down along the east coast of Sakhalin to its southern end and occurs in particular in great numbers in the Bay of Patience and at the mouth of the Poronai (3). On the other hand it remains far from

G [113]

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 107, 111). The same, Otchet" ob" izslied. na ostr. Sakhalinie, v" Iuzhno-Ussuriisk. kraie i v" Iaponii /Summary of the Research on Sakhalin Island, in the Southern Ussuri Region, and in Japan/ (supplement to Vol. XLVIII of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 6, pp. 5-7). At the latter place, Poljakof reports that the white whale appears in large schools in front of the mouth of the Poro-nai even before the river has shed its cover

/547 cont./

136

3. (cont.)
of ice, and at low tide go upstream under it, since the layer of air between it and the lower surface of the river makes breathing possible for it. But when high tide sets in, all the individuals, often with their young on their backs, return to the sea. This disappearance and reappearance of the white whale in front of the mouth of the Poronai was repeated with the regularity of the high and low tides, and the excited sniffling and barking of the dogs on top attested to the movement of the animals under the ice-co[illegible].

the warmer northern Sea of Japan. /548/ As has already been discussed in great detail in the first volume of this work (1),

1. "Säugethiere des Amur-Landes /Mammals of the Amur Region/," p. 191.

it goes from the Sea of Okhotsk into the Amur-Liman and Amur River and goes up the latter for a considerable distance from the mouth, throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and into that of their southern neighbors, the Olcha, always staying in the deepest channel of the river and therefore usually along its high right bank. In particular it is seen in especially great numbers in the lowermost, Gilyak part of the Amur River, and, to be sure, in August and September, when it goes toward the sea, meeting the salmon (S. lagocephalus) coming up in multitudes. The colossal, dazzlingly white animals constantly emerging and diving into the river even drew the attention of the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô (2).

2. The traveler calls them "sira-kuzira," white whales "Tôtats-ki ko" in Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

/548 cont./

225 171 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peoples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Ainu along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied, so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger 225 true whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently, but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure, for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose, their so-called parr (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Figs. 3 and 4). This consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak werl) for hurling it and, in addition, is equipped with a long, stout strap by which the wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on land, depending on where the hunter may be, in order finally [825] to be beaten to death. Here, too, as in seal-hunting, superstition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands that, first of all, the head of the slain animal be cut off; it is not thrown into the water, however, but hung on a tree standing on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the like have first been removed from it. At various places along the right bank of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales hanging in them, which at the same time showed the success [191] of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say whether the Olcha, in whose territory the white whale is much rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only the Gilyak could have been their teachers. Thus, the hunting of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings them closer, in view of the arctic nature of this animal, to the 000 polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

225 /549 cont./ And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking
171 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of them,
825 on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

[113]

1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

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Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 171 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 [439] The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

/550 cont./
224 439 only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those articles by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neighboring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and stimulants which have become necessities for them. Hence, among them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principal trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserve the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part by means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., one can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

224 /551/ Obviously, the Gilyak engage in hunting only in the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little, have enough time for it, and, on the other hand, the animals are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitates to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successful [171] the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungusic neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently move then from their own habitation area into distant forest and mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it only in their own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller according to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak, because they are generally highly valued in trade and are present in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak lunr, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak oghrob and myghr-nga, i.e., brown animal), the otter (Gilyak ngy, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak pchyik), and the fox (Gilyak käkch, among the Tymy

/551 cont./
224 and Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in its different color variations (1).

[104]

1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionably standing first in importance, with traps. The one most
[192] commonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetschfalle/, which is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, at a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow is made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness is stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little wooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the hollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish (jukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick slides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the latter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the hollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The ha is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in particular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, in which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because sables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross over from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

/551 cont./

224

2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the [192] chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the [191] marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[113] 1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

[113] 2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

/552 cont./

224
[114]

3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ con-
[171] structed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia, has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with
224 the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in
192 question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d, Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower, pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring, is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ general-ization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and, correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the move-ments of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick (f,

[104]

1. The letters in parentheses are only

/553 cont./

224 192 [104]

1. (cont.)
barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksull-puks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

224 [136]

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from there an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/553 cont./

224 animal and lifts it off the beam so that it hangs in the air above the brook and in this position is kept safe from beasts of prey. The hunter, therefore, even in case of a delayed inspection of [171] the traps set by him, does not lose his catch. As customary as this method of catching sable, which is also used by other Amur and Siberian peoples, may be among the Gilyak, I never happened to come across it and am unable to give their name for it.

[171] Furthermore the Gilyak pursue both the previously named, especially precious animals and some others by means of an apparatus which /554/ has much in common with the above-described clamp-trap and, though likewise known throughout Siberia, must be discussed here in greater detail for the reasons already stated. It is the so-called self-firer /Selbstschuss/ (Russian ssamostrel) (1), a bow which at the slightest touch shoots

[192]

1. It is very indicative of the common principle of these two devices that the clamp-trap, which is generally called tscherkan in Russian, is also called ssamostrel in the Orenburg Gouvernement, according to Tscherkassof (Zapiski okhotnika Vostochnoi Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter in Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 336).

(z)

224 off an arrow. Among the Gilyak it is called ngarchotsch and has
192 the following nature. A simple wooden bow, as in the case of the clamp-trap, is fastened at its center to a wooden crosspiece (Pl. XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 1, c, Gilyak ksull) (2), on which

2. The identification in the naming of this piece with the small wooden piece h in the klai is most striking; we would rather expect such a one with the fork sticks (assj) of the klai.

/554 cont./

224 192 the arrow to be shot (d) lies. By means of a looped cord put in its upper part and a little stick f (Gilyak tschymrch[1]) bent in a right angle (cut from a branch) and likewise fastened to it, the bow is stretched and through that the upper end of the arrow lying in front of the stretched bowstring is pressed so strongly against its support that it cannot slip off even if the whole apparatus were inclined. Finally, when the bow is stretched, a small piece of wood (Gilyak wett(a)k, g and Fig. 2, ibid., natural size) (3),

3. In this figure, it is shown in a reversed position, the upper side turned downward.

equipped with a long and as fine a cord as possible, is inserted by its upper, flatly pointed, and polished end at the upper end of the tension stick and the looped cord. A slight pull on the cord of this little piece of wood (h, Gilyak tschoch) is sufficient to make it fly off, whereupon the looped cord also slips off the tension stick, and, as a result, the arrow is shot. The self-firing bow is set up on a tree trunk, or on a special pole (Gilyak kips) stuck in the snow for the purpose, in a more or less inclined position, and the above-mentioned thin cord, in a taut state, is drawn across the place where there is an animal trail or where one expects an animal to pass. The main thing is to give it the proper inclination so that the arrow will not shoot beyond the animal or into the ground in front of it or underneath it. The inclination naturally varies in accordance with the kind of animal expected and according to the distance at which the self-firer is set up from its probable path. For each type of animal, special aim must be taken in setting up the self-firer and adjusting the arrow, and for this the Gilyak use a special target-stick, their so-called tschraff (ibid., Fig. 3), which they know to be accurate by experience. in setting up the self-firer, it is put at the point where the animal is to be killed, and the arrow is aimed at one of the transverse stripes marked on it, according to the

/554 cont./

224 192 kind of animal expected. I have seen only the target-stick used for the three most important fur-bearing animals, sable, otter, and fox, as well as for hares (Gilyak chuĭ and chuĭk, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin ossjk and kanak, i.e., the white one). 224 /555/ On it three stripes or bands, each between two transverse lines, are marked off: if a fox is expected, the arrow is aimed at the uppermost stripe, point a of the illustration; if the shot is readied for a hare, one aims at the second stripe, point b; for sable one aims the arrow toward the third stripe, point c, and, finally, for the otter, toward the base of the target-stick, point d. The height of these transverse lines and stripes above the base of the target-stick is the following:

Height of transverse line ef above the base (rs)	245	mm.
" " " " gh " " " "	240	"
Average target-height for fox, point a	242 1/2	"
Height of transverse line ik above the base	188	"
" " " " lm " " "	180	"
Average target-height for hare, point b	184	"
Height of transverse line no above the base	118	"
" " " " pq " " "	112	"
Average target-height for sable, point c	115	"
The length or height of the whole target-stick amounts to	260	"

target height for fox

target-height for hare

target-height for sable

[192] The arrow (Gilyak kor) used with the self-firer for the animals mentioned has, in comparison with ordinary arrows, a very peculiar iron point which consists of two prongs equipped on their inner sides with one barb each (1). So that the animal struck by

1. It is noteworthy that whereas the

/555 cont./

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192

1. (cont.)
downward-shooting wooden piece on the klai, in no way resembling an arrow in its form, is designated in a generalizing fashion only as ku, "arrow," this proper arrow, distinguished only by the form of its point, has a special designation among the Gilyak.

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak toghr-puks) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

224
[435] The high value of sable, fox, and otter furs makes the use of the self-firer in the form described very general among the Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes caution necessary when roaming in them. It is surprising that on the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been given consideration along with the three most highly prized fur-bearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for his own needs always fall to the hunter.

/556/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable, but larger animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this.
[171] In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over a wide territory, to lay out barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example, among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by

/556 cont./

224 [171] Middendorff and others (1). Thus, larger animals are usually

1. Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1382 ff., and the woodcut.

only killed by chance with the weapons to be described later. 224 825 Some of the animals mentioned above, such as the lynx, the wolf, and the alpine wolf, conventionally offer such highly prized skins that one would expect regular pursuit of them by the Gilyak, and yet, as far as I know, they do not set up any self-firers for them. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs are in part the reason for this. With regard to the lynx (Gilyak tschlyghi), it has already been pointed out above (2) that the

2. See p. 583 ff. above.

Gilyak see in it an image, as it were, of the tiger, of which they have such a panicky fear that they hardly dare name it or talk about it aloud (3). This awe alone may prevent them from

3. See Vol. I, p. 94, of this work.

hunting it in a premeditated fashion and with the same devices as other animals, and only permits them to go after the carcass adorned with precious fur in case of an accidental meeting and, so to speak, in self-defense. The situation is similar with regard to the alpine wolf (Canis alpinus, Gilyak tschoramlatsch, on Sakhalin tschchodamlatsch), which the Gilyak do not hunt at all out of superstitious fear, and which, in addition, only stays in remote mountain wildernesses, into which, with their slight inclination for hunting, they may come but rarely. Finally, with 224 regard to the ordinary wolf (Gilyak ligs, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin attk), it is pursued by the Gilyak regularly, although not with the self-firer, but rather by means of [illegible] which I shall discuss in a moment. Thus, the self- [171] [illegible], which in more or less differing forms is used in Siberia both

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224 [191] by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for 224 192 wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg [104]

1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which [104]

2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is 224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

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224 208 192 439 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine, which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call käkch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 176 439 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all, though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (pórokh"): póroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy ooo Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

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5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

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411 177 439 113

5. (cont.) Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

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7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 177 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

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411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
197 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

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1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

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1. (cont.)
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the same thing was repeated several times later with other Gilyak from the various villages along the Amur and Liman, so that I never once succeeded in producing my stick in front of them, and from then on gave it up completely, trying in vain to think of a reason for this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company
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in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks -- a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt obviously the news

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

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In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

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2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

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In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p. 1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

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411 which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illus-
239 trated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from
[53] Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call
[192] puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the
[434] Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur
region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak
411 kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white
192 whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal)
239 is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku)
[283] have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fish-
[415] ing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the
411 musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended
192 for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

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yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

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5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1276, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

411 /559 cont./ I have
171 never heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their arrows, as is done among the Ainu of /560/ Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/ (1) and, according to Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3),

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1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Saris, and Vries; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 185 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsô; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Year 1872, p. 28). Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 334).

is said to have been customary among the Kuriles, Italmen, Koryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still is. Middendorff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

to have been passed on to the Tungus of Manchuria, but he gives no source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

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5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

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The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

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6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

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I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

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411 Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much [192] more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike uni- [191] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch(z), Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship [531] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/561 cont./ such specimens, however,
411 are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch
556 bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.

224 Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when it consisted of only a few log houses erected at the edge of the still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal. In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against
[825] the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because of its great rarity, and the no /562/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

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224 prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities connected with eating it, also plays an especially important role in their social life. Striving, above all, to capture the animal alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered, a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order, equipped with the required paraphernalia of ropes, chains, pikes, etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it, [579] and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds not infrequently result, which, however, are borne more easily than others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude.

224 Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among
231 the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually or often successful; there is scarcely a village of any size in which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, however, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together, and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many, passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment
224 it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettered. It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

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224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are [262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on 224 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1) 184

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

224 Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso-
78 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob-
825 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in
224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by
114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans
756 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce
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/563 cont./ it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

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224 825 123 779 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "uïtsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact 224 825 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

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1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

/564 cont./

224 825 to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.

223 In discussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, they capture birds that get their food by diving into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is done, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and white grouse (Gilyak parrä, along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschleola-nga), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kusi). With regard to the white grouse, [532] [825] which one also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak, although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, I likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they greatly desired to remove the head first.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles: Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngai-tscham) and H. albicilla Briss. (Gilyak mygh-tscham, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tscham). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and it is therefore always meant when merely the [439] tscham (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that their rectrices are an important

G 223 [439] /565 cont./ article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers G [239] [411] [164] to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take G 223 231 439 the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails Gi 231 439 114 136 there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which A 231 439 is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

2: Schrenck--885 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Eskimo ND2

A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G [342] [396] [493] [335]

G [175]

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175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

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2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/566 cont./

326 411 556 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may 361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region, 326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above 411 126 [128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak. 361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje 648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128]

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/567 cont./

114 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching
325 the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The
326 smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the
192 entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

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3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yi-dshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
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[293]

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008, Fig. 1.

325 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
326 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are
also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the
[435]

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my
[192] possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of
[439] the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make ornaments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-
mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

G /568 cont./
325 with the latter probably extend back into earlier times than those
177 with the former, in that, as I have tried to show on other
174 grounds (4), before they came to the mouth region of the Amur,

4. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese -- this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the smith's art. And a series of facts corroborate me in this view.

G. If the use and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak
Gi from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur
325 through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would
174 expect in the opposite direction, going upstream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the fineness and neatness of the
Gi metalwork. For the Olcha, to be sure, may be scarcely less
[114] skilled ironsmiths, and especially armorers, than their teachers,
[326] the Gilyak, but the Goldi are far behind the Olcha in this (5),

5. This is Maack's opinion also (see his Putesh. na Amur", pp. 175 and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as boat-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this connection, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accessories that are not insignificantly /569/ different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not to

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207.
and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

Gi 325 174 Gi [177] A G 325 17 A [439] A 114 325 17

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A 114 325 19 /569 cont./ cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categorization and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

A 325 19

/570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

G 325 19

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

A /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's Testimony,
325 the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron
114 more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a
174 result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork.
648 We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,
G and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were
174 in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance
167 of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances
648 and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

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174 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to
648 maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the
325 Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin,
325 the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of
171 it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

Goldi RX3
Orok
Kamchadal RY3

Gi 325 177

/570 cont./ them but from the two peoples between which they had wedged themselves on the island. It is certainly a remarkable fact that

Gi 325 439 179

/571/ a poor and not very numerous nomadic people like the Orok does not satisfy its small requirements in iron utensils from the neighboring sedentary peoples, but rather make their own. Yet it is even more noteworthy that the Orok manufacture these articles in such quantities that they even use them as articles for barter in their trade with the Gilyak, who themselves are skilled in the smith's craft, indeed, more skilled than the Orok, and from whom the latter, no less than their tribal relatives on the mainland, the Amur Olcha, presumably once learned it. In Ytkyrn in the Tymy Valley I saw a number of knife blades of various kinds (from the belt-knife, fish knife, etc.), which the Gilyak had obtained in trade from the Orok on the Poro-nai for tobacco (a few leaves for each piece). They were only crudely made and entirely without handles, merely the basic raw material, so to speak, which still needed to be worked over individually for polishing, buffing, mounting, and decorating by the Gilyak in order to reach its final specifications. Thus, in the making of iron tools, the Orok play the role of suppliers of raw material, so to speak, for the Gilyak -- a relationship that rests, on the one hand, on the large requirements of the Gilyak for such tools, with only a relatively small quantity of raw material, and, on the other hand, the opportunity offered by the Orok to procure this material in greater quantities from the not too distant Japanese, either directly or through the Ainu. If in this whole situation the Orok occupy only a subordinate place in relation to the Gilyak they, on the other hand, manifest an unquestionable superiority in comparison with the Ainu, at most functioning only as middlemen for the raw material, and their far greater political independence with respect to the Japanese corresponds to this.

K 325 179

In addition to the Ainu and Gilyak, there is still another Paleo-Asiatic people that received its first knowledge of iron from Japan. This is the Italmen or Kamchadal, and, to be sure, the iron, as in the case of the Gilyak, was brought to them by the Ainu.

/571 cont./

000 K 177 192 174 325

Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

K 439 325 179 556 823 K 823 A 823 186 439

K 823 A 439 823 186 /572 cont./ their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be A 439 435 seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 19 325 For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion G A K 194 325 that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

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of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

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If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two

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types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

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One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

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1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/573 cont./

114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques [179] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

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171 175 714 [113] It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

G 171 175 714 G [113]

/573 cont./ emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

G [113]

1. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, prosvieshch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 164.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

Gi 714 325 179 [114 101]

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsô specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

Gi 325 171

Gi 325 171 /574 cont./ to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G 714 [192] [239] The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamn in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

G 714 [239] [126] [628] G 714 126 556

G 714 171 1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/575 cont./

G 714 171

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kä-petsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

G 714 [113]

G 411 To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It G [192] is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a G [191] deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak G [114] designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

/575 cont./

411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During 411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in 411 174 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

G /576 cont./

224 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as
191 described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence
G in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peo-
224 ples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese
A traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of
225 sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat
114 doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest
[192] today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am G A 224 inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reinA [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G1 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads G1 [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

Gi 224 433 439 /577 cont./ pursued in the mountain wildernesses, as well as in the extensive northern lowlands of the island, secures this for them, in that it supplies them, in part directly, with foodstuffs and material for clothing, especially reindeer meat and skins, and in part provides them with the means for barter with the Gilyak, and in this way, too, satisfaction for their necessities of life. I shall come back G [186] to this trade, but it should be noted here in general that the Orok know how to procure very successfully the principal means for this, the precious sable, fox, and otter furs, and they are praised no little by the Gilyak as skillful reindeer hunters and courageous bear hunters.

SS 224 136 The predominant inclination and talent for hunting appears among the Tungusic tribes neighboring the Gilyak on the mainland to a greater extent and in broader and more manifold features than on the limited area of Sakhalin. It has already been pointed out above that in general the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into the left tributaries of it, the more hunting, in contrast to fishing, increases in scope and importance in the lives of the peoples dwelling there. Insofar as natural conditions are decisive for the way of life of a people, this situation rests on the fact that, on the one hand, in the direction indicated the abundance of fish in the Amur decreases, whereas, on the other hand, the number and frequency of game animals SS 136 increase rapidly. For example, the largest mammal of the Amur region, the elk, completely absent on the island of Sakhalin, increases rapidly in frequency on the mainland in the direction indicated, /578/ reaching its maximum in the extensive forests along the Amgunj and Gorin and on the Amur beyond the mouth of the latter. Going up the Amur, there further appear the roe deer at the mouth of the Amgunj, the wild pig at the mouth of the Chaselach on the southern border of the Gilyak territory, and the red deer at the mouths of the Chelasso and Gorin -- three kinds of animals that become more and more frequent farther upstream as the forests and all the vegetation take on a more Gi 136 132 southerly stamp. The territories of the Negda, Samagir, Olcha, and Goldi in particular share in this rapid increase in the mammalian fauna upstream and inland from the mouth of the

/578 cont./

136 Amur, conditioned by the orographic and climatic conditions of
132 the lower Amur region. Toward the seacoast, to be sure, there is a southward dip of their polar boundaries (1) as a consequence of

1. A more detailed and in part graphic presentation of these conditions was given in the first volume of this work both in the discussion of the individual species of animals and also in the general conclusions concerning the character of the mammalian fauna of the Amur region (pp. 195 ff) and on the accompanying map.

the great quantities of winter snow, which make movement and obtaining food difficult for the animals named, but with respect to game animals, even the territory of the Orochi has considerable advantages over that of the Gilyak. Moreover, the habita-
224 tion areas of all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region
439 mentioned are by no means inferior to that of the Gilyak with respect to the fur-bearing animals especially prized in trade -- indeed, the most important of these animals, the sable, sometimes has a fur of greater quality and beauty in the former than in the latter. If it is even more frequent on Sakhalin than on the mainland, presumably on account of the absence of Mustela sibirica, which lives on the same kind of food, it bears a lighter
224 and therefore less valuable fur there. On the mainland, however, this increases in quality toward the interior from the coast, so that the sables of the right Amur tributaries are in general inferior to those of the left ones, and, among the latter the Amgunj and Gorin sables in particular are regarded as the best on account of their thick hair and dark color (2). In view

2. See Vol. I, pp. 30-31, of this work.

of such favorable natural conditions and the passion for hunting deeply ingrained in all the Tungus, it is very understandable that

Gi 224 /578 cont./ it must have gained far greater scope among all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region and must be of more essential significance for their entire lives than is the case among the Gilyak.

G Gi 224 439 Among the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, too, just as among the Gilyak, the catching of precious fur-bearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuffs, but also the universally popular luxury items, and especially tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. It is also practiced in the same ways and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more adroitness and skill and, therefore, with more success.

G 224 439 Gi 224 262 But whereas among the Gilyak hunting is limited almost solely to the catching of fur-bearing animals and thus wholly in the interests of trade, among the Tungusic Amur /579/ peoples it also extends to no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boars, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all Gi [221] the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

G Gi 224 484 Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak contents himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, sets up his traps and self-firers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

G. /579 cont./
Gi
224 permanent winter-dwelling along the river or on the seacoast,
484 the Amur Tungus not infrequently undertake long hunting expeditions which may last many days or, indeed, weeks. This
Gi most significantly expresses their predominant hunting nature,
224 in contrast to the Gilyak. Although on the whole they have like-
484 wise become sedentary fishermen, their original inclination for the nomadic hunting life has not been entirely suppressed and
Gi breaks through from time to time triumphantly and irresistibly.
[481] In small parties of two to five men, they go on ski to the hunting
[492] grounds chosen by them, carrying with them on light sleds
[493] harnessed to a few dogs the necessary hunting equipment, a few of the most needed utensils, such as small cooking pots, etc., and some food supplies for the initial period. Having arrived
Gi there, they set up at a suitable place in the forest a hunting tent
[342] of the kind described above, a so-called alko, which serves them as a common dwelling and from which they make their further hunting expeditions in various directions in a closer or wider sphere. During the day each one goes to hunt and to inspect the traps and self-firers set by him, and toward evening the small company appears in the tent around a blazing fire, to eat a meal prepared from the meat of the captured animals. If, how-
Gi ever, a hunter has been diverted too far by following an animal's
[342] trail or is delayed too long by some special occurrence or adventure while hunting to be able to return in time, he prepares for himself, depending on the weather, either a small arched tent of fir branches, a so-called homorá, which I have likewise described above, or a simple resting-place in the snow, in order to have his meal and his night's rest there beside a small fire.
Gi If it is required in the interests of the hunting, the fixed quarters
[481] are moved and the hunting carried on over other, less frequented,
[492] and more productive terrain, and, finally, when enough game
[493] has been collected and the passion for hunting has sufficiently cooled, the return trip to the kin who remained behind in the winter dwellings, to wife and child, is begun, on which /580/ the hunters in part precede on ski the sleds laden with the hunting booty and make a path through the deep snow for them and in
Part Pull along with The dogs.

/580 cont./

224 484 [439] part pull along with the dogs. Having arrived at home, the hunters above all enjoy a rest and leisure, indulge themselves with a varied diet, and try to sell their hunting booty to Chinese or other traders in order to obtain the articles needed by them and theirs for clothing, food, and pleasure, and in particular tobacco for their low or completely exhausted supply. Not infrequently, however, after a certain longer or shorter rest period, another hunting expedition is undertaken, and so on, as long as the season permits.

224 484 648 The choice of hunting terrain among the Tungus of the lower Amur region seems to be made quite freely and without any consideration of possible tribal boundaries, so that, for hunting purposes, they often visit areas which, strictly speaking, are no longer within their own habitation area, but in that of a neighboring tribe, which, however, in view of their communistic outlook and because these wildernesses are always uninhabited, does not cause any quarrels or feuds between them. In particular the Tungusic tribes neighboring the Gilyak like to roam in the territory of the latter because they do not practice any extensive hunting. For instance, in the north, the Russian Reindeer-Tungus from the Tugur and the Negda from the Amgunj do their hunting in the Mäwatschan Mountains between the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, that is to say, entirely within Gilyak territory, and the Olcha do the same in the south. In February, [114] 1855, when I traveled from the Amur-Liman along the small Tymi River toward the mountains in order to cross them and pass through the Chaselach Valley to the Amur River, I suddenly heard the barking of dogs in the wilderness, and, following this, I came to a tent somewhat off our trail and pitched in the middle of a high forest, where five hunters had their temporary quarters. Four of them were Olcha, one of them from the village of Koim on the Amur, and the fifth was a Samagir from Pulj. They were hunting here on the eastern slope of the mountains toward the Amur-Liman, and thus on terrain quite unquestionably in Gilyak territory, and they showed me a number of

/580 cont./

224 484 648 pelts, and sable pelts in particular, which they had bagged. And yet my guide, a Tschomi Gilyak, who acted as my interpreter with the Olcha, found this quite in order and by no means viewed it as an infringement upon the rights of his countrymen. The Samagir and one of the Olcha were getting [114] ready to return home, the former on foot on ski, the latter in his sled with the help of his dogs, and since I was going in the same direction, they joined me in order to use the path made 224 484 by my wide-soled Russian sled. In like manner, the Olcha living above Kidsi on the Amur frequently undertake hunting expeditions and excursions into the Orochi territory along the upper Tumdshi and its tributaries, and the Goldi do the same with regard to the Orochi, and all the more so since their habitation sites extend more or less far along the rivers emptying into the Amur from the right, where they border on those of the Orochi.

224 484 619 /581/ The greatest freedom in the choice of hunting grounds, however, is found along the lower Gorin. Here there extends a vast, completely international hunting area, where one may meet almost all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region. Whereas along the upper course of the Gorin and its northern tributaries approaching the Amgunj system, Samagir and Negda hunters meet, the extensive forest and mountain wildernesses along its lower course are traveled by, in addition to the Samagir, the Olcha and Goldi. The latter in particular come very often and in great numbers and in part from distant villages along the Amur River. For example, I myself have met there some from Onmoi, Chongar, and even from Zollazi, which [487] is about 150 versts from the mouth of the Gorin. In winter this river gives the Goldi a very convenient route into the above-mentioned hunting area, as it does the Samagir living along its 224 upper course. Hence, the most and the largest of the temporary 484 quarters for the one nationality as well as for the other are lo- 361 cated along its banks, and to be sure, those of the Goldi are to 619 be found more along the lower course of the river and those of the Samagir higher up and closer to Ngagha, their first permanent settlement on it.

/581 cont./

000 224 36 342 485 [122] settlement on it. Such alko are not taken down after the departure of the hunters; but rather remain standing so that new arrivals from the same or a different tribe may use them during their stay. Hence, their occupants change many times during the course of the hunting season. Occasionally, hunters or Chinese traders passing through the area stay in them, just as I myself stopped at midday or spent the night in the alko of Poionge and of Wai. Even if the current occupants of the hunting tent are not at home, one nevertheless finds it open and sees immediately by its exterior, as well as its interior, that it is inhabited. The animal skins hung up to dry on tree trunks or on poles in front of the tent show this, as do the sleds ski, sticks, lances, bows, self-firers, and other hunting equipment leaning against [353] it. Inside the tent, scraps from the hunt and hunting trophies lying or hanging around, such as pieces of fur, horns, skulls, and bones of various animals, as well as the kettles and bowls on the hearth and the fire perhaps still smoldering in the ashes, 485 574 421 testify to the only momentary absence of its occupant. The use of the tent and its household equipment is available to anyone, but the inviolability of the game and the hunting equipment in and near it is taken for granted -- a trust that is said to be never abused and therefore appears wholly justified.

224 342 [361] In addition to these more or less spacious and, so to speak, permanent hunting tents or alko in the Gorin forests, one very frequently also comes across those arched overnight tents made out of willow switches and fir branches for individual hunters, the so-called homora, or also small alko, which copy the large ones in form and construction, but are so small that they are obviously intended for one hunter, and two could find space in them only in an emergency. They are either erected by individual roaming hunters, or are used when a large area is being exploited by a small company of hunters, /582/ to make the inspection of the more distant traps and self-firers by its individual members easier and more convenient. During my Gorin trip I, [122] [192] too, spent a night in such an alko, from which, however, the snow first had to be shoveled. My Goldi guide called it a

224 /582 cont./
342 "ssäfa-, mudu-, ssole-ware-alko," that is, a sable-, otter-,
192 and fox-hunting tent -- a designation directly pointing to the above-mentioned purpose of it, to make it easier to inspect the apparatus set up to catch these animals.

224 Undoubtedly, here too the hunting of the above-mentioned
439 fur-bearing animals that are generally highly valued in trade is of primary importance. And how very successfully it is practiced is indicated by the fact that some of the Chinese merchants temporarily settled along the Amur do not shrink from the trouble of going there and as far as the Samagir sites along the upper Gorin in order to buy the precious goods on the spot, and incidentally probably also, taking advantage of any possible distress of the hunters, for the lowest possible price. I repeatedly met
114 their sleds loaded with various commodities and driven by them
439 in a manner just like that of the natives. I was just ahead of two of them in taking the alko of Wai, and since I had taken possession of the tent with my people, a Cossack and a guide, they set up their camp beside it, just as the natives do. They were a Chinese merchant from Kŏurmi on the Amur, with a queue hanging down to his heels, and his clerk or guide, and while the former behaved ostentatiously like the master and gave his orders in a very loud manner, the latter, anxious to serve, started the fire, prepared the food, etc.

224 In the Gorin wildernesses hunting for big game is practiced no less than the catching of fur-bearing animals. The largest of the mammals of the Amur region, the elk, is unquestionably the most important of such game. Its frequency and the general and
[192] important use made of it for food and clothing by the Samagir, as well as by the other Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region, elevates it to the position of the primary game animal here and makes it quite understandable that, in addition to its specific name (to and toke), it is designated by them with yet another one, "buju," i.e., simply animal. One sees skins from it hung up to dry not only in front of the hunting tents, but even in the middle of the forest or in the brush of the Gorin islands one sometimes comes upon some that were deposited by a hunter and will be

/582 cont./

224 picked up later. Again and again we came across tracks of the animals in the snow, and several times we came to places where, as my guide concluded from the trampled snow, an animal had
224 been killed. Of special interest to me, however, was a place
825 in the forest where the skulls and bones of these animals, stuck on a row of poles, rose above the snow -- a sight that reminded me of the trees hung with the skulls of white whales among the Gilyak and of a couple of large bear-skull depositories which I had seen shortly before in the immediate vicinity of Ngagha, and which I shall come back to in another place. Here, then, the elk joins those animals which, in view of their predominant importance in the life of a people, /583/ requires a special treat-
224 ment dictated by superstition after their death. A further indication of the success of elk-hunting in the Gorin area is the number of sleds of returning hunters that we met on the road,
[230] laden with elk meat and elk skins. Pieces of the leg-fur of the
[481] elk in particular are of special value for all the Tungusic tribes,
[438] because they are used to cover their indispensable ski. The Amur Goldi even sell these pieces among their countrymen along the Ussuri, because the elk occurs only infrequently there and reaches its equatorial border somewhat to the south, on the Ssuifun (1).

1. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriiskom" kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 262.

[439] Next to the elk, the red deer is the largest game animal and the one most sought by hunters in the Gorin wildernesses, and, to be sure, all the more because, besides its use for food and clothing, it provides in its horns, when they are newly acquired and not yet hardened, an article that is highly prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese on account of their alleged fortifying effect. Nevertheless, in the Gorin area, close to its polar boundary, it is far behind the elk in frequency and, like the roe deer and the wild pig, attains its full value only farther to the south and west.

/583 cont./

224 237 The musk deer is frequently bagged by the hunters along the lower Gorin, as was proved to me by the pelts, skulls, and bones of this animal which were to be seen in or before the [291] [262] [411] [439] hunting tents. It is always welcome booty for the hunter, because among the Samagir and Goldi its fur is used for smaller articles of clothing and rugs, the meat is a popular food, arrowheads are carved out of the leg bones, and, finally, the musk sac of the male is a trade article paid for handsomely by the Chinese.

224 184 For the Goldi living farther up the Amur, above the Geong Mountains, the Gorin area is too far away to be visited regularly by them. On the other hand, they, as well as their countrymen along the Ussuri, have excellent hunting grounds along the tributaries coming down from the coastal mountain range to these rivers, the latter in particular and especially along the upper Biki, Ima, and Waku. In addition, the hunting activity of the Goldi constantly increases in the direction indicated, up the 224 [72] Amur and Ussuri. Along the latter, as soon as the fall fishing comes to an end and a cover of snow has fallen, the entire able-bodied male population leaves to go hunting, to spend the entire winter at it, and, indeed, some even hasten to set out before the smaller rivers are frozen and to make their journey to the [481] [492] hunting grounds by boat (2). Most of them, however, set out on

2. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 99.

ski, pulling behind them the necessary hunting and household equipment on a sled harnessed to a few dogs. And, to be sure, they prefer this method all the more because they often use the dogs in hunting. As long as the snow is not very deep, they pursue the sable not only with traps and self-firers, but also with the help of their dogs. They chase on the ground the sable fleeing from tree to tree, /584/ without taking their eyes off it until they have brought it to bay, whereupon it is shot by the hunter. If it succeeds in slipping into a hollow tree, the latter is felled, but if it crawls under a tree root, a stone, or the like, it is smoked

/584 cont./

224 out and caught by means of a bag-net set up in front. Dogs
[262] are used no less for hunting the Canis procyonoides Gray, which
[439] is common in the Ussuri region and called jandako by the Goldi, Olcha, and Samagir, the meat and fat of which are eaten, but the fur is sold to the Chinese. Since this is a nocturnal animal, the hunters, according to Nadarof's information (1), go at night

[113] 1. I. Nadarov", "Sieverno-ussuriiskii krai /North Ussuri Region/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 118).

to catch it, each with one or two dogs, for which they tie small bells around the necks of the dogs, in order to be told immediately by their strong tinkling when and where prey has been seized by them. Since in the autumn the jandako is very fat and, as a result, slow and able to move only with difficulty, the dogs, once they have caught its scent, overtake it very soon and bite it dead after a brief struggle. Still other animals, absent or occurring only as exceptions in the northern part of the lower Amur region, such as Ursus thibetanus Cuv., Mustela flavigula Bodd., Antilope crispa Temm., Cervus axis Erxl. (2), appear

[113] 2. Cf. Radde, Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Travels in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in 1855-1859/, Vol. I, Die Säugethierfauna /The Mammalian Fauna/, St. Petersb., 1862, pp. 12, 21, 262, 286. Przewalski, op. cit., pp. 245, 247, 265.

to the hunters in the Ussuri region as more or less welcome booty. Here, too, however, their chief interest remains directed toward the generally widespread and valuable fur-bearing animals often mentioned above, sable, river otter, and fox, the frequency of these animals in the aforementioned forested and mountainous

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224 wildernesses making up for their sometimes inferior quality, for the sable in the upper Ussuri region, where it approaches its equatorial boundary, has a far less beautiful, shorter haired, and lighter fur than on the Amur (3), and the fox, too, usually occurs

3. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 249.

there only in its lighter coloring and only extremely rarely as the cross fox or black fox (4). Here, too, it is the same meat ani-

4. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 252.

mals as along the Amur above and below the mouth of the Ussuri, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, that claim most of the attention of the hunters and, by their quantity, yield them a rich reward. The Goldi hunt them in different ways, depending on the season, sometimes catching them in pitfalls, slaying them by means of the self-firer, shooting them from hiding, or pursuing them with dogs who bring the animal to bay for the hunter to shoot or to attack with the lance. This latter hunting method is [184] especially successful for the red deer in the earliest spring, as soon as a thin layer of ice has formed on top of the snow, because this impedes the movement of the heavy animal constantly breaking through it, and the hunter gliding along on ski can easily overtake it -- a /585/ method of hunting which is also practiced farther down on the Amur and Gorin by the Goldi and Samagir and is reminiscent of the similar pursuit of elk and reindeer among the Gilyak. Even more noteworthy is the analogy offered by the most rewarding method of the Ussuri Goldi, the hunting of roe deer. Thoroughly familiar with the [825] regular migrations that the roe deer, congregated in large herds, make twice a year between the right Ussuri and Sungari tributaries, they lie in wait for them at the places where they usually cross the Ussuri. When a herd is on its way and has reached about the middle of the river, light bark canoes, each manned by one person, dart out from hiding on all sides. In no time the animals are cut off from the one as well as from the other bank,

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224 and now, with loud shouts of jubilation, a slaughter begins, during which they each receive only one lance stab through the neck so as to bleed to death slowly and are lifted out of the water by the women and children who in the meantime have rowed up in larger boats (1). Who would not thereby be reminded

1. Cf. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 267.

of the quite similar butchering of reindeer in the polar regions of Siberia, when on their migrations between the tundra of the Arctic Sea and the forest regions they try to cross the rivers lying in their path (2)?

2. Cf., for instance, Pallas (Zoogr., Vol. I, p. 212; the same, Neue Nord. Beyträge, Vol. I, p. 244), Wrangell (Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Part II, p. 87), Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1147), and others.

The wild pig falls victim to the Goldi in much smaller numbers than the red deer or the roe deer, and, as a rule, they hunt directly only the female and young animals, but dare to attack or pursue adult boars almost as little as the tiger. The latter is killed by them only occasionally or out of necessity when it comes as far as their homes to steal dogs or pigs or confronts them themselves and unavoidably attacks. The fear
[789] of such visits and confrontations governs them constantly and, to avert them, prompts them to make those wooden figures, idols, and amulets which I have already discussed elsewhere (3)

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., of this work.

and to which I shall return occasionally in the following. The same is true of the "jerga" (leopard), which, to be sure, is far

224 /585 cont./
rarer, but therefore arouses all the more fear in their superstitious minds. If they succeed in killing a tiger, however, their
[439] profit is not inconsiderable, in that not only does the skin of this animal, held in high esteem by the Chinese (4), bring a

4. Concerning this, see p. 580, note 2, above.

high price paid by the merchants, but its other parts, too, such as the claws, bones, muscles, sinews, and even the gall, find a good market among them on account of their medicinal use in China and Manchuria (5).

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5. Information concerning the use of the various parts of the tiger as remedies among the Chinese, Manchu, and Goldi, as well as their presumed effect, may be found as early as Gerbillon (in Du Halde's Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, Vol. IV, pp. 248 and 301) and later in Przewalski (op. cit., p. 235), Palladij ("Usur. Man'tszy /Ussuri Man-dse/." -- Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 377), Barabasch ("Sungar. eksped. /Sungari Expedition/." -- Voennyi Sborn., 1874, and others. For example, the eating of tiger meat or pulverized tiger-bones is said to instill courage and audacity, etc.

224 433 184 226 /586/ Much more than among the Goldi, hunting is essential and decisive for the entire life of their eastern neighbors, the Orochi. Though, in accordance with the basic system of the former, despite their great predilection for hunting, which occupies the male part of the population the major part of the year, one may designate them as a fishing people because they have permanent dwelling sites along the rivers, the Amur, the

Goldi RX3
Orochi

226 /586 cont./
224 Ussuri, and their right tributaries, and fishing in them is, after
433 all, the basis of their existence, this can no longer be done
184 with the Orochi. Rather, according to their nature and their
entire way of life, they are preponderantly hunters. In compari-
22 son with hunting, fishing sinks to the level of a secondary occupa-
433 tion among them, for only during a short period of the year do
184 they stay in their tent dwellings along the seacoast and at the
mouths of the rivers, in order in part to collect some supplies
221 of fish and to hunt seals. The entire remaining and by far the
224 greater part of the year, from the first snowfall until summer,
484 the Orochi exclusively leads the life of a hunter, roams
through the river valleys and forests of the coastal mountains,
and, sometimes by himself, sometimes accompanied by wife
and child, pitches his hunting tent here or there, depending on
the circumstances. Each one usually has his favorite hunting
area, within which he annually again visits the river valleys
and other localities located in not too large an area for him to
walk through each one and known by him to be rich in game;
and still, because of the sparse population and the extensive
wildernesses, there is always more space in reserve for the
224 individual. The Orochi do not seek out distant hunting areas
484 located in the territories of neighboring tribes, both because
487 they do not have such an easy and convenient artery of com-
munication as the frozen surface of the Amur River and its large
tributaries, in view of the location of their homeland, isolated
by the coastal mountains, and because they keep only a few
224 dogs used chiefly for hunting purposes. It hardly need be men-
tioned that here, too, hunting is primarily aimed at the desirable
fur-bearing animals, sable, river otter, and fox, as well as the
same meat animals used for food and clothing, and is done in
the same way, by means of traps, self-firers, bows and arrows,
spears, and lances. Only one animal is to be given special con-
sideration here, because, in accordance with the mountainous
nature of their territory, it is more eagerly hunted by the Orochi
and seems to be slain in greater numbers than by their neighbors --
[439] I am referring to the musk deer, which they catch chiefly with

2: Schrenck--920 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi

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the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,

1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particular in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region. In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse, they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure, a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this /587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell their booty.

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In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives, I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

G /587 cont./
22 islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of
36 winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more com-
114 fortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and prolonged bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field
G: for observation and study. It is almost the same among the
22 Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent
114 among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic
361 character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore, summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which, though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time, for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role among them.

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224 /588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the
114 peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

T 224 114 /588 cont./ them, therefore, I can only refer to the descriptions by Maack (1),

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 49, 75, and 76.

T [184] Gerstfeldt (2), Ussolzef (3), and others. The picture of the hunting

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2. "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amur /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 307).

3. "Putesh. po dolinie r. Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/" (op. cit., pp. 77 ff.).

practices of these peoples that they give shows the greatest similarity with that presented by their neighbors to the north and to the west, the Russo-Siberian Tungus, who are likewise not at all sharply demarcated from them geographically. On the other hand, how very greatly the upper Amur peoples contrast in this direction, as hunters and hunting nomads, from the more or less sedentary fishing peoples of the lower Amur region has already been noted several times in connection with phenomena discussed above, their dwelling, clothing, food locomotion, and especially their fishing.

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G Gi T 224 To conclude these observations on the hunting of the Amur peoples, as a supplement, so to speak, the contrast that can be observed between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur region with regard to the animal species representing the principal objects of their hunting might be pointed out here. Whereas in the lower Amur region, and especially among the most typical and ichthyophagous of its peoples, the Gilyak, hunting is directed primarily and particularly against the precious fur-bearing animals, so that, in accordance with its principal aim and character, one can designate it as fur-bearing-animal hunting, or, on the

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/588 cont./ basis of the most numerous and generally most popular of these animals, simply as sable hunting, among the peoples of the upper Amur region, who rely on hunting almost entirely for their food and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects hunted. Also contributing to this is the fact that the two large animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the Manchu officials (4), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

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4. I again draw attention to the fact that my descriptions apply to the 50's, that is, a time when almost the entire Amur region was still under Chinese rule.

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an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing animals, and especially the sable, are regarded as most desirable booty, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur peoples, too, but their number has so greatly declined in the course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunting and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur and its /589/ tributaries on both sides they have already become the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of little value individually, they repay their labor and expense because of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argunj Cossacks,

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who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (artels) undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months in the Orochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call this hunting of theirs, in accordance with its chief purpose,

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"belkowjo" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

1. Accordingly, the verb "belkowatj," i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

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/589 cont./ Thus another characteristic difference between the hunting conditions of the lower and of the upper Amur regions is presented by the sable hunting of the one side and the squirrel pursuit of the other.

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Contributing very essentially to the change from the former to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-caliber, Russo-Siberian rifles, which came from Siberia and whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in the course of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (2), these rifles were already in general use among the

2. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Russians, and among the Manegir, too, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock guns, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable fire-arms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

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Section 10

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Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

433 439 191 As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

439 It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that [195] in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfiljef heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections [441] with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farthest from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

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439 in that of the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they stand in the center, so to speak, of all international trade relations in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the
439 Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast
184 of the Sea of Okhotsk have hardly less a peripheral position in this respect than the other peoples of the region. The former, however, are also favored more than the latter two by their geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the Japanese by way of the Liman and along the west coast of Sakhalin, they also have a second water artery on the Amur River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too, the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration and from which the further exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

175 If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with
648 which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seven-
157 teenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful, while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood if humiliation or greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before my arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

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whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

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that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very
439 essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to
[174] exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely
184 distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the
648 Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on
[123] his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

/592 cont./

123 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
184 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
648 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
439 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
123 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
439 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
157 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ă," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

439 Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
435 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

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437 trade or even otherwise in their life and household has been de-
435 veloped among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted absolute unit of value among them, through the multiplication of which the appraisal of the objects is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? /593/ It was not easy for me to determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in return (for instance, three bundles of tobacco, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the absolute value of the foremost goods and objects, their price in themselves, the basis of even barter-trade, is rarely understood and only by the more intelligent, and even then the answer consists of only a number preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth" (Gilyak tschalhatsch), without the stating of any unit of value. In this connection, however, that form of the numbers which serves for the counting of animate objects is always used. I cannot say for what reason. To the question as to how much an article costs, properly understood in the above sense, the Gilyak will therefore give as an answer: "njunj, mor, tschor (1), etc.

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1. Not njakr, mjakr, tschakr, etc., as the ordinary form of the numbers used for counting inanimate things runs.

tschalhatsch, or -- with the addition of the suffix ra meaning "is" -- tschalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kauk means "not," kaukra means "is not"; or ngalskotsch, "bad," ngalskora, "is bad."

[435] [437] and nothing more. The unit of value under consideration is never expressed, as if it were self-evident, as if it needed no special designation. I was therefore able to make a numerical list of the

G /593 cont./
439 values or current prices of all the articles playing a more or
435 less important part in the life and household of the Gilyak long
before I knew the unit to which the numbers referred. Not
Gi 435 until I was among the Olcha and thanks to my finding there a
115 guide who besides his mother tongue, also had a command of
171 the Gilyak language did I get on the right track, and my stay
[191] among the Goldi helped to give me complete certainty with
Gi regard to the questionable unit of value also generally current
[192] among the Gilyak. Chossiambo, as my guide was called (3),
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3. He came from the Olcha village of Uda and owed his knowledge of Gilyak chiefly to the fact that he had a Gilyak woman from Tebach as a wife.

designated the value of various articles in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak do, in that he put only the pertinent number in front of the verb "ssalé" (to cost, Gilyak tschalhatsch);
G Gi sometimes, however, instead of "omu (one) ssalé," he said
435 "omu jan ssalé," etc. After the removal of the n, obviously
177 inserted on phonetic grounds, it was clear that the unit on which the value of the object was based among the Olcha and Gilyak is the ja -- as was to be expected, a magnitude of value of Chinese origin. The further, confirming and illuminating information concerning it was obtained without difficulty from the Goldi. The term "ja" for the unit of value in appraising trade items and other articles is quite familiar to them; they were also able to say that the Chinese divide the ja into 10 parts, called dicha among them (the Goldi), each of which is worth 100 Chinese brass coins (Goldi zirikta dicha), so that 1,000 pieces of the latter equal one ja. This is therefore the Chinese silver ounce (liang or tael), almost equal to two Russian rubles in /594/ silver. The fact that the Chinese unit of value also serves the peoples of the lower Amur region as the general basis for the evaluation of trade products and other property indicates better than anything else the dominant, in fact, almost

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Gi /594 cont./
435 solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
177 with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari
Gi Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth
[439] part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver
ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
G. (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however,
Gi who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
439 in larger quantities in Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the tenth and
435 the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance --
177 for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its
multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it
expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only
G. the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this
Gi question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite
435 direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value
177 upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Inci-
dentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it
is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only
an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to
form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or
quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles.
G As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver
[192] ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins
with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tschcha), which are
usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of
G their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention
[436] to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are
[301] used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also
G. as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise
Gi called tschcha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak,
435 were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the
436 lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
177 value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not
ooo accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

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1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

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Through their association with the Russians however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment. As proof of their great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Poswein, a Gilyak from Kulj, who had been close to the Russians ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and especially gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaler after killing part of the crew, and then to make a profit out of them with the Russians.

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/595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

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either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

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By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

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A sable pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-3 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pas(1)-nga) . . " 2 "

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[104]

1. The s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladf) . . equals 3 ja

/595 cont./

435 439 A pelt from the black fox (hädf), depending on its quality, ... equals 10 ja and more
A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . " 8-10 "
A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . " 5 "

/596/

A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size; each finger-span of it is equal to . . . 1 ja
A sealskin, either Phoca nummularis (pyghi) or Ph. barbata (kighitsch), provided it is very good, equals . . . . . 1 "
Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (possj) cost . . 1 "

[804]

1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

(tsch)
Two fathoms of terry velvet (poibröz-possj) cost . . . 1 ja
One and a half fathoms of cloth (dshangta) . . . . . " 1 "
Four fathoms of Manchurian (2) (very colorful) silk fabric (tscharp) are equal to . . . . . 5 "

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various pieces of clothing is judged according to the quality and price of the materials; thus, it costs for:

A long, wide-sleeved robe of Manchurian silk (ucht) . . . . . 5 ja (3)

3. Perhaps reckoned somewhat too low.

/596 cont./

435 A woman's cap made of the same material
439 (tscharp-hak) . . . . . 3 ja
A woman's cap made of lynx head-fur (tschlyghi-hak). . 2 "
A good boa made of squirrel tails (tolp) . . . . . 1 "
" woman's robe made of fish skins (tschurk), with considerable embroidery on it . . . . . 1 "
" fur coat of lynx pelts (about 6 pelts) . . . . . 30 "
A coat made of dog-pelts is evaluated primarily by its color and next by its quality, that is, whether they came from grown animals or from whelps; thus, it costs for:
A gray-brownish-yellow dog-fur coat (tschabr-okch) . . 1 "
" spotted or brown-and-white mixed dog-fur coat (alchalch-okch) . . . . . 1 "
" white . . . . . .dog-fur coat (tschang-okch) . . . . . 2 "
" black or very dark-brown dog-fur coat (yghr-okch): made of pelts of grown animals . . 3 "
made " " from whelps . . . . 2 "

The other garments of the Gilyak, such as shirts of ordinary cotton, short half-skirts of cloth or terry velvet, trousers, apron skirts of sealskin, ordinary winter caps, summer hats of birch bark, sleeve bands, ear muffs, gloves, etc., do not have the value of one ja, though the last three are, as a rule, provided with embroidery. Furthermore, the Gilyak value:

One sack of flour as equal to . . . . . 2 ja
Four Manchurian sacks (tall, but narrow) of millet as equal to 4 sables, that is, about 6 or . . . . . 4-8 "

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One wooden case (kylmr-wakke) of liquor is regarded as equal to . . . . . 10 "
Ten bundles of tobacco leaves, and in times of scarcity even only 5, cost . . . . . 1 "
A very large sturgeon (tukki-tscho) equals . . . . . 2 "

/597 cont./

435 A very large hausen (patch-tscho) equals . . . . . 4-5 ja
439 " live, still young, and small bear equals . . . . 25 "
" " full-grown bear, depending on its size, equals . 30-40 "
" dog of ordinary quality and size, equals . . . . . 1 "
" ordinary sled equals . . . . . 1 "
" pair of Tungusic ski with elk-skin covering (Gilyak rdhy-enj, i.e., Samagir ski equals . . . . 1 "
The local ski covered with sealskin, on the other hand do not reach the value of one ja.
A small to middle-sized boat, depending on its size, equals . . . . . 3-7 "
A large, new boat equals. . . . . 13 "
" sail made of fish skins equals . . . . . 1 "
Each ten fathoms of fish netting comes to . . . . . 1 "
A bow covered with a whalebone plate equals . . . . 1 "
" " " " " buffalo or rhinoceros horn plate and with silver clamps (ngynif-puntsch), depending on the number of the latter, equals . . . 8-10 "
A gun with one barrel is valued by the Gilyak at . . . 2 "
" Russo-Siberian rifle " " " " " " . . . 4 "
One double-barreled gun " " " " " " . . . 6 "
A spear approximately an ell long without inlaid silver figures equals . . . . . 1 "
Such a spear with inlaid figures of silver equals . . . 3 "
A spear point about as long as an arm without silver decorations equals . . . . . 3 "
A like-sized spear point with silver and other decorations will be valued, depending on the amount of the latter, as equal to . . . . . 8-10 "
A Manchurian ax is equal to . . . . . 1 "
A coat of old Manchurian iron armor (wytsch-petsch) is valued by the Gilyak at . . . . . 30 "
A coat of old armor of local workmanship (kä-petsch) on the other hand, is valued at only . . . 3-4 "

/597 cont./

435 439 The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja

/598/

A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

435 342 343 The evaluation used among the Gilyak for their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse(njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

435 439 A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak, as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

/598 cont./

435 439 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the as yet still undiminished wealth of animals in the lower Amur region. Only two types of fur considerably surpass all the others with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former owes its high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur, also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in great quantities.

435 2) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished in the above table by their very high price, in no way corresponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, unfortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify [556] the great difference between them in price. The necessity for special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

825 556 3) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings its owner not only no material /599/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even disadvantages, for the killing and consumption of it can take place only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and host; in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation of a rich and renowned man.

435 439 291 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead, one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

439 /599 cont./
435 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want
291 them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evalua-
273 tion of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the
435 Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

/599 cont./

G 435 342 343 7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

G. G' 435 8) Finally, if I compare the table of prices of the Gilyak with that drawn up by Maximowicz (1) in a similar way among the

1. In his handwritten notes put at my disposal.

Goldi, I find an almost complete correspondence in most things, obviously because the prices prevailing among the Sungari Chinese are decisive for both. Nevertheless, some differences, which are characteristic of region and people, can be recognized in them. Among the Goldi, for example, all fur seems to have a higher price than among the Gilyak (a good sable, for example, is valued by them at 4-5 ja, a red fox at 3 ja, a black one even at 30-60 ja), undoubtedly because the animals involved are less frequent in their territory than in the abundantly forested north, and perhaps also because the Gilyak accumulate a greater quantity of them through their industrious trade, as middlemen, with the neighboring peoples. In this connection, too, among the Goldi attention is paid to the smaller animals, such as squirrels, ermine, Mustela sibirica, and the like (ten specimens of the former, for example, cost

G /600 cont./
Gi 1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak
435 with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to
G these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the
Gi Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing
[224] animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins
of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with
the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among
them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like
G Gi the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher
[226] price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon,
for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand be-
cause the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and
on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in
this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing.
Gi Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem
[241] to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of
their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because
G they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is
276 quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of
435 it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).
439

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

G Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading
439 with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable,
184 fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest
G quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way
[438] better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/601 cont./

439 Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting,
438 and the Amur Gilyak, who have the most dealings with the
184 Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak, and in part the Tschomi Gilyak too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from
439 it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area.
648 The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region
[489] where such a one stays temporarily is the village of Pulj, located still in Olcha territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak border, which can easily be reached in winter, even from Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

steals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is
439 greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is played farther upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, into which they are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves. And the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

484
437 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
[157] is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodities, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like, in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these foreign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time, the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods, and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

G 439 439 484 /602 cont./ First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, 000 with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

G 439 439 484 489 361 Under these circumstances the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, moreover, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographically as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

G' 439 361 G' [197]

/603 cont./

438 The Amur Gilyak find a field for their trading operations
439 as middlemen that is far more favorable than among the Negda
439 and Samagir among their own countrymen along the coast of the
439 Sea of Okhotsk, which they reach in a short time, going either from Pall-wo to Kulj via the lakes mentioned, or from Wair to Hisska, or by way of the Amur Liman, and where they are the sole suppliers of Chinese and, since the abandonment of the Petrofski post, also Russian wares. In exchange for these, they are supplied with animal pelts which the Gilyak living there in part capture themselves in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting along the Tugur and in the Mäwatschan Mountains in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and articles previously procured from the Amur Gilyak. Furthermore, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Japanese, and, finally, they cheaply procure there seal oil and skins both for their own use and for trade with their southern neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi.

184 The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tschomi Gilyak,
438 get their greatest booty in animal skins for trade with the
439 Chinese, however, on Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the former chiefly in the northern part of the island, along the Liman and Tro coasts, and the latter on the west coast south of Poghobi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving about and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but rather they are content to exploit their nearest neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Ainu, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities coveted by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the continental Gilyak, who come over to them. The Orok likewise only rarely roam beyond the Liman in order to approach the Chinese traders in Pulj along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/603 cont./

438 the mainland remains remote to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in
439 Chinese commodities on Sakhalin rests almost exclusively in
184 the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in the fur-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all three tribes on it, but chiefly concentrated in the hands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lighthearted Tungusic nature, /604/ turn the largest part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymy and other Sakhalin Gilyak. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs; with the help of supplies bartered from the Amur Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extremely profitable trade with them, indeed, by means of advances, sometimes, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They similarly draw advantages from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a little rice and sake and not infrequently are not paid at all. Thus, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though they lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way belie the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a larger scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through their agency, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymy region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

G /604 cont./
438 trade will be discussed separately later, after we have first be-
439 come acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese,
184 and which furnishes them the means for the former.

G. As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along
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1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are cunning and sly traders, who do not shrink from any trouble and deprivation or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their calling in either their own or their employer's interests. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the natives in order to win them over; when I was in the aforementioned village of Pulj, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyak in whose company I had come from the Liman entered it, the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank-bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, lighted his pipe at the basin filled with glowing charcoal that stood beside him, and passed it around from /605/ hand to hand. Conversation was soon flowing, and it was not long before the Chinese lifted a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Nekan, were the best friends of the Olcha, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every piece of fur with clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

G. /605 cont./
Gi mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar
437 assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of
439 liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they
G. never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who,
[186] living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "ssingare," rats, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the
G little encouragement that the latter find among them in general.
184 The Chinese trade center on their border, in Pulj, is visited,
438 apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by
439 the Tschomi Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the
G means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and
[487] especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

G To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or,
437 as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal
439 of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors.
484 It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs. are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

/605 cont./

437 barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is con-
439 sidered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would
484 not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would
[487] pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

[361] The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

439 439 484 648 823 /606 cont./ They are not permitted by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchk-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, [103] above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The 439 439 484 648 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

G /607 cont./
437 time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other
439 peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order
484 to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they them-
648 selves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The Gilyak in Ssan-ssin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this, along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

Gi
439 The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region ap-
648 pearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh, inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have to suffer under them. According to the description by Chilkofakij (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

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1. Khilkovskii (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, p. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1868, p. 345).

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2. Ia. Barabash", "Sungariisk. Eksped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Ssan-ssin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Ssussu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and hausen cartilage and glue to the Manchu official stationed there. Upon reaching Ssan-ssin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (alban) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

Gi 439 648 /607 cont./ and, to be sure, the best, per man. In order to find it, however, the officials in charge of this rummage through and inspect the entire collection of sables of each of the newcomers -- a procedure during which the owner in question must continually kneel down in respect, and many a one remains on his knees for an hour and longer before the best sable has been selected from his collection. It is obvious that, as a rule, this does not stop at one, but no protests or resistance would help here, since for the slightest offense of this /608/ kind the one concerned is punished mercilessly by beatings with bamboo. When the officials are satisfied, it is the merchants' turn to plunder, and they have at their disposal, among other things, so powerful a means as liquor, which no Tungus can easily resist. It is said that not infrequently the Chinese traders confront the Goldi with fabricated or false claims and demand from one or another of them the repayment of so many sable pelts allegedly still owed by his father or grandfather -- demands which the Goldi, out of fear of the punishment threatened and especially of the withdrawal of their trading permit by the officials, who have an understanding with the merchants, usually obey.

G 439 For furs, especially sable, otter, and fox furs, and sturgeon and hausen cartilage, spinal cords, and glue, the only products of their region that the Gilyak bring to Ssan-ssin, they get in trade from the Chinese various commodities required by them in part for their own subsistence and in part for trade with the neighboring peoples. Among these are the aforementioned cereals and vegetables used in great quantities at the bear festivals, such as millet, barley, wheat flour, white and yellow beans, and then liquor and tobacco, along with the implements customarily used in enjoying them, the small porcelain bowls and the Chinese pipes distributed everywhere and provided with brass, glass, or stone (agate and chalcedony) mouthpieces. Of special importance for the Gilyak, furthermore, are the clothing materials which they obtain from the Chinese: the indispensable blue and gray cotton cloth worn by

/608 cont./

439 men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of 439 goods acquired in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky, 439 is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats 484 in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream [50] voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being belatedly fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

439 Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak exclusively for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kannemon, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft".

/609 cont./

439 (Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "Kraft-ori" (1).

[113] 1. "Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 262, note 3, above.

175 439 There is an even more definite statement in Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, published in Jedo /Yedo, or Tokyo/ in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jesso (Matsmai) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "Mantsiu" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

[113] 2. Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 190. Cf. also Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jesso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, they are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the lack of knowledge about the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Mantsiu" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

2: Schrenck--955 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/609 cont./

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439 commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

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3. For instance, by Rudanofskij (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i dieistv. eia do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Busse, (Ostrov" Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the last-mentioned Japanese account. In 1792, Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese on Jesso speak of the "Sandan-aino" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Krafto, Sakhalin) and barter for animal furs, sable, fox, etc. (4). To be sure, he thought that

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4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (5), "Santan" is the Japanese and Ainu

5. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/609 cont./
175 439 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 437 484 487 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. [501] For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. [103] Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duï as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/610 cont./

439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
437 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
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3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuë and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

439 /611 cont./
well as on the west coast. A principal center for this trade, however, is the village of Najoro, not far from Kussunai, to which the Ainu come for this purpose from considerable distances themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (2). For

2. Busse, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 92.

egoistical reasons the Japanese view this trade with great dislike and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want to get for themselves the furs captured by the Ainu. Since they do this in a way which is very injurious to the latter, in that they buy their goods far below the price in part under threats of punishment and other coercive measures, and, indeed, sometimes for nothing, as payment for alleged debts (3), the Ainu, whenever they

3. Busse, op. cit., p. 71.

can, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, kept hidden from them, to the Sakhalin Gilyak or, preferably, to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are said to
[435] pay them two to three fathoms (arm spans) of Chinese cotton cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and just as much for each quarter of an arshin (finger span) of river-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 5/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten fathoms of the material named (4) -- prices which generally correspond to the values

4. Busse, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

[648] Having reached Ssiranussi, the Ssisam voyagers, before they may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a ceremony introduced by the latter which consists of two or three blows across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/611 cont./

439 [648] token of their submissiveness from the highest Japanese official. After this is done, the goods are taken away from them and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subjected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the pieces

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's Istorich. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, [illegible] II, p. 127.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their rightful owners. The Japanese, however, do not permit themselves to treat the newly arrived Gilyak and Olcha in the same inconsiderate and predatory manner as they do the Ainu, simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away altogether from trading with them and the coveted commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Besides /612/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in it, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their systematic extortion practiced on the Ainu on Sakhalin, as well as on Jesso, and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe great profit to the popularity of their iron kettles, provided with handles, among the Gilyak. Finally, rice, tobacco, sake, porcelain and lacquered wooden bowls, and the like are readily marketable articles for them in this trade, in exchange for which they principally try to obtain from the Gilyak and Olcha those colorful, red and blue Chinese silk materials and the eagle tails likewise mentioned several times. How
439 popular the one as well as the other is among them can be seen
435 from the high prices that they pay for them. According to Poswein, the Gilyak from Kulj, the Japanese give for a piece of silk material seven fathoms long and one arshin wide five river-otter pelts, five fox pelts, and five sable pelts, and for an eagle tail from Haliaëtos pelagicus 12 otter pelts, and from the far less

/612 cont./

439 [435] prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm, at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 484 487 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often extends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they [231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 439 484 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the [823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

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their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk). /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo, their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

G /613 cont./

G 439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely G [181] dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be- G [437] ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primi- [484] tive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the C Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing 439 them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who, 439 likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for 484 trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between ∞∞ Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can

C [113] 3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

Gi 439 177 None of The Siberian Peoples Can be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

/614 cont./

439 Next to the Gilyak, the Olcha carry on the most extensive trade in the lower Amur region, and, to be sure, in a manner very similar to that of the former and in part even along the same routes. Although they are more zealous and skillful hunters than the Gilyak, they are not satisfied to offer in trade to the Chinese merchants on the Amur and Sungari merely the results of their own hunting, but for this purpose likewise try to obtain, by acting as middlemen in trade, the hunting booty of their neighbors. The area of their intermediary trade, however, is sharply separated from that of the Amur Gilyak. With the exception of the Samagir sites around Lake Udyl, which are visited by both for trading, the Amur Gilyak carry on their activities as middlemen, as was pointed out above, among the Negda and, chiefly to the north and east, among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as among the Orok and Ainu, whereas the area of the intermediary trade of the Olcha lies to the south among the Orochi on the seacoast and along the rivers emptying into the sea. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Orok do not belong in the trade sphere of their closest tribal relatives on the mainland, the Olcha, but rather, because of the geographical position of their habitation sites in the northeastern part of Sakhalin, in that of the Gilyak, who are foreign to them with regard to tribe as well as language, and to whose influence they submit in other things, too, besides trade.

439 Routes determined by the geographical position of their
430 habitation sites are likewise the basis for the intercourse of the
487 Olcha with the Orochi. From de Castries Bay, their only site on the sea, the Olcha, carrying on trade, travel southward along the mainland coast, inhabited by Orochi, to the Chinese settlements located on it. In May, 1855, when Ditmar visited this bay, he saw many of them in their light boats, which are built exactly like those of the Gilyak, returning from a trade voyage of this kind (1). The natural and the shortest route from the Amur

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1. K. v. Ditmar, "Reisen u. Aufenthalt in

439 /614 cont./
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1. (cont.)
Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and a Stay in Kamchatka in the Years 1851-1855/," Part I (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 818.

River to the coast that is available to the Olcha in the center of their area of distribution empties to the north of de Castries on the small Bay of Taba. It is formed by Lake Kidsi, which branches off from the Amur River far to the east, and the small Taba River emptying into it from the northeast, which is separated from Taba Bay by only a narrow and in part swampy stretch of land. Here even in ancient times, and presumably by the Olcha themselves, a crossrow of /615/ beams was laid on the ground, over which the boats are dragged from the small
[114] Taba River to the sea. This was also the route over which the "Bitschi" (Goldi from Bitschu) came from the Amur to de Castries Bay, from whose accounts La Pérouse erroneously concluded that at the northern end of the Straits of Tartary the island of Sakhalin was connected with the mainland by sandbanks which were exposed at ebb tide (1). The same route was

1. See Vol. II /untranslated/, p. 733, and Vol. III, p. 296, of this work.

used by Mamia Rinsò /Rinzò Mamiya/ when, in 1809, he traveled from Krafto (Sakhalin) to the Santan or lower Amur region (2).

2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 171).

In winter the sizable Tumdshi River gives the Olcha their main route for trade with the Orochi, in that, setting out from the Amur, sometimes traveling in sleds, sometimes going on ski and

439 /615 cont./
437 pulling the dog-drawn sleds behind them, they cross the mountain
487 passes located on the Pă, Jaĭ, Miäta, and Chelasso to the Tumdshi and then follow this river to its mouth near Kaiserhafen.

439 Though, according to the above descriptions, the area in
438 which the Olcha carry on an intermediary trade with their neighbors is rather large, it nevertheless stands considerably behind that of the Gilyak in size and lucrativeness. The latter in particular is greatly reduced because, in addition to the Olcha the Orochi are also visited and exploited for trade purposes by the Goldi. Indeed, because of the geographical conditions, the latter are in an even more favorable position for this than the former inasmuch as they are immediate neighbors of the Orochi along the Chongar, Naiche, Munamu, and all the right Ussuri tributaries and have more or less convenient routes to the sea, though they are farther away from the aforementioned lake route to it.

439 Like the Gilyak, the Olcha use the furs obtained through their own hunting and through trade with the neighboring tribes in their trade with the Chinese. But the profit that they derive from this trade, in comparison with that of the Gilyak, is also less, and, to be sure, because in connection with it, instead of those long and strenuous Sungari journeys, they often turn to the Chinese merchants who reside more or less permanently at many places in their region, such as Pulj, Mongole, Kidsi, Adi, and others, and who, only middlemen themselves, are masters at always knowing how to maintain their advantage. The Olcha lacked the courage and energy to keep these middlemen, who exploit them, out of their region, as the Gilyak did. Nevertheless they are by no means entirely at their mercy, like, say, some of the Goldi or Orochi (Ta-dse) in the southern part of their habitation area, but rather likewise try to avoid them as far as possible and to trade directly with the Sungari Chinese.

439 Concerning the Sungari journeys of the Olcha, I must refer
437 to the information above, because they are exactly like those
487 of the Gilyak in both their execution and their purpose, which culminates in the purchase of Chinese silks for the sake of trade

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439 with the Japanese on Sakhalin. For the journey to the latter, the
439 Olcha use the above-mentioned Kidsi-Taba route, and their
487 trade activities on the island are exactly the same as those of the Gilyak on their Ssisam voyages, so they could already be discussed above when the latter were.

439 Even though the Olcha in their total trade activity remain considerably behind the Gilyak, this activity must still be described as very outstanding on account of its scope, complexity, and even more its character in intermediating between two civilized peoples, the Chinese and the Japanese. And an espe-
[181] cially striking fact is that such trade activity is practiced by a people of purely Tungusic stock, a stock which, wherever one meets it, is distinguished by its easy-going disposition, unconcerned about the future, and its passionate attachment to a roaming hunter's life, and nowhere shows any, even moderate, special inclination and capacity for trade. If, on the other
[179] hand, one considers that, through years of living beside the Gilyak and frequent mixing, the Olcha have in large part become assimilated with these neighbors of theirs in their way of life, their customs and usages, in short, in their entire system, then one certainly cannot hesitate to regard their highly developed commercial sense and their brisk trade activity as the result of the influence exerted on them by the Gilyak.

439 Through the Olcha this influence, even though to a lesser
648 degree, has been transmitted to their closest neighbors upstream, the Goldi. In the above there has already been mention of the trade connections which the latter maintain with the Orochi of the coast, with the Chinese on the Sungari, and even, though to a far smaller extent than the Olcha and Gilyak, with the Japanese on Sakhalin. What especially cripples the trade activities of the Goldi is the Manchu-Chinese rule burdening them, the merciless exploitation and constant oppression on the part of the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants to which they are exposed.
[181] The insecurity of property and the frequent curtailment of property rob them of pleasure and enthusiasm in augmenting it, and the power of resistance and energy, which they, like all the Tungusic

Gi 439 648 [181]

/616 cont./ tribes, possess to only a very slight degree, gives way more and more to despondency and indolence. This becomes increasingly obvious the closer one comes to the Sungari as the center and point of departure of the Manchu-Chinese domination over the lower Amur region. Despite the fact, therefore, that the chief trade market for the peoples of the lower Amur region lies on the Sungari, their trade activity increases in proportion to the distance from it as a consequence of their simultaneously increasing independence from the Manchu-Chinese, and finally reaches its peak among the Gilyak, who have remained the freest and the most independent.

SS 439 178

/617/ So much for the trade conditions in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay there. A comparison with earlier reports concerning it, however, teaches that they were considerably different only a short time ago, no more than half a century. It is all the more interesting to make this comparison because, in doing so, a chapter of the most recent history of the lower Amur region and its peoples will appear before our eyes. Mamia Rinsô's reports on the lower Amur region from the years 1808 and 1809 will provide the material for this. As has already been mentioned (1), his journey was made by order of

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1. See pp. 148 and 151 above.

the Japanese government, which, out of fear that the destruction of the Japanese settlements in Aniwa Bay committed by the Russians in 1807 might be repeated, wanted to investigate Sakhalin and the Amur region more thoroughly, with special attention to the attitude of the Russians there. On the island itself, he learned that on the opposite mainland, near the coast, there was a frequently visited trade center named Deren (2).

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2. Mamia Rinso, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

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He now made it the goal of his voyage, and after he traveled up the Amur River for three days, departing from Kidsi, which he had reached by the aforementioned route via the lake of the same name, he arrived in Deren on August 10 and stayed there not less than seven days, at first molested by the people as a stranger, but later treated with respect by the Manchu officials and, following their example, by all the others. A few of the
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main features from his detailed description of this place and of the life and activity there (3) will be presented here. According
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3. Op. cit., pp. 173-176.

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to it, Deren was located on the right bank of the Amur River on a plain lost in the distance in thick underbrush. The market place was a large square surrounded by a double row of palisades, in which huts used for trading were erected on both sides and in
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the rear. In the middle, however, there was a space, likewise fenced in and with only one gate, in which the guardhouse stood and the trade commodities and the mutual gifts were stored by
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foreigners as well as by the Manchu officials. These officials did not stay in Deren permanently, but came there only in summer for the trading period from "Itsjô-fotto," a place which Mamia Rinsô believed to be located only a few "ri" above Deren, but which one easily recognizes as Itscha-choton, i.e., Ssan-ssin (4). Mamia Rinsô distinguished three classes of officials: to

4. He also saw one of the Manchu from Deren set out to go there, "to Sansei."

the first and foremost there belonged only three persons, who were clothed in damask and satin and wore hats plaited out of "rotting" (straw) and provided with a brass button and a silk tassel hanging down; to the second class there belonged 50-60 men whose clothing was made of cotton; and, finally, the third contained so many people that he was unable to give their exact number, especially since they were dressed like the "Santaner" (Olcha and Gilyak) and "Kordekke" (Goldi).

SS 175 439 648 M 649 648 175 /617 cont./ (Olcha and Gilyak) and "Kordekke" (Goldi). A few of these lower "officials," who obviously were only police clerks, guards, and the like, /618/ remained overnight in the guardhouse, but the higher ones came only in the morning and, after business was over, returned at night to their dwellings on their boats drawn up on the bank, which for the purpose carried either a covering of tree bark or a small wooden hut on its rear section. The numerous strangers (natives) coming to trade lived, as Mamia Rinso did, in bark tents which were likewise erected on the bank of the river in front of the marketplace. Custom required, according to orders, that every new trader appear twice in the guardhouse before the Manchu officials: the first time, immediately after his arrival in order to greet them, for which he had to bow (i.e., probably kneel down) before them bareheaded three times and be given in welcome liquor (1), rice, and millet;

SS 175 439 576 648 M 647 648 175

1. The Japanese in his fashion calls the beverage "ssaki."

the second time, in order to hand over his "gifts," which usually consisted of sable furs, and to receive from them a gift in return, which as a rule consisted of silk materials or, for ordinary boatmen, of cotton and the like. This time, too, hat in hand, he had to bow three times in front of the three highest Manchu officials and then take his place on the ground in front of them, while they sat on stools (or, presumably, elevated benches). These rules, however, extended only to the foreign traders, not to the Chinese (2), who could trade freely and arbitrarily, without

2. Mamia Rinsô likewise calls them Manchu, like the officials.

reporting to the higher officials. Undoubtedly, therefore, the "gifts," only required from the strangers (natives), were nothing but tribute which they had to give in order to receive permission to trade.

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000 175 439 443 648 to trade. Once these requirements were met, they could proceed with their trading unhindered, and in view of the great number of buyers and sellers who congregated every day, there was, as the traveler pointed out, "often a mad turmoil: in the motley throng of strangers quarrels and thefts were the order of the day; to be sure, from time to time a bell (probably a gong) is struck for peace and order, but this actually helps very little, and the bustle and pushing continues far into the night." With all this, however, unconditional obedience was demanded and generally given when it was a matter of the observance of ancient laws and customs prescribed by the government. Mamia Rinsô saw one of the highest officials beat soundly with a stick a foreigner who did not want to submit to the customs, but after the punishment had been meted out and had brought results, he was able to pursue his trading as before. For the most part the foreigners coming to Deren brought animal furs to sell, which they carried in bundles under their arms and offered for sale, exchanging them for liquor, tobacco, clothing materials, iron goods, etc.

One can see from this description that at that time there was a place on the lower Amur only about a three-day journey above Kidsi where annually during the summer Chinese merchants and many natives from the lower Amur region congregated and, under the supervision and /619/ administration of Manchu officials sent there from Ssan-ssin, carried on a lively trade, with regard to which the situation was about the same as it is today in Ssan-ssin, and even the same humiliating treatment, the same collection of tribute, extortion, and the like were practiced by the Manchu against the natives.

174 114 361 443 The place where Deren was located can be ascertained with certainty, though no trace of the guardhouse which Mamia Rinsô mentions remains; it is the somewhat elevated plain on the right bank of the Amur, where today one finds the village of Dyra consisting of two yurts about a verst apart. I visited both of them repeatedly, in summer as well as in winter. One of them lies in the rear of a shallow bay, the other somewhat above it on a higher river bank in the vicinity of a small cape.

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174 361 103 443 Though the place still lies within Olcha territory, the occupants of both yurts were Goldi, and those from the one as well as those from the other designated both their dwelling and the closely neighboring one with the name of Dyra, so this obviously covers the entire locality (1) -- the entire stretch of bank and the

1. My guide, however, likewise a Goldi, had a second name -- Monglomai -- for the upper yurt, to distinguish it from the lower one.

adjoining plain on which the former trade center of Deren lay. Proof that it was actually located there, in addition to the still similar name of the designated locality and its nature and distance from Kidsi corresponding to Mamia Rinsô's statements, is given by the fact that all the places through which the traveler passed on his way to it can be recognized precisely even today; for when he speaks of "Sjai, Horupé, Kuwore, Urugé," he must (s) undoubtedly be referring to the Olcha villages of Dshaï, Borbi (2),

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2. In the travel account by the Japanese (op. cit., p. 172), the locality at this place was quite correctly designated as a rocky one.

Kuwty, and Yrri, which are located in the same order.

178 443 439 But where half a century ago there was lively trade activity, "bustle and pushing by a motley throng" of Manchu, Chinese, and various natives of the region, who from time to time, when the mad confusion went too far, were called to order by the Manchu officials in charge by means of the loud clanging of the gong, there now extends a grassy plain completely deserted and lifeless, except for a few miserable huts. When one adds that at the present time -- I am referring to the time of my stay in

/619 cont./

178 the Amur region -- there are no official trade centers installed
443 or administered by the Manchu-Chinese government even
439 farther along on the lower Amur, apart from some individual Chinese and Manchu carrying on trade, for the peoples of the lower Amur region is Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, there can be no doubt but that in the last half a century, between Mamia Rinsô's visit and my visit to the Amur region, a decline in the official Manchu-Chinese trade, a withdrawal of it from the lower Amur and concentration on the Sungari, has taken place.

175 At the same time, and hand in hand with the trading,
439 however, a retreat of all /620/ Manchu-Chinese authority from
648 a large part of the lower Amur region took place. Proof of this may also be obtained from Mamia Rinsô's travel report (1).

1. Op. cit., pp. 179-181.

175 At the time of his stay on Sakhalin (1808), the peoples there,
439 the Ainu as well as the Gilyak, were tributary to the Manchu,
622 in that their chiefs or elders, appointed by the latter under the
648 names of harata and kasinta, had to bring an annual tribute of furs ("gifts," as the traveler called it) to the Manchu officials in Deren, just as did the natives of the lower Amur region coming there to trade. During his stay in Deren, Mamia Rinsô personally became acquainted with some of these elders, for instance, those from "Damurawo" and "Pohokanu," villages which are easily recognized as the Gilyak village of Tammla-wo and the Ainu-Gilyak Poro-kotan (2) or Pilja-wo. When he

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2. In Mamia Rinsô's report a question mark follows the name Pohokanu, presumably a distortion of "Poro-kotan." There can be no doubt but that "Damurawo" is Tammla-wo, since the Japanese do not use the l and always replace it with r.

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175 questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to the
648 Manchu, he received the following information from several
439 inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, "when
622 they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to them every year in order to buy furs. The crews, however, behaved in an unfriendly and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants of the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu landed one day, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of it. Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were summoned by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one of them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place on the west coast of the island near Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje). Similarly, they invested two men from the northern part of the east coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

3. Mamia Rinsô also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kasinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter fur was agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were to bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as a return gift a piece of silk fabric interwoven with gold and promised to
SS G sell them all the other trade commodities at a very cheap price."
175 That "Itoi, Itoikotan, or Itoje," which, according to the map
194 drawn by Siebold on the basis of the original notes by Mogami
361 Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô (4), is near Cape Otsisi (the southern
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4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquière), is undoubtedly the Gilyak village of Duĭ, and thus the whole of the above incident refers to the subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tributary.

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Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

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A 175 648 439 622 /621 cont./ Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G Gi A 175 648 439 622 /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate and reliable Japanese traveler.

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2: Schrenck--976 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

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000 and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

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1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

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2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

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Gi 648 178 439 Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

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1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

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The question now is how and why this happened. It is to be firmly denied, in view of the complete lack of evidence or any indication of it, that it was brought about by force, as the result of warlike attacks on Manchu-Chinese authority by the indigenous tribes of the Amur region or by the Japanese or Russians. It can only have taken place in a completely peaceful manner, from the wishes and decision of the Manchu-Chinese government itself. The motive for it, however, may have been the fear of a warlike attack or an invasion on the part of the neighboring peoples, especially the Russians. As early as the end of the previous century, European vessels, those of La Pérouse and Broughton, had appeared in the Straits of Tartary and had established relations with the natives on the west coast of Sakhalin and de Castries Bay; in 1805 Krusenstern on the "Nadeshda" was at the northern tip of the island and in front of the northern entrance into the Amur-Liman, and in the following years (1806 and 1807) Chwostof and Dawydof destroyed the Japanese settlements in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin. The Manchu-Chinese government must have learned of this latter event from Mamia Rinso, if it was not known earlier, since it had brought about his voyage to Sakhalin and the Amur region and he associated a great deal with the Manchu officials in Deren. Moreover, Russian vessels, coming from the Amgunj ("Hongo"), were sometimes seen on the Amur, as we learn from him, and even reached Deren. After all this, it is not improbable that the Chinese government, /624/ particularly distrustful of the Russians with regard to the Amur region, believed that its rule on Sakhalin and on the lower Amur was seriously threatened from this direction, and, in order to prevent a conflict and a possible hostile invasion from there, which could easily extend to the heart of the country, seized on the same policy that it had already used once against the Russians in the seventeenth century along the upper Amur -- a policy that consisted of retreating from the immediately threatened territory and leaving behind as desolate and barren a countryside as possible between themselves and the enemy. This time, however, since it was only a case of apprehension, not as radical a step was

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648 17 required as at the time when the Daur and the Djutscheren were moved from the Amur to the Nonni and Churcha and the vast stretches on the Amur formerly inhabited and cultivated by them were left desolate (1). It may have been regarded as sufficient

1. See p. 368 above.

to break off the official relations with Sakhalin and the lowermost part of the Amur region, to discontinue the sending of officials there to supervise trade and collect tribute from the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha -- with the intention, perhaps, of being repaid for it by collecting tribute and extortions from the natives who came to Ssan-ssin to trade -- and, finally, to depopulate and leave deserted that stretch of land on which an attack was most likely and chiefly to be feared. This stretch lay along the direct and shortest route between Deren and Sakhalin, which the Manchu, too, had formerly used, and which led down the Amur to Kidsi and across Lake Kidsi and the small Taba River to the sea. It has already been pointed out above that the first two measures were carried out by the Chinese government, and it remains for me merely to prove that the devastation of the country along the aforementioned stretch took place at the same time.

114 648 17 For this purpose I must again turn to Mamia Rinsô, whose journey went through the very part of the country designated above. If I compare his quite meager statement concerning it with the condition in which I found it 50 years later, I am involuntarily led to believe that devastation took place during this interval of time. I shall not attach any weight to the fact that Rinsô mentions a place named Nukkurankata on Lake Kidsi, because he did not indicate whether this was a village or, say, merely a popular anchorage. Of greater importance is what he has to say about the village of Kidsi. For this place, in comparison with what I saw, he gives double the number of houses (about 20) (2). Manchu officials lived there, one of whom bore

2. In this connection, he very carefully

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2. (cont.)
distinguished the dwellings from the store-houses or packhouses.

the title of harata and two that of kasinta, and during Rinsô's stay Chinese merchants appeared there, and, as he says in conclusion, "various entertainments and feasts with music by lyre and drum were provided"; in short, it was an important and
114 lively place. I was surprised, on the contrary, to see directly in front of /625/ this village, on a gentle slope leading up to it, a field strewn with many human skulls and bones such as I had found nowhere else in the Amur region. I could not find out where they came from. If they had come from the destroyed tombs of the village (small houses in which the corpses are buried), the number of the latter must have been considerable. But no remnants either of these or of the clothing of the corpses or of any other articles customarily buried with them were to be seen at the place of the bones, and arguing against the possible conjecture that the destruction of the tombs had been perpetrated by the men of the Mariinski post, recently set up in the vicinity, was the fact that the little burial houses of the two yurts of Choto, located close to it, stood there completely undisturbed (1).

[126]

1. I myself took the skull described and illustrated above (p. 294 /untranslated/, Fig. 6 of Plates V-IX /see pp. 427-431/) from one of them.

Also, the condition in which these bones were found gave me the impression that they had lain unprotected from atmospheric influences for a long time. It may be, however, that this field of bones is connected with another fact which I shall discuss in a moment.

/625 cont./

174 323 [114] Rinsô's statement that there were "especially many porcelain factories" in or near Kidsi seems to me to be of the utmost importance. I have already reported in detail above (2)

2. See pp. 685 and 686.

that in my day there was no manufacture of earthenware utensils there or anywhere else in the lower Amur region and that the Olcha and Gilyak generally use neither locally made earthenware nor Chinese or Japanese earthenware imported from the Sungari or from southern Sakhalin, with the single and in any case rare exception of the small Chinese porcelain bowls used for drinking liquor. Thus, in point of time, the downfall of the porcelain industry in the lower Amur region coincides with the aforementioned proceedings on the part of the Manchu-Chinese government, the suspension of its supervision of trade and its other administrative and political activities there, and it is obvious that not a mere coincidence but a causal connection is to be seen in this. Lacking positive facts, one must think about this in the following manner. The ancient Chinese porcelain industry distributed throughout the Sungari region (3) was undoubtedly imported by

174 323 648 [117]

3. See p. 688 above.

the Chinese into the Amur region and was carried on there either by the Chinese themselves or at any rate under their active guidance and participation. Therefore, when the Manchu-Chinese government decided to withdraw its administration from the lowermost Amur region in order to avoid a feared conflict with the Russians, the Chinese taking part in the porcelain industry presumably also received orders to discontinue their activities and to return to the Sungari. Now this order may have accomplished the desired result generally, as seems probable to me in view of the total disappearance of the industry concerned in the Amur region, or some individuals may have disregarded it /626/ and remained in the region without protection on the part of the government, but in any case, since the

SS 174 323 648 /626 cont./ native population was also involved, the affair could not have taken place without some destruction, devastation, and even bloody conflicts, and therefore perhaps it is precisely at the place where formerly "especially many porcelain factories" were found that today a field strewn with many human bones is to be found.

SS 178 439 161 G 361 Needless to say, such violent events as the crippling of trade and traffic brought about by the removal of the single place with organized trade in the region must lead to the impoverishment, depopulation, and devastation of it. And, as a matter of fact, country around Lake Kidsi and above it, formerly enlivened by traffic and trade, is now the most desolate part of the Olcha territory and the lowermost Amur region in general. Gi 361 169 Whereas to the north of Kidsi there are many and for the most part large Olcha villages along the Amur, and a few are even to be found sprinkled about in Gilyak territory (1), to the south

1. Such as Tschylwi and Tyr, see p. 28 above.

of it, along the whole stretch between Kidsi and Adi, the last of the Olcha villages, there are only small places usually consisting of two or three houses, indeed, often only one, and some of these are not even inhabited by Olcha, but by Goldi (2). Evidently,

Gi [103] [114]

2. For instance, the villages of Dyra, Chywwunda, Ssamahagdu, and others; see p. 56 above. Incidentally, I wish to correct here the statement made at the place cited that at the time of my visit both houses belonging to the village of Dyra, and not only one of them, were inhabited by Goldi, and the village of Ssamahagdu is not located somewhat above, but somewhat below Chywwunda.

those events drove many Olcha northward out of the southern part of their territory, and, on the other hand, some of the

Gi 361 167 Gi [443] [439]

/626 cont./ Goldi, in order to escape pressure by the Manchu, have moved into the deserted area -- a movement which was still going on in my time (3). It is therefore not surprising that the inhabitants

3. Concerning this, too, see p. 56 above.

of Dyra, just such Goldi who had immigrated later, could give me no information in answer to my inquiries about the trade center of Deren which had once stood there.

SS G. GT 439

With regard to trade in the upper Amur region, which I only became acquainted with on a journey through it along the main river, I must limit myself to pointing out a few general features particularly characteristic of it in contrast to the lower Amur region. If we first consider the peoples of the former which are analogous to the indigenous tribes of the latter, the Birar, Manegir and Orochon, both the articles that they bring to trade and those that they take away in exchange are practically the same for the one as for the other. For the former, which in both places are obtained solely by hunting, show only the /627/ minor, almost exclusively quantitative differences and modifications pointed out above in discussing hunting, and, concerning the latter, they are in general also the same clothing, food, and luxury items often mentioned above, which have become indispensable for the primitive peoples of both regions. An essential and characteristic difference between the upper and the lower Amur peoples with regard to trade, however, is to be found in their disparate relations with the neighboring civilized peoples caused by the location and other geographical and political conditions of the region. As was pointed out above, the peoples of the lower Amur region, prior to the occupation of it by the Russians, had practically no trade relations with them at all, apart from some slight contact along the Tugur. Instead, such took place only with the Japanese and Chinese, and the latter was centered on the Sungari, from where Chinese goods, through the intermediation of the Chinese merchants as well as

G. Gi SS 439

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/627 cont./

of the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, were carried down the Amur to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and along the island of Sakhalin to the Japanese. Therefore, as far as trade was concerned, the lower Amur region was a region closed toward the west and completely dominated by the Sungari, to a certain extent a continuation of the Sungari region extending as far as the sea and including the island of Sakhalin stretching out in front of it.

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The situation is different for the upper Amur region. Because of its continental location and great distance from the sea, it is out of reach for communication, and its population is kept away from the lower Amur and the Sungari by the political measures of the Chinese government. Following the policy of keeping the Sungari cut off from the upper Amur, adopted in the seventeenth century in order to ward off a Russian invasion, it permits no direct trade and shipping connections between them and also prevents free communication between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur on the river connecting them. As a consequence of these geographical and political conditions the trade of the upper Amur peoples, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, turned toward the west and north, that is, first toward the source region of the Amur River, or so-called Russian Dauria, and the Lena area, and in the south, following the uppermost Amur, the Desja /Zeya/, and the Bureja /Bureya/ downstream, is concentrated in the culture area of the Amur River located between the mouths of these last two rivers and occupied by Manchu, Chinese, and Daur, in which Aigun, the Ssan-ssin of the upper, or more correctly, the middle Amur, is located, which, in turn, is oriented toward Tsitsikar, the administrative center of the Chinese Helong-Kiang district, which embraces the upper Amur region. The trade link between the upper Amur region and the Sungari region is, therefore, not the mouth of the Sungari, but Tsitsikar, which is located on the Nonni.

The extent and complexity of the trade ties which connect the Orochon, Manegir, and Birar with the Russians and Yakut of the adjacent sections of Siberia have already been indicated above in the discussion of the indefinite, overlapping, fluctuating, and

T 439 /627 cont./ shifting boundaries which separate these peoples from one another /628/ as well as from the Russian Reindeer-Tungus adjacent to them on the north. In view of the non-existence, in reality, of any definite boundary between the Tungus tribes belonging or tributary to China or to Russia in the Stanovoi Mountains and the impossibility of setting up and maintaining such a boundary by means of political treaties without adequate force in the midst of a nomadic population constantly roaming after game, the booty of the hunter quite naturally flows in the direction in which it finds elements more favorable to trade and thus easier and more convenient paths. Without wishing to weigh these against one another in detail, I cannot refrain from pointing out here in a few words the most important elements involved in the trade of the peoples mentioned on both sides.

The location of the major part of the habitation area of the Orochon in the immediate neighborhood of and direct river communication with one of the most populous parts of eastern Siberia, Russian Dauria, makes their connection with it in regard to trade, the flow of their hunting booty in this direction in exchange for Russian products, quite understandable. In addition, T SS 439 there are also the activity and alertness of the Russians, demonstrated in the fur trade throughout Siberia and especially active here at the gateway to the Amur region, which has been regarded as an inexhaustible fur Eldorado since the freebooter expeditions of the seventeenth century. With reference to this point, it is to be added to the above (1) information concerning the steady

1. See p. 162 above.

advance of the Russian fur traders, hunters, Cossacks, and other people down the Amur into the Orochon territory and through the latter even to the Manegir, that in the former, in addition to some irregular trade centers springing up here and there, depending on circumstances, and disappearing again after a brief time, there is also a place where the little Ajan River empties into the

T SS 439

/628 cont./ Oldoi, at which Russian Cossacks and traders congregate every year in December in order to buy furs from the Orochon (2).

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 316.

Only the Orochon living along the Amur and to the north of it, however, have such trade relations with the Russians. Those in the Great Chingan Mountains, the eastern slopes of which face the Nonni, sell their furs to the Chinese and Daur there, the latter often accompanying them on their hunting expeditions in order to take immediate possession of the ultimate yield.

Y T SS 439

Enterprising Russian fur traders or hunters visit the Manegir and Birar living farther from them much less and more rarely (3).

3. Concerning such visits, see p. 164 above.

Instead, a different element comes to them from the north, from the Lena area and also from the Udj, the Yakut -- skilled, experienced through their association with the Tungus, and shrewd traders, who sometimes settle among them in one place or sometimes roam after them and by means of their wares acquire the furs captured by them. Many such proceedings discovered by Middendorff in the Dseja as well /629/ as in the Bureja areas have already been reported above (1). Well acquainted with the needs

1. See p. 81 above; also Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 36).

and with the weaknesses of the hunting nomads, they know how to supply them with whatever they require or covet, but at the same time how to exploit them, and not infrequently, with occasional advance payments, to make them into their permanent debtors who constantly feel obligated to pay (2). Among other

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 133.

/629 cont./

T Y SS 439 Russo-Siberian wares, the Manegir and Birar also get from them the highly prized small-caliber rifles which have also found their way to the Samagir in the lower Amur region, even though only in small numbers, and with which the long and heavy Chinese matchlock guns cannot compete.

T 439 While, thanks to the Yakut, some of the furs captured by the Manegir and Birar in the Dseja and Bureja areas flow to the north, into the Lena area, their principal trade naturally remains turned toward the south, toward the Amur River, to which a large part of them go in summer simply to fish, and where they find in the villages of the Manchu, Chinese, and Daur carrying on the cultivation of field crops, vegetables, and tobacco, and especially in the city of Aigun, the opportunity to acquire by trade all their needed clothing, food, and luxury items more or less firsthand and at far cheaper prices than from the merchants who visit them at their habitation sites. On the other hand, there T 439 648 can be no doubt but that the Manchu-Chinese government is anxious to collect from those appearing in Aigun for trade a tribute in furs similar to what is done in Ssan-ssin with regard to the natives of the lower Amur region and formerly also was done in Deren. And the same takes place in Tsitsikar with regard to the "Butchani," i.e., the Solon, Daur, Orochon, and other natives of the region who must pay tribute. According to T 439 543 648 Palladij's report, the "tschulchanj," or great annual fair, is held there annually in June-July, for which many people from the tribes mentioned congregate and camp in tents around the city, but only after all the tribute owed has been paid in sable furs and in exchange some gifts in the form of cereals, money, and other articles have been received is the fair opened and the trading in furs, livestock, and the like begun, in which the Chinese merchants play the chief role (3).

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3. Arkhimandrit" Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch. cherez" Man'chzhuriiu /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of

/629 cont./

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3. (cont.) Manchuria/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 429). Palladij gives the total number of sable pelts paid as tribute on such an occasion at 5,500 pieces.

439 In the upper Amur region, however, the chief role in the trade with the indigenous tribes by no means falls to the Chinese, but to the Daur. They have the trade with the Manegir on the Komar River and the Orochon in the Great Chingan Mountains in their hands, and they are the ones who, in part with their own, in part with Chinese products, move along the Dseja and Bureja and their tributaries as far as the slopes and into the valleys of the Stanovoi Mountains in order to trade with the Manegir, Birar, and other Tungus tribes, in which they compete successfully with the Yakut who come there from the north (4). /630/ In fact,

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4. See pp. 81 and 107 above.

as was mentioned above (1), they sometimes come from the

1. See p. 371.

sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi across the Jam-alin Mountains as far as the trade center of Burukan located on the Tugur and visited by the Negda and Gilyak. In the Daur, therefore, one would have, as an exception, a people of Tungusic stock that has a special predilection and talent for trade. It is not to be forgotten, however, that, as a consequence of their transfer from the upper Amur to the Nonni, they have become greatly mixed with Mongols and Chinese and, by living with the latter, have adopted much from their nature and characteristics, and among these their industriousness and skill in trading. Also contributing to their success in trade in the upper Amur region is the favor shown to them, to a greater extent than to the Chinese, it seems, by the

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T /630 cont./
439 Manchu officials there, in that the privilege of collecting tribute
[648] among the Manegir and Birar is conferred upon them by the latter, though presumably in return for a suitable guarantee and substantial payment, for which, however, they know how to get ample repayment in the trading. If one looks at their entire trading activity briefly outlined above, they can be compared, on the one hand, with the Chinese carrying on trade in the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, in an even more striking way, with the Gilyak. For like the latter they carry their own and, even more, Chinese goods and products great distances to the neighboring tribes and, through trade, use their hunting booty for their own advantage. In any case, with regard to trade,
G these two peoples, the Daur and the Gilyak, are the most
T prominent and the most significant characteristic formations in
439 the Amur region -- the former in the upper and the latter in the
G lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples
T nowhere come in direct contact with each other except in that
[179] one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned mutual isolation determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, and which has essentially contributed to the formation and preservation of peculiar ethnographic conditions in them.

2: Schrenck-- 490 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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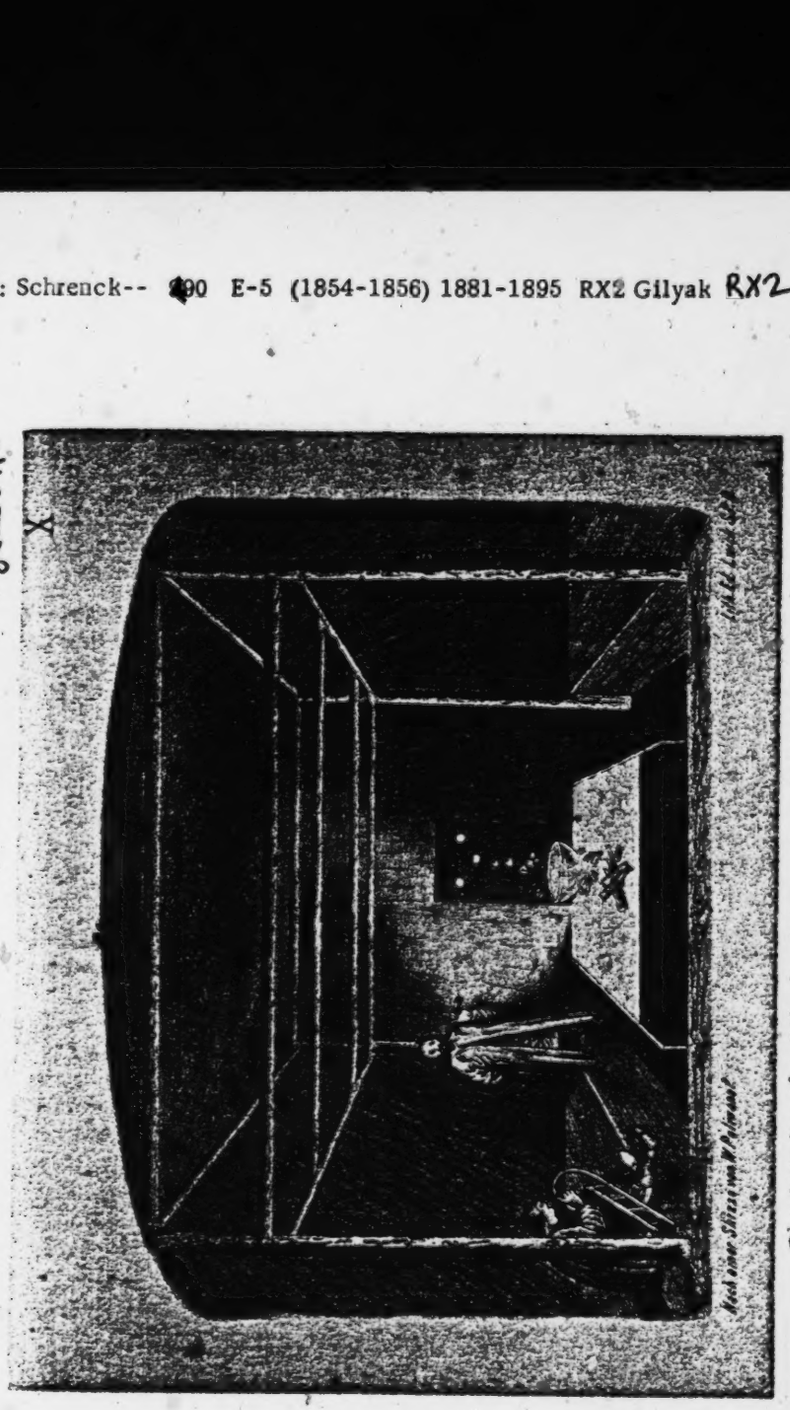

The interior of a Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

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Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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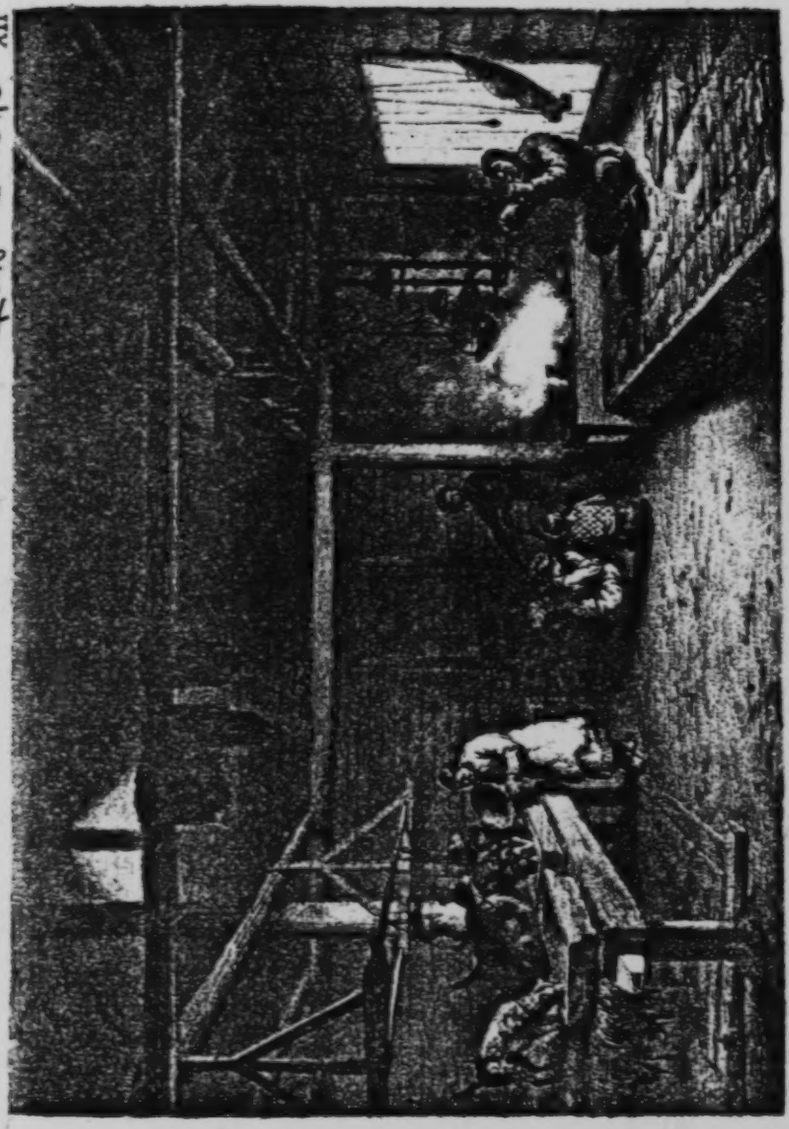

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

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2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Gilyak summer yurt.

2: Schrenck--994 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Olcha

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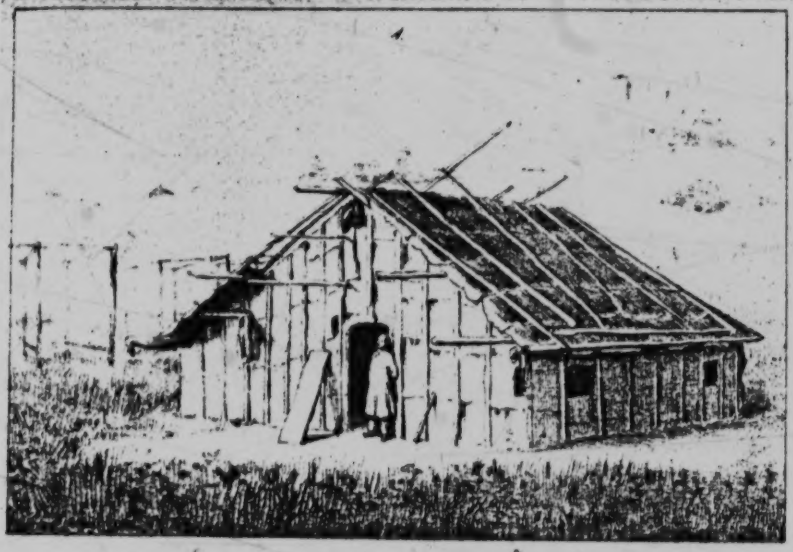

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1 -- Olcha summer yurt; 2 -- Goldi summer tent.

2: Schrenck--995 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak ←
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5
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1 -- Manegir tent; 2 -- summer tent of the Sungari Goldi.

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Summer tent of the Orochi at Kaiserhafen.

2: Schrenck--996 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi, RX3
Orochi

2: Schrenck--997 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in summer clothing.

2: Schrenck--998 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--999 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

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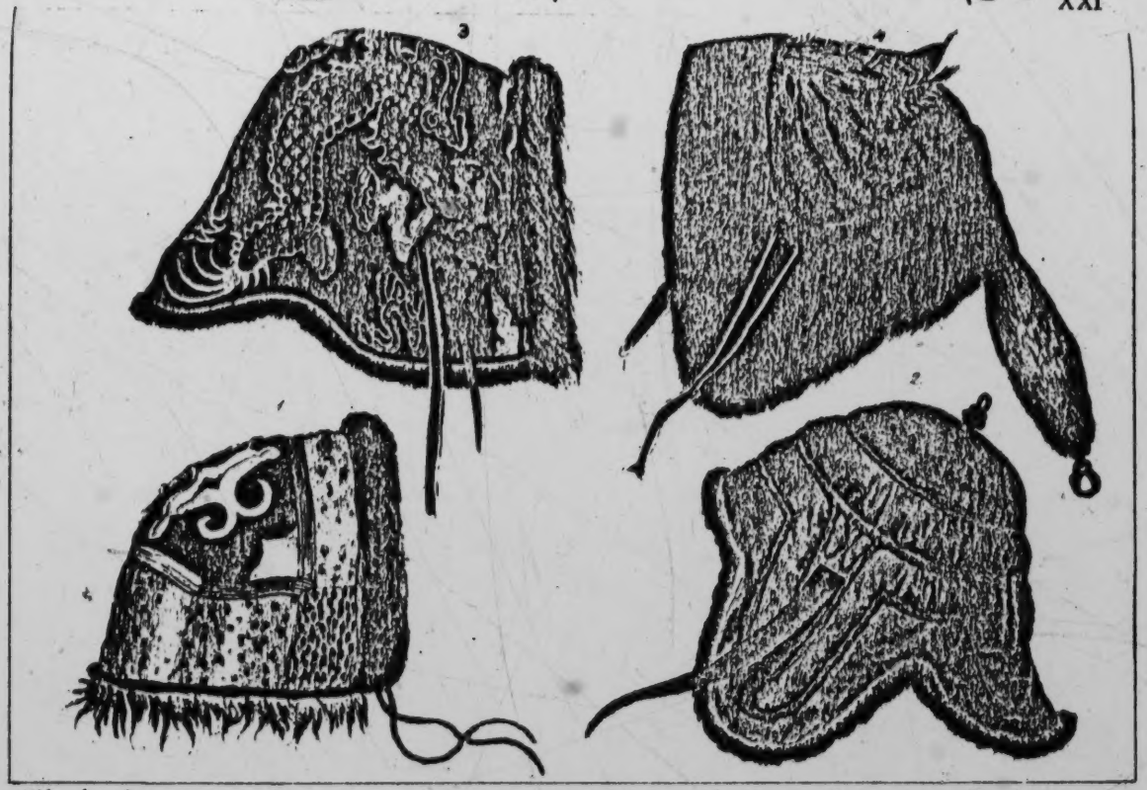
Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of birch bark, 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the same made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- ear muffs; 3 -- stomacher; 4, 5 -- fur sleeve-bands.

2: Schrenck--1002 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck--1003 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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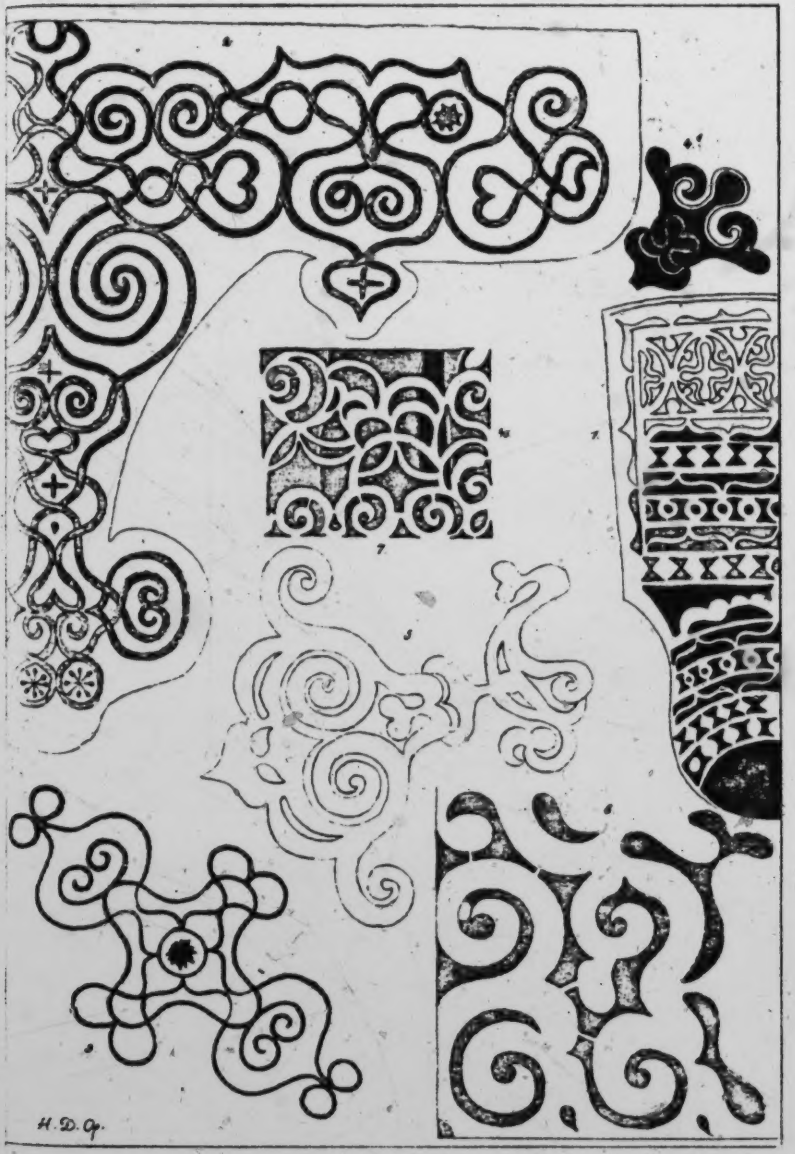

Gilyak patterns for needlework.

2: Schrenck--1004 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak patterns for needlework.

2: Schrenck--1005 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

2: Schrenck--1006 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

2: Schrenck--1007 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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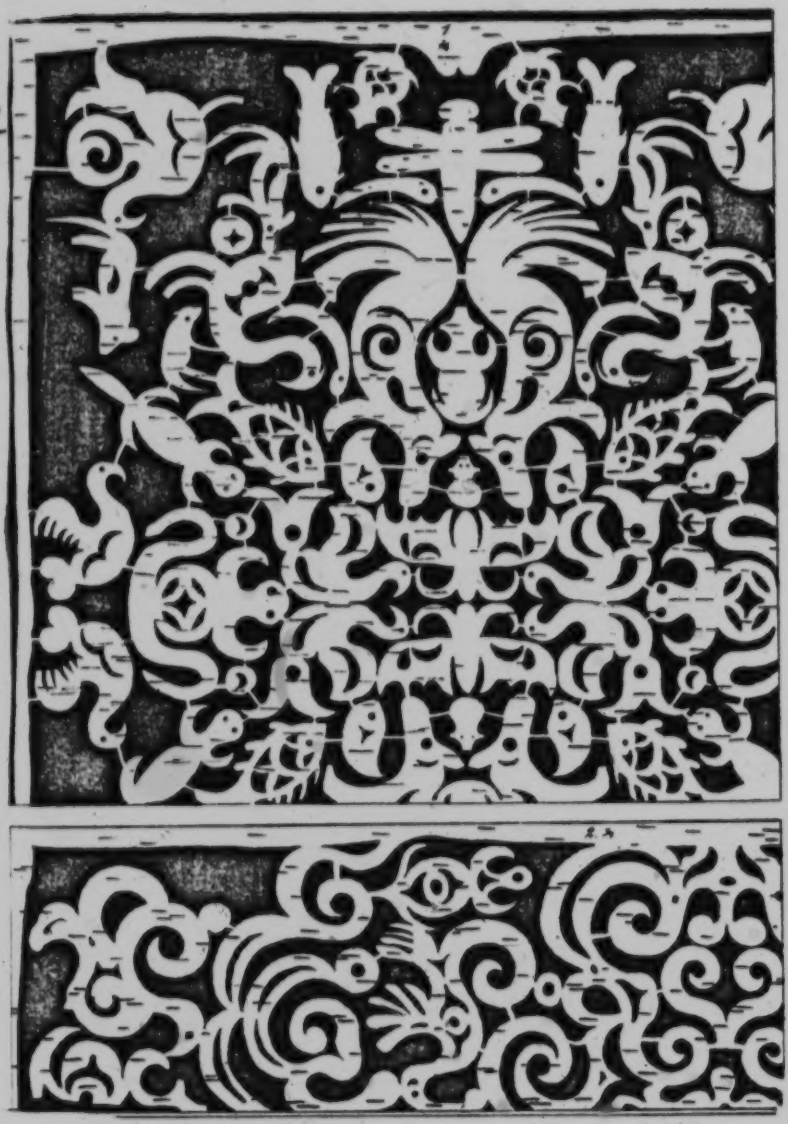

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

2: Schrenck--1008 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

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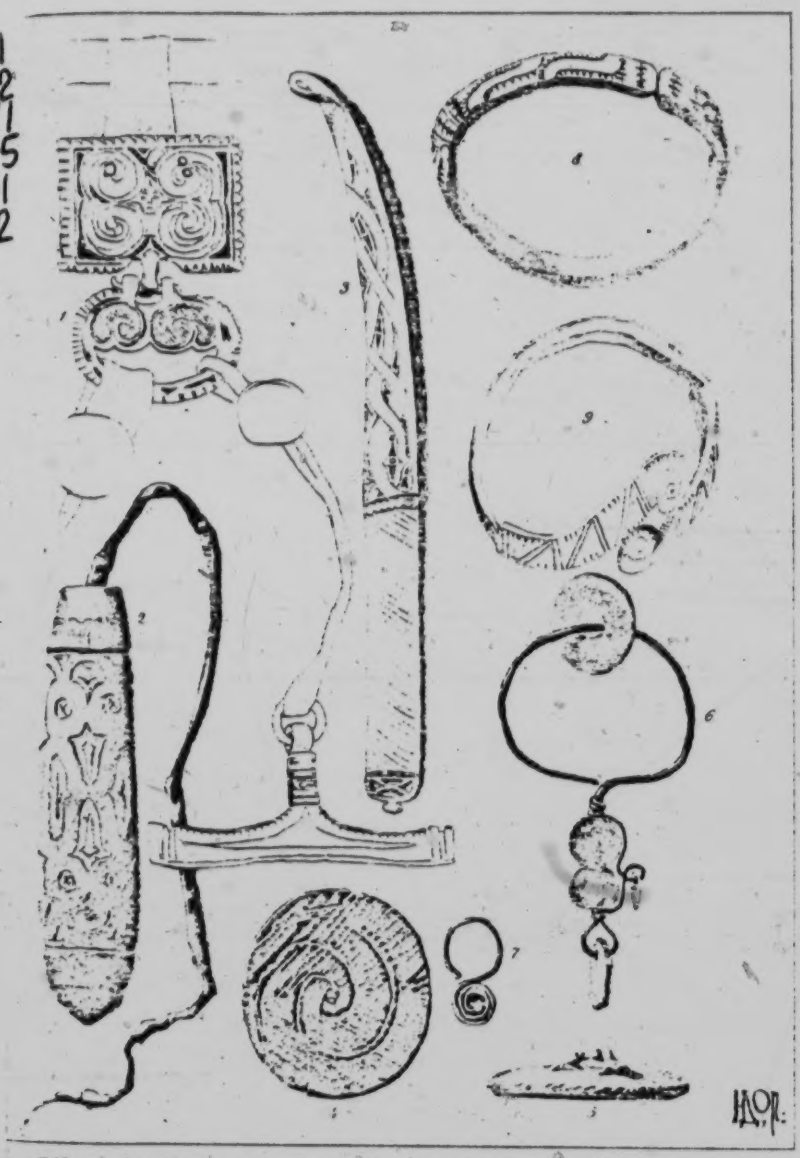

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

2: Schrenck--1010 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
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Goldi in summer clothing in front of a birch-bark tent (homora').

2: Schrenck--1011 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Гилякскіе ножи: 1 -- ordinary large belt-knife (ngawta-dshakko corrected to ngawla-dshakko on p. 589, note 4/); 2 -- belt-knife with inlaid work; 3 -- sheath for same; 4 -- knife for cutting wood, etc. (yi-dsh.); 5 -- sheath for same; 6 -- knife for cutting up fish (ascho-mauwa).

2: Schrenck--1012 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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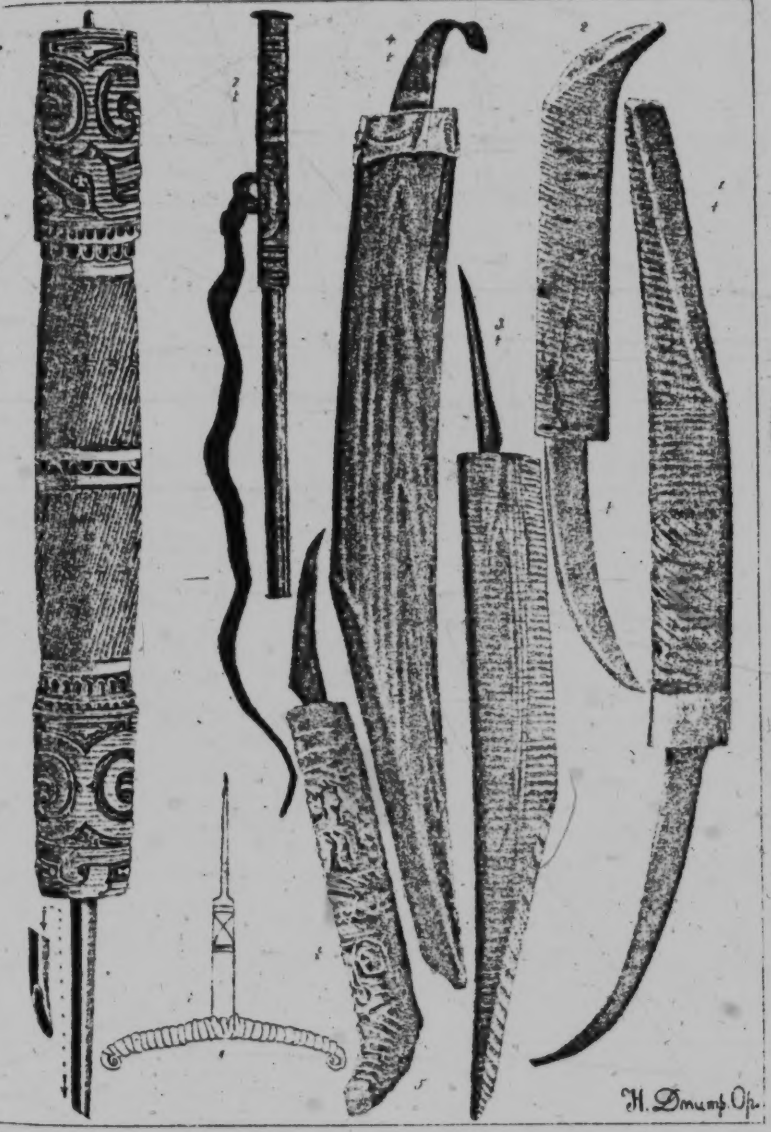

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Gilyak implements: 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "tan-dshakko"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for hollowing; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small iron rod that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

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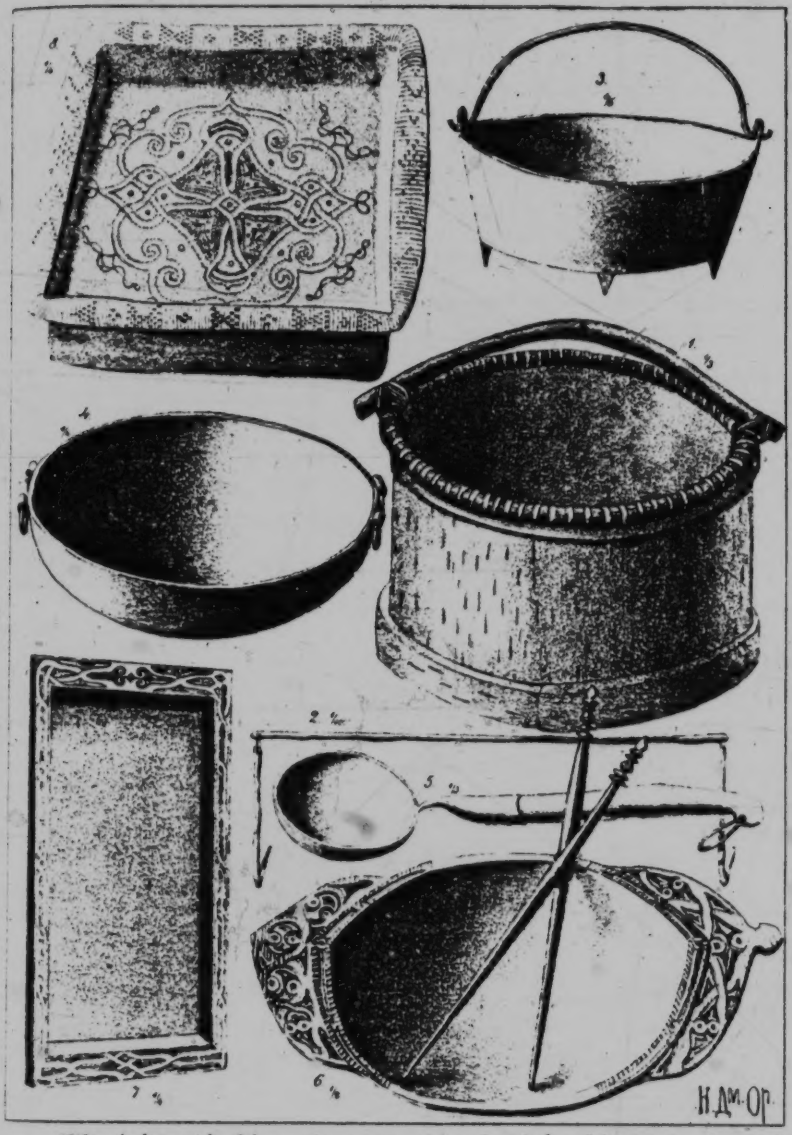
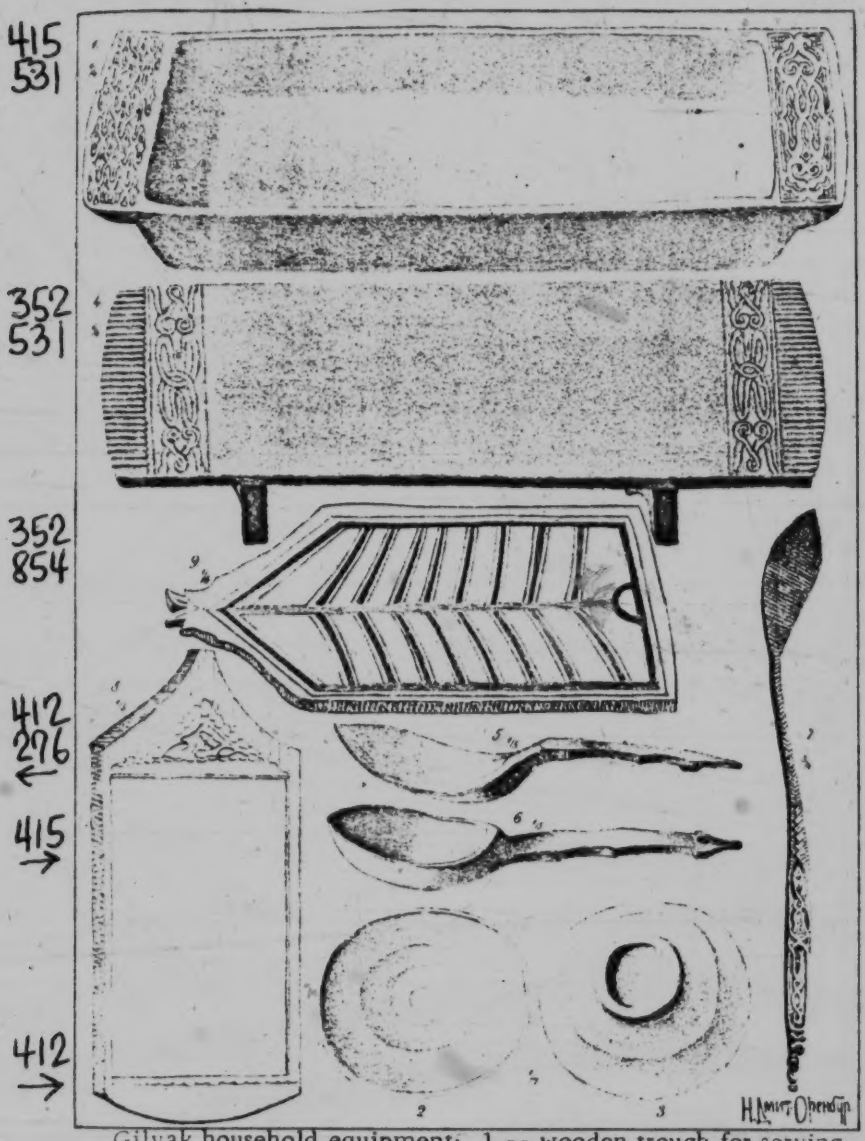


Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop; 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.



Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

2: Schrenck--1015 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Gold RX3
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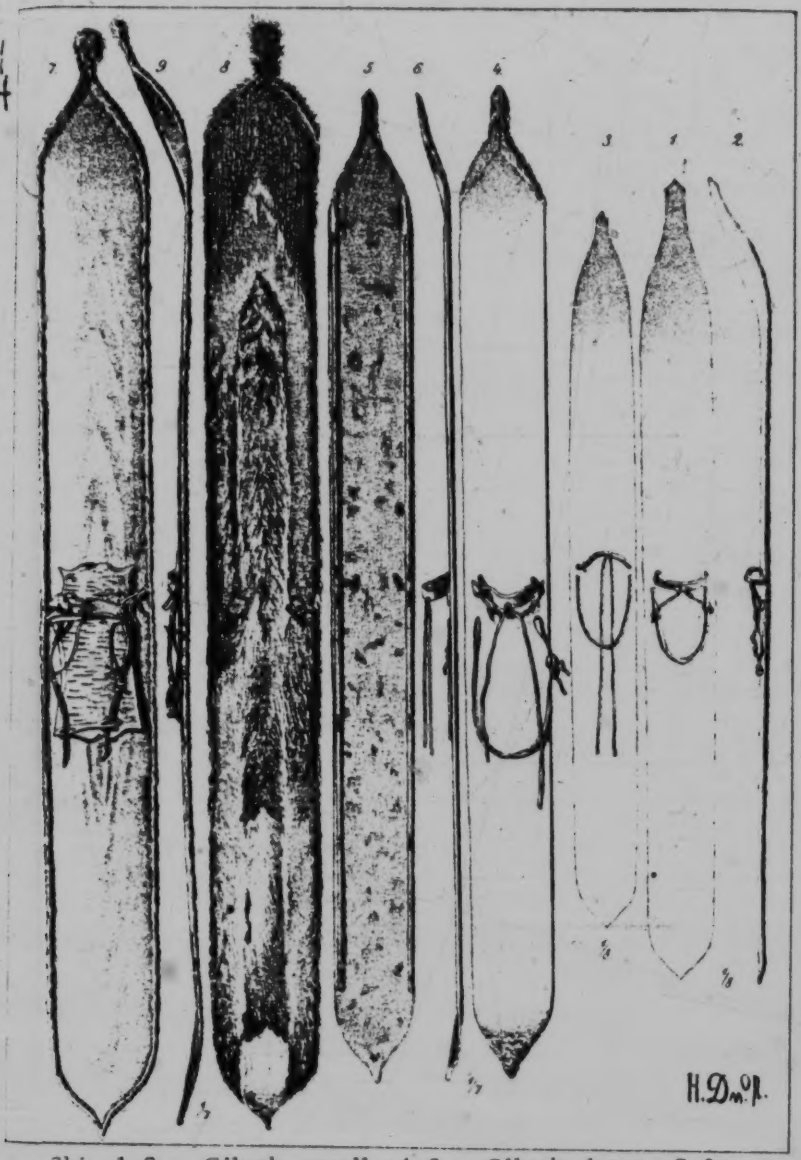

Ski: 1-3 -- Gilyak, small; 4-6 -- Gilyak, large; 7-9 -- Goldi, large.

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1 -- Gilyak sled, and 2, 3 -- dog harness; 4, 5 -- fancy dog-collars.

2: Schrenck--1016 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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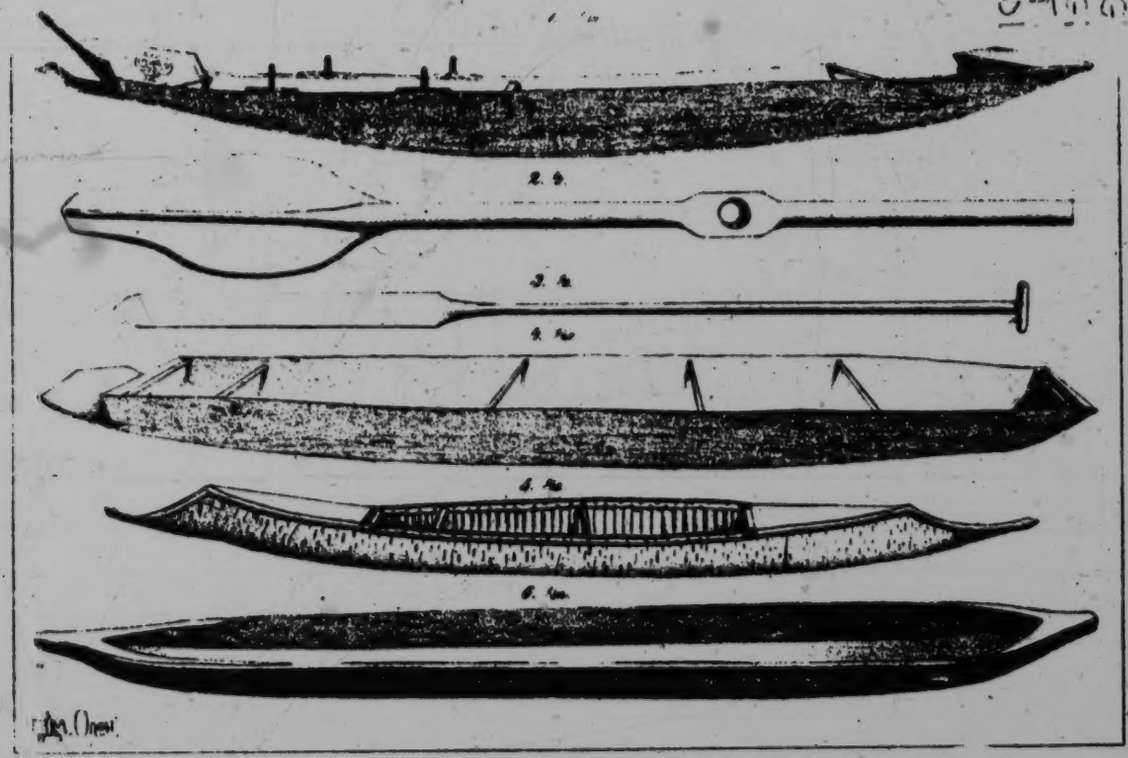
Sled travel of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



1. Ordinary Gilyak boat. 2. Oar, and 3, steering oar, for it. 4. Boat made out of a tree trunk (Goldi, Orochi). 5. Birch-bark boat (Olcha, Goldi). 6. Birar boat made out of a tree trunk.

2: Schrenck--1018 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3 Tungus RU5

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Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in connection with the opening of the river.

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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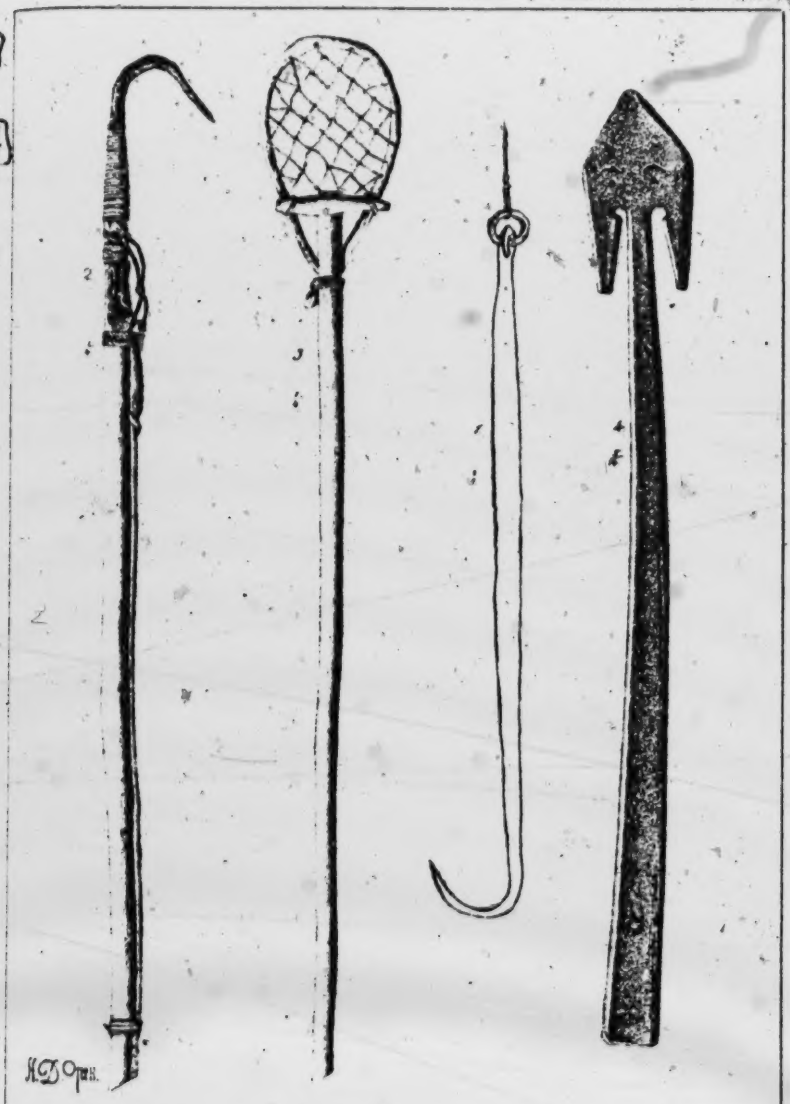

Gilyak fishing equipment: 1 -- fishhook for Gadus wachnja (Pall.); 2 -- hook for pulling out fish; 3 -- net for cleaning out the holes in the ice; 4 -- odn-tschongr of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1021 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3 XLI

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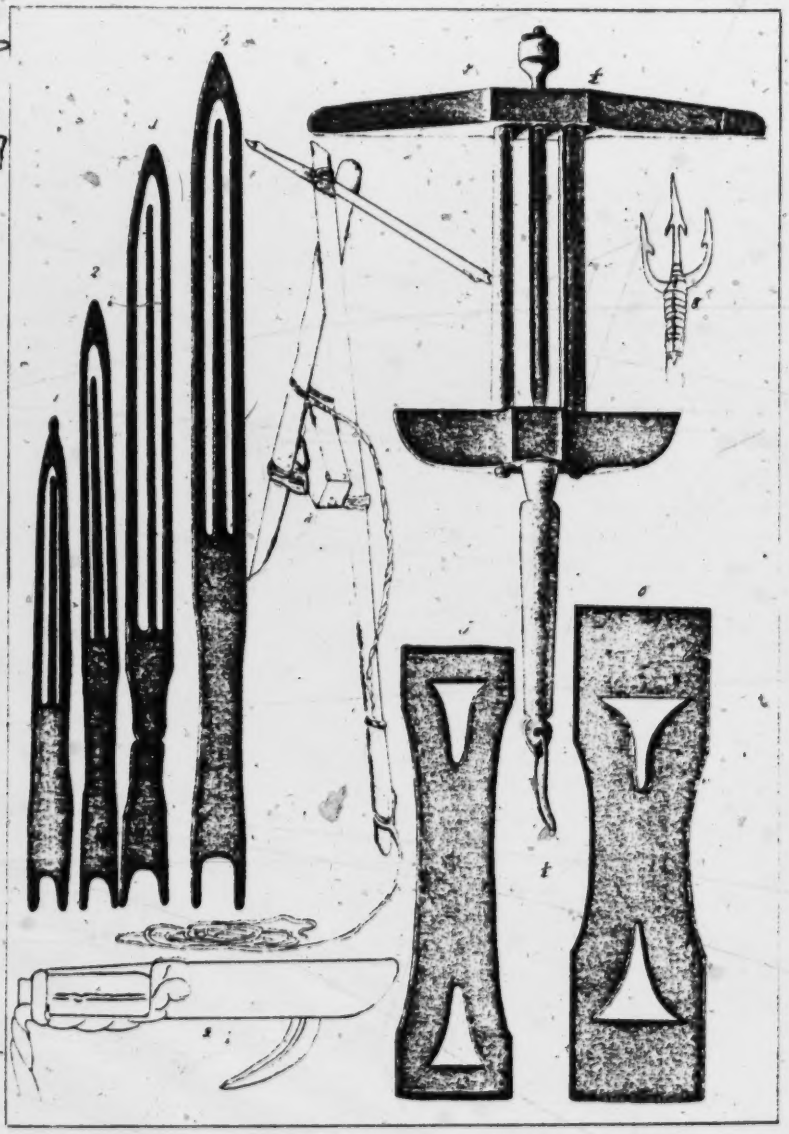

Fishing equipment of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi: 1-6 -- needles for plaiting nets (Gilyak) /see the listing for Pl. XLI, p. 431hh/; 7 -- yarn reel (Gilyak); 8 -- fish harpoon (Goldi); 9 -- fishhook for sturgeon (Goldi); 10 -- anchor that goes with it (Goldi).

2; Schrenck--1022 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

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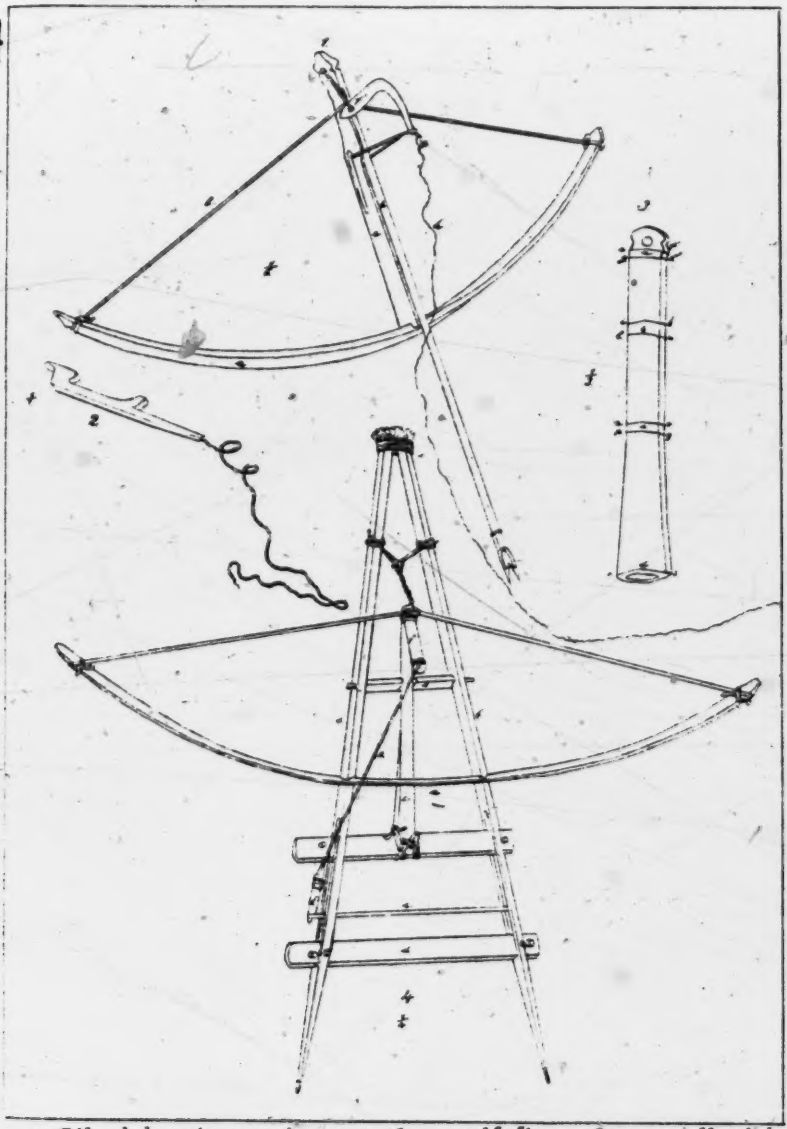

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- self-firer; 2 -- small stick (g) that goes with it; 3 -- target stick for setting up the self-firer; 4 -- trap for small animals.

2: Schrenck--1024 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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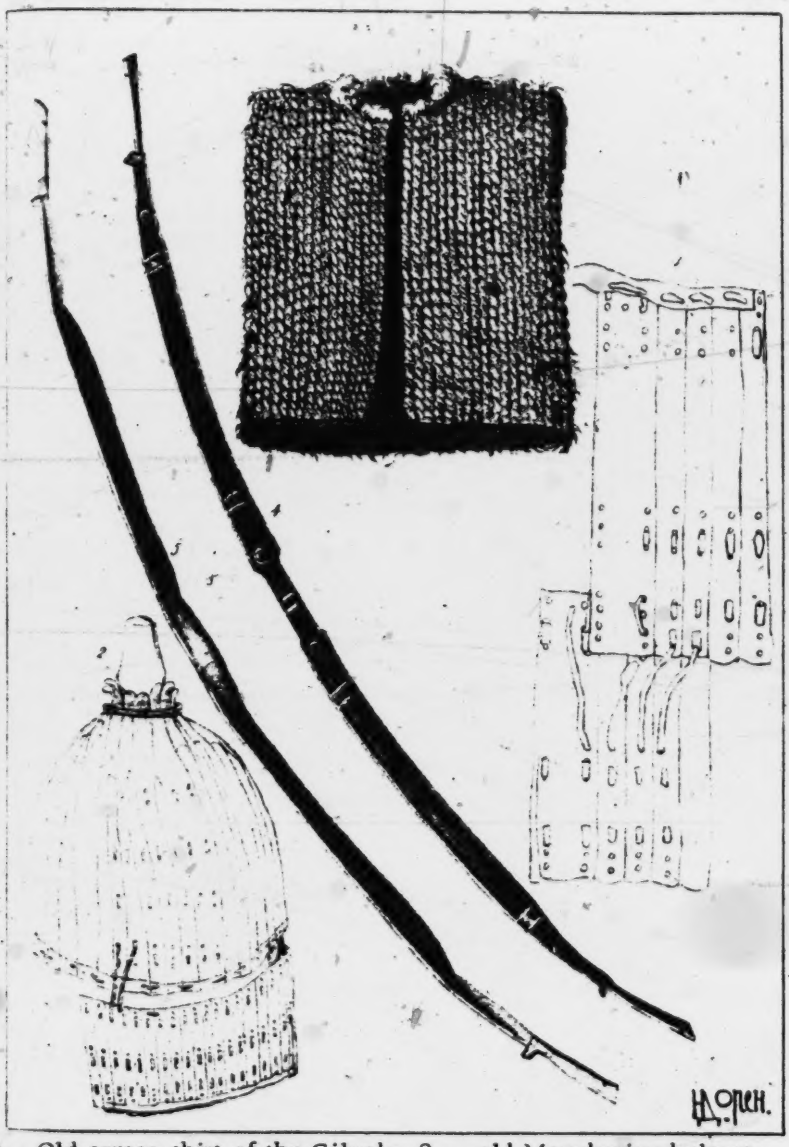
HM 714 G 714 179



1 -- Old armor-shirt of the Gilyak; 2 -- old Manchurian helmet;
3 -- piece of an old Manchurian armor-shirt; 4 -- Gilyak bow;
5 -- the same on the inside.

2: Schrenck--1025 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi
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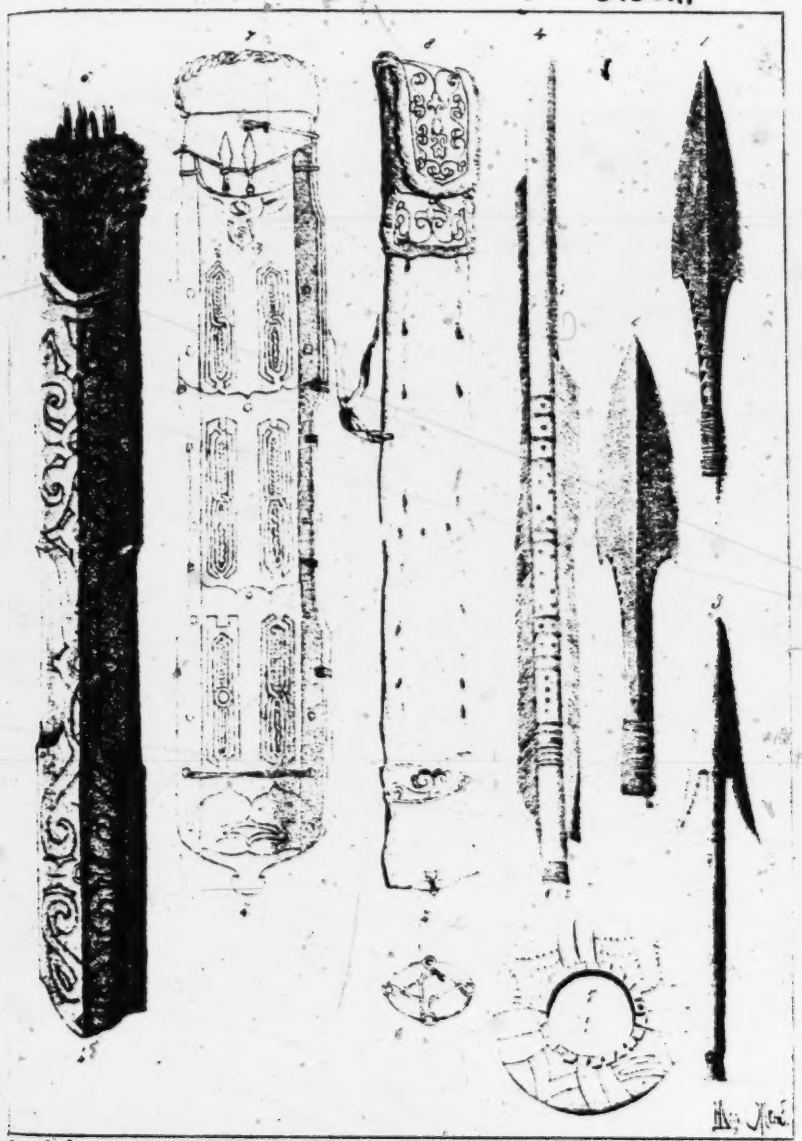

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1-3 -- iron arrowheads; 4 -- lower part of an arrow shaft; 5 -- thumb-ring for stretching the bow; 6-7 -- quivers; 8 -- Orochi quiver.

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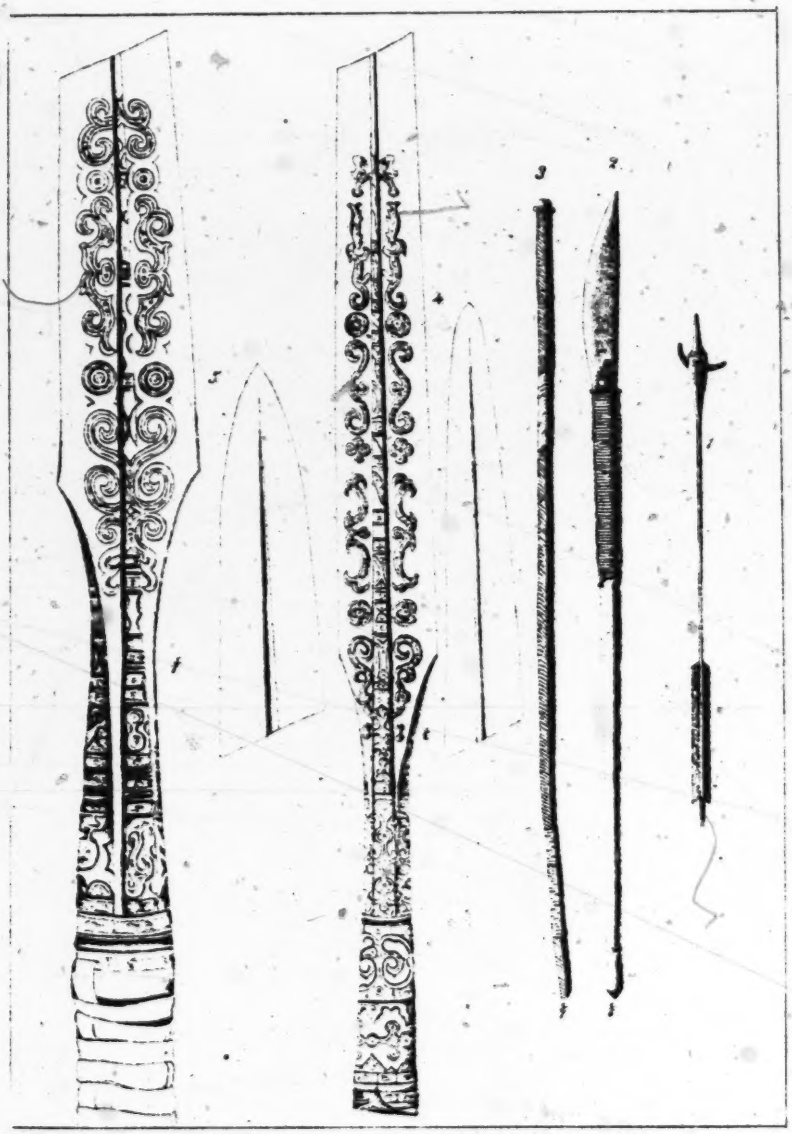

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- arrow for shooting birds; 2 -- ax with long shaft; 3 -- long cudgel; 4, 5 -- spear with inlaid work.

2: Schrenck--1026a E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Vol. III, No. 3

Ethnographic Part -- Second Half

/I/

Preface

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128 It was not granted to the author of Travels and Research in the Amur Region to carry out his work to its completion. Nevertheless, he had gone far enough just before his death so that with the present printing of the manuscript that he left behind it is very nearly brought to an end. Although existing notes make it appear that the author had plans for several more sections, among them such important ones as those on religious conceptions, ideas about sickness and death, the customs associated with these, etc., it was nevertheless felt that a continuation of the work on the basis of the remaining travel notebooks and journals should not be contemplated, especially since there was no way of judging how critically the author himself would have dealt with the notes
128 made decades ago. Since in the meantime a number of lithographic plates had been made in advance for the unfinished remainder, and they would be meaningless without an explanatory text, it seemed advisable, insofar as necessary for an understanding of the illustrations, to have excerpts from the notebooks and journals follow as an appendix in the framework of the missing sections, the compilation of which was assigned to the undersigned by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

From the standpoint of their content, the excerpts fall into the following two main groups:

I. Religious conceptions of the Amur peoples. -- Idols. Amulets, Shamans.

II. Conceptions about life after death and the corresponding treatment of the dead.

The text of the notebooks and journals, which fills 14 closely written octavo notebooks in the smallest handwriting, has been reproduced verbatim except for unessential editorial changes. The added footnotes are marked ** to distinguish them from those of the author.

/II/

128 At the conclusion of each individual excerpt (for possible future revisers) the pertinent place in the notebooks is indicated; the latter bear the following complete and abbreviated designations from the hand of the author:

Natural-historical and ethnographic remarks /Bemerkungen, abbreviated to Bm. during the stay at the Nikolayev post, 1854-1856. } Bm. I, II.

Notebook I (1854-55).
Notebook II (1856).

Journey /Reise; W.R. = winter journey/ to the island of Sakhalin and through a part of Manchuria, undertaken in the winter of 1855 (Jan. 27 -- March 28). } 1 W.R. I, II.

Notebook I Journey to Sakhalin.
Notebook II Journey through Manchuria.

Journey through various parts of Manchuria undertaken in the summer of 1855 /S.R. = summer journey/. } 1 S.R. I-IV.

Notebook I (May 13 -- July 2)
Notebook II (July 3-25).
Notebook III (July 26 -- August 23)
Notebook IV (Aug. 23 -- Sept. 17).

Journey to the island of Sakhalin, undertaken in the winter of 1856. } 2 W.R. I, II.

Notebook I (Jan. 30 -- Feb. 20).
Notebook II (Feb. 20 -- March 12).

Journey up the Amur River (return journey to St. Petersburg), undertaken in the summer of 1856. } 2 S.R. I-IV.

Notebook I (May 13 -- July 8).
Notebook II (July 8 -- Aug. 10).
Notebook III (Aug. 10 -- Sept. 10).
Notebook IV (Sept. 10, 1856 -- Jan. 7, 1857).

Fr. Russow,
Curator of the Academic Museum
of Anthropology and Ethnography.

2: Schrenck--1026c E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Idols (*) in human shape: 1 -- of the Gilyak. House idol

* With reference to the medicinal significance of the idols and amulets illustrated here and on the following plates, as well

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Plate LVII

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Plate LXIII

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2: Schrenck--1026x E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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III. Ethnographic Part

Second Half: Basic Features of Family Life, Social Life, and the Inner Life

Section 11

Family relations: marriage, wife purchase, and wife capture. Morality. Domestic tasks and occupations of husband and wife. Childbirth, the feeding, treatment, and rearing of children. Position of the male and female slaves in the household. The family law of inheritance. Blood revenge.

121 If in the discussion of the basic conditions and elements of the external life of the Amur peoples I deemed it necessary to dwell more or less exhaustively only on the peoples of the lower Amur region, but, with regard to those on the upper course of the river, to point out only in a general way the particularly typical and characteristic differences in contrast to them, this will be the case to an even greater extent in the following considerations turning more and more to the inner life. In fact, I must here limit myself almost exclusively to the Gilyak and to the Olcha, who, except in language and some ideas and customs which are in part perhaps rooted in tribal peculiarities, have been permeated by the Gilyak spirit and almost completely Gilyakized, and even the adjacent tribes on the lower Amur will only be touched upon for comparison, for it was only with the former that I had intercourse long enough to obtain some, albeit superficial, insight into the problems to be discussed here. Hence the discussion of the Amur peoples, which up to now has been kept comparative as much as possible, will in this last part take on more of the character of a monograph and will center almost exclusively on the people that has been the focus and point of departure for all of our previous discussions.

595 The Gilyak are not bound by custom or religion to any definite form of marriage. Actually, however, by far the majority of them live in monogamy. In fact, it prevails /632/ among them to such an extent that one may designate it as the general rule, but polygamy, on the other hand, occurring only under

/632 cont./

595 certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. Accord-
[184] ing to the statements of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, whereas among the Amur Gilyak it occurs more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the information in the following. In polygamous marriage the number of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Ssogin in Kuĭk (Mão) had two wives, Keŭguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschjegun had two, Chumsisk and Tyisuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are none at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

583 The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among most primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

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2. As, for instance, among the Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and others (cf. note 1 on p.1030). The same custom also prevails among the Chinese (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2nd Part, Paris, 1843, p. 482). Even among the ancient Germans, marriage was originally a purchase, as in Iceland, Norway, and among the Anglo-Saxons (Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 237).

/632 cont./ The Gilyak expression for "to
583 marry" is "umgu genytsch," to buy a wife. If a Gilyak wants to
[192] marry in a peaceful and lawful fashion, he must pay the father, or, if the latter is no longer living, the brothers of the girl he desires to marry, a certain amount determined by mutual agreement. Depending on the circumstances, this consists of various articles needed in daily life and housekeeping, such as clothing materials, cooking kettles, boats, sleds, dogs, etc., as well as a number of luxury items of hypothetical value, such as neatly worked spears provided with small inlaid silver plates, old Manchu iron-armor, and so on. To give an idea of the amount of the bride price among the Gilyak, I shall add here the payments which a couple of Gilyak whom I knew had to pay for their respective wives. The Gilyak
583 Ssogin in Kuĭk (Mäo), for instance, had to pay the following price
435 for his second wife, Malguk from Langr:

6 large spears with inlaid silver, at 10 ja apiece (3), together . . 60 ja

3. The prices presented in the following may serve at the same time as a partial confirmation of and a supplement to the above (pp. 933-937) table of prices of the Gilyak compiled independently.

2 large Chinese hearth-kettles,	at 4 ja	apiece,	together	8 ja
3 Japanese kettles (kughi-wunj),	" 9 "	"	"	27 "
4 large boats,	"10 "	"	"	40 "
20 dogs,	" 1 "	"	"	20 "
			Total	155 ja =
				about 310 rubles.

/633/ My guide Chossiambo, who, to be sure, was an Olcha himself, but had married a Gilyak woman, the daughter of the oft-mentioned Judin in Tebach, had to pay the following price for his wife, according to his and her testimony:

583 /633 cont./
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5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together	20 ja
1 large Chinese hearth-kettle	3 "
1 Japanese kettle with three handles	30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor	30 "
1 large bear	30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each	20 "
Total	133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

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1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Adam Brand (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Werchnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

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1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In
583 view of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con-
595 stantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has
556 been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do
184 man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

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583 121 182 [562] It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an insulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to [562] a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/634 cont./

583 of the parents of the desired girl, calmly makes use of the customary hospitality, and seizes the proper moment, when the host and hostess are very busy or have gone off, to flee with the 583 girl on a waiting sled or boat. He follows the same procedure 684 in abducting a woman who is unfaithful to her husband. As soon 628 as the wronged father or husband notices the theft, he pursues the fugitives with a few relatives or villagers. If they are overtaken, the abducted woman can be brought back, but not without a bloody fight with the abductor and his helpers, in case he has provided for some, since both parties resort to knives and spears. In most cases, however, the abductor was clever enough to provide for an escape with his willing booty. Then the feud continues and may be prolonged for years, since, as a result of the blood vengeance practiced among the Gilyak, which will be discussed later, revenge is demanded and an opportunity to carry it out is sought both by those who have suffered directly by the abduction and by those who have been injured in the fighting. Whole villages may thus become involved, so that the inhabitants of them, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise attack, carefully avoid each other and /635/ intercourse between the villages ceases entirely (1). In the face of such complications and dangers, the

1. In my time, for example, the villages of Tammla-wo and Talwantigr-wo, along the Liman coast of Sakhalin, were engaged in such a feud, and the inhabitants of the latter, as much the smaller, had to be on their guard against those of the former.

Gilyak rarely undertake the abduction of a woman in a neighboring village, but, as a rule, select a more distant field of operations. It most frequently happens that Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk and from the Liman coast of Sakhalin abduct the daughters or wives of their countrymen on the Amur, either because, in view of their distant habitation sites, they need have less fear of their revenge, or, as a result of their being less well off, are unwilling

/635 cont./

583 628 684 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in [533 126] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

583 114 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent; among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

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2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what
114 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among
601 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "atschek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that,
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

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1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

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2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

/636 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25, 275; Part II, p. 238. Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

a much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this will be given in the following.

563 Even a difference
582 of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of the marriage of the Gilyak as one would expect from the radical difference of their language from those of all their neighbors. On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the customs and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the Gilyakization of the Olcha stressed several times already, is to be attributed. To a lesser degree the same thing also takes place with the Negda. Occasionally an Amur Gilyak will bring home from a trading trip to the Japanese a wife from the Ainu people (4).

4. The mother of the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach, for instance, was an Ainu woman, as was mentioned above (p. 224 /untranslated/).

Conversely, however, it hardly ever happens that Amur-Gilyak women marry Ainu men, because the latter are not in the habit of leaving their island and, if this should happen as an exception, would not be in a position to pay the high bride price of the Gilyak. Where, however, as on Sakhalin, the two peoples live directly beside each other and the bride price is also lower, frequent marriages take place between them, as Mamia Rinsô reported (5),

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, 195.

and the assimilation between the two tribes is considerable.

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585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the
592 husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides
592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with
342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house
35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 As little as such living together by all the members of the
171 household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,
577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

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577 no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with character traits in which they excel beyond these tribes, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed out (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 719.

577 drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison
177 with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more
648 favorable situation with regard to morality inasmuch as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and the latter do not have any settlements in Gilyak territory. How demoralizing an effect they have upon the natives is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Ussuri and lower Amur region, without their wives and, supplied with liquor and other tempting commodities, try to acquire concubines among the women and daughters of the Ainu, or the Orochi, Goldi, and Olcha. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, not merely with regard to trade, but also in connection with morality, that they refused the Chinese traders entry into their territory, just as it was also evidence of their /638/ farsighted shrewdness and energy (1).

1. See above, pp. 145 and 948.

With the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians in the fifties, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak, for this occupation began precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the north, a contact which, with regard to morality, could only be detrimental to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequent reports from there abundantly prove. But I shall return to the conditions and situations which I myself witnessed.

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834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
570 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

570 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In
462 22 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it,
[251] make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries,
462 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to
[313] it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

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462 411 [463] [439] would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the 462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, 321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly 322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 [462] The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one. [855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every 593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, 842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

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593 842 595 586 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

825 789

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kuik on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.

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[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 343 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

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844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it.
[846] It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[963] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

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114 844 768 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuĭk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254/) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

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844 413 [531] No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

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2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuĭk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

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553 852 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are [756] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving. In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special [556] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

854 [192] [352] When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle (Gilyak tschjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks, is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

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854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw 854 in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, 789 which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a [856] spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak 862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous 855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re- 862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in 171 de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

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1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

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1. (cont.) Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

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Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is undoubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

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Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

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855 case of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and annoying the whole procedure was for him.

855 291 In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair, the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one 524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by 273 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult, ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., except that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.

855 861 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children, of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without anyone paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and mimicking in their games the activities, work, and amusements of parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260/) and only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal, for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

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524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com-
[593] pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

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595 presence of several women around one man in the same room and in a common household is, in the long run, scarcely con-
595 ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
567 vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
[556] polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex, for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.
595 These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak
567 men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in ex-
357 change for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to perform the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons, who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with equal rights among them.

567 The situation is entirely different; however, with regard to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them: kryghryss, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghryss-umgu -- female slave, and kr.-utgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circumstances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neighboring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jant" as well as the "Tscholdok," that is, the lower as well as the upper Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

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567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [177] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought [181] by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [439] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

567 435 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in [583] particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kuĭk, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

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567 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
435 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an
[595] intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine
[558] is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak: if anyone did so,
[556] he would not only lose completely all the respect that the possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

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567 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
567 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

567 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is
[836] not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
[851] never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
[848] sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
[847] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be
[563] turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

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It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /649/ of Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia Rinsô's map as reproduced by Siebold (*Op. cit.*, *Pl. XXV*), but on Mogami Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat diagonally across from Taba Bay or the entrance into Taba-Kidsi Straits (see above, p. 964).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants, and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said further, had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he, like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied himself solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men, and, as a result of this modesty, he gained the confidence and esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tatskiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

[191] It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

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114 of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the
191 kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known
175 through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used
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4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there
595 seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from
175 the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

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114 195 595 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the Smerenkur (Gilyak)at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to 114 195 carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland), 592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without 595 any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time, [357] then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform do- [567] mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged [515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 195 Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in re- 567 ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is 435 well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

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114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4,
175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and
567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services,
[435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the
[439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the
[304] country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the
[184] slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get
567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say,
[648] they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 Before I go further in describing the family relations of the
171 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

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171 In this respect, the situation was, and, so it seems, is even now, worse among the Koreans. Following the accounts of Dutch prisoners, Witsen (1) reported that they keep many male and female slaves,

1. Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam, 1705, p. 59.

some masters several hundred, who all come from among their own people. According to Dallet (2), their number subsequently

2. Histoire de l'église de Corée précédée d'une introd. sur l'hist., les institut., la langue, les moeurs et cost. coréennes /History of the Church of Korea, preceded by an introduction on the history, the institutions, the language, Korean manners and customs/, Paris, 1874, Reviewed in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1875, p. 113.

gradually decreased, but the bad custom still exists, in that poor people sell themselves or their children as slaves, and children born to a slave, as well as abandoned children, fall to slave standing, and, finally, there are slaves belonging to the state. There can be no mistake here about the influence of immediately adjacent China, where, as is well known, the same thing goes on (3). Among the more northern Paleo-Asiatic

3. Cf., for instance, Neuhof, Die Gesantsch. der Ost-Indich. Geselsch. in den verein. Niederländen an dem Tartar. Cham /The Embassy of the East Indian Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan/, etc., Amsterdam, 1666, p. 293. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 128. Iakinf", Kitai, St. Petersb., 1840, pp. 337, 338, and elsewhere.

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567 171 peoples slavery originated, as a rule, when prisoners of war, in other words, individuals from a foreign tribe, were made slaves and, in particular, women and girls were captured by the enemy to serve as wives and concubines. This was the case among the Italmen, Koryak (4), and Aleuts before they were

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 235.

subjugated by the Russians. The Aleuts in particular were distinguished by their cruelty to their slaves, in that on festive occasions they sometimes slaughtered a great number of them (5).

5. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. Otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, Pt. II, pp. 83-89.

Wrangel (6) even reported of the Chukchee, who retained their

6. Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i pr. /Journey in the Region of the Northern Coast of Siberia/, Pt. II, pp. 339, 340.

independence and individuality the longest, that among them, and, to be sure, the nomadic as well as the sedentary ones on the sea coast, there is a kind of serfdom or slavery, in that since ancient times the well-to-do have owned whole serf families who are not permitted to move away, have no property, and are wholly subject to the whims of their masters, who use them for the heaviest services and labor and in return feed and clothe them. Wrangel was unable to find out anything definite about the origin of these slaves, but he thinks it probable that they are the descendants of former prisoners of war, and therefore from foreign tribes. The fact, however, that they have existed since ancient times and in whole families /652/ allows one to conclude that the Chukchee, too, keep from mixing with them and do not enter into either marriage or concubinage with their female slaves.

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567 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the
17 Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After
562 what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be- [768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers
587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

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428 has one or several wives. This shows most clearly that the Gilyak
587 have no aversion to polygamy in principle and only live in monogamy for the most part for practical and economic reasons. The same happens when a widow with minor daughters or only the latter survive: the latter are regarded as part of their parents' estate, as it were, and they are inherited by the second husband of their mother, and, when they have reached marriageable age and suitors arrive, they can be purchased only by payments to him. On the other hand, if minor sons survive with the widow, her brother-in-law inherits her and the daughters, but the property of her deceased husband goes to /653/ him only temporarily for the use of the profit from it and must be handed over to her sons as their property as soon as they have grown up.

587 The marriage of the widow to her brother-in-law is not absolutely obligatory: if there is a man who wants to marry her, he can have her with the consent of her brother-in-law and for the payment of a sum designated by him, and, as happens as a rule among the Gilyak, can take her children as well. But once they are grown up and are claimed by their paternal relatives, he cannot keep them, but is obliged to let them go without any compensation or consideration.

587 If, however, the deceased was the youngest of the brothers,
428 his older brothers inherit his property, to be sure, but the widow does not go to any of them, but may marry any eventual suitor, as she wishes, and the latter does not have to pay her brothers-in-law anything for her. With regard to her children from the first marriage, however, the above-mentioned rules apply.

In the last-mentioned cases, where widow and child form at least part of the objects of the estate and therefore the principle of equal shares for all the brothers cannot be observed, the Gilyak law of inheritance favors, not the older brother, but the younger one. In spite of the fact that the oldest brother is distinguished from the younger ones by a special designation, the latter are actually favored by the inheritance law.

428 Finally, if a Gilyak dies and there are neither sons nor brothers to take possession of the inheritance, it goes to the

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428 nearest male relatives of the deceased, that is to say, brother's and father's brother's sons, or nephews and cousins of the first and second degrees, but always only on the father's side. The 428 Gilyak say that in such a case the inheritance belongs to the kall 614 of the deceased. To explain this, I must point out that they 601 make a definite distinction between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side: the former are called ngafk and they alone are regarded as related by blood; the latter, on the other hand, are merely called ámal or ármal, which means roughly "friends." The vocative amalá, Friend, is the customary term of address which the Gilyak use among themselves as well as to a stranger, and which one uses them, whereas the much more meaningful naifká is only rarely heard and then only when they are speaking to one another. The totality of the ngafk, the paternal relatives of a Gilyak, constitutes his kall. This word, however, does not mean merely tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Geschlecht/, kindred /Sippe/, but also name. A kall, then, is exactly the same as a kin group bearing the same paternal or family name among us. It is the Goldi hala, which originally designated only a family relationship, but later, used by the Manchu government for administrative purposes, it was given a meaning going far beyond the family, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. The Gilyak, however, who were always outside Manchu rule, have been hardly affected by this /654/ and cling to their original conception of the kall, which is restricted to the family in the manner indicated above.

614 In view of all this, it might be expected that they also have special names for their various kin groups, and, indeed, I do not doubt but that they do have them. I never heard them use one, however. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, as a rule, only the closest members of a kall have personal relations with one another, and they are aware of their membership in the same kin group without the common kin-group name. Moreover, the practical significance of this membership is considerably reduced for the Gilyak, in that it plays no part whatsoever in one of the most important family occasions, the conclusion of marriage, for among them, as has already been

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614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
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3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In
171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

614 While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
607 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
628 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

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614 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering pro-
602 tection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in
628 this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngawla-dshakko, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future
159 looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished
628 superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nenjdan, a respected man in his village (Allof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood: his otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forgot it to such an

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159 628 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Allof to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Allof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 602 628 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

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614 602 628 grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No ngafk of the person slain can refuse to accept this obligation if it is his turn. On the other hand, if the person wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but his ngafk have the duty to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping as much as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the ngafk of the perpetrator of the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponents and to protect their relative from the revenge threatening him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and homogeneousness in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily accessible proximity and also that those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the ngafk among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from serious motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, an imagined insult or insignificant damage to property or profit, as, for

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G 614 602 628 /657 cont./ example, in the above-mentioned case of Nenjdan, drive one to bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many a one from plunging into the hornets' nest of a strong and large kin-group. Quarrelsome and rapacious members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind them, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away to commit acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, is said of the Tammla-wo Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this abuse does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

G G: 648 177 Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living adjacent to the Gilyak, the only ones who, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/658/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equalization which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former by the latter. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, became the basis for the most penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally. G G: [582] And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

Gi /658 cont./

Gi 648 177 Gilyak family customs and organization are constantly being brought to the Olcha and in the course of time have taken root and spread in much the same form among them. Of course, they were bound to undergo certain modifications in their general character, in that they were transplanted in the soil of a very different people with respect to their natural disposition. The Olcha, a branch of the large Tungus tribe spread over all of Siberia and the Amur region, are by nature much more kind-hearted, gentler, more pliable, more carefree, and more easy going than the Gilyak. They do not have the perseverance and energy of the latter, but, on the other hand, they are far from having their avariciousness, treacherousness, and vindictiveness. These original character traits of the Olcha, however, are likewise undergoing change as a result of the assimilation of this people by the Gilyak -- and this has in part already taken place -- but they appear time and time again, and, among other things, also in their family relations.

Gi 157 [101] Gi [177]

Among the Olcha, for instance, in addition to the generally customary purchase of wives, there is also the abduction of women, though by far not as frequent and usually, as among the Gilyak, primarily for the reason that, with more moderate demands, they more readily come to terms in dealing with one another and with their neighbors of the Tungus tribe, and that for abduction quick and decisive action is required, which is not in their nature, and, finally, probably also out of a natural love of peace and fear of the evil and bloody consequences that usually follow the abduction of a woman. Strangely enough, however, they most often carry it out exactly in the direction from where they can most expect lasting revenge, namely, among the Gilyak, either because they have the most active intercourse with these neighbors of theirs or because the Gilyak women have a special attraction for them, and, on the other hand, the high demands of the Gilyak for their daughters, especially if they are to go out of the country, often make a peaceful settlement impossible. In such cases, which the Gilyak often told me about, bloody conflicts are unavoidable, although they

Gi 648 Gi 583 157

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Gi /658 cont./
648 do not by far reach the proportions that blood feuds caused by
the abduction of a woman and its attendant outrages among the
Gi Gilyak themselves not infrequently assume. And this is again
583 attributable to the more peace-loving Tungusic disposition of the
157 Olcha.

G /659/ In general, all acts of bloodshed, and especially
Gi those carried out in an unexpected, treacherous manner, are far
648 rarer among them than among the Gilyak, and hence the occasions for blood revenge are far fewer. But it is even more characteristic of them that in cases where such an occasion arises the matter may have a peaceful outcome, for they can be persuaded to desist from blood revenge by a payment, which could scarcely ever happen, or only in the rarest cases, among the
Gi Gilyak. For example, the Olcha from Pulsa let themselves be
[628] bought off by the Gilyak Judin of Tebach for an act of bloodshed
[583] which his brother had committed among them, whereas he himself relentlessly sought to take revenge on an Olcha from Uchtr for the abduction of his daughter.

Gi If, as may be seen from what has been presented, many
648 a harshness of the Gilyak family relations is softened among the
157 Olcha by their gentler nature, so also, on the other hand, does
439 the moral austerity prevailing among the Gilyak undergo a considerable relaxation among them. To a large extent this is due to the fact that they do not have the energy of the Gilyak in refusing the Chinese merchants and traders entry into their territory, much less a more or less permanent stay in it. As has already been mentioned (1), there are many places in Olcha

1. See pp. 144 and 946 above.

territory where Chinese traders stay among them temporary or even almost permanently, and they have all the more corrupting an effect upon them because they have no dwellings of their own, but, with concubines taken from among the natives themselves, set up their domicile in their houses and in their midst. Also, the liquor that these traders always have at their disposal con-
000 tributes no little to the corruption of morals. Accordingly, the

569 /659 cont./ Accordingly, the
439 moral attitude of the Olcha toward their male and female slaves,
159 which they, like the Gilyak, though less frequently and in smaller numbers, procure by purchase from the Ainu people on their trading trips to Sakhalin is less strict and rigorous. In this, however, they subscribe to the principle of the Gilyak and keep no individuals of their own people as slaves, much less sell them to other peoples.

352 Finally, I must note that in the external appurtenances of
199 their family life, too, despite the great correspondence with the
854 Gilyak, there are various minor traits through which their original,
[191] distinctly Tungusic character manifests itself. For instance, the above-described, very characteristic Gilyak cradle has not been accepted among them. Instead of it the Olcha use an elongated basket plaited out of fine wooden switches, which is somewhat higher at the head-end, is suspended from one of the crossbeams of the yurt, and, by means of a long band fastened to it, can be rocked back and forth even from a distance. This simpler
[194] and lighter cradle may have survived among them from the
[157] time of their nomadic way of life as a consequence of the especially conservative tendency of the female sex.

177 The situation is different for the Goldi. Here there is no
648 question of any assimilation by the Gilyak, /660/ although, as a result of the direct communication of the two peoples with each other, and chiefly through the agency of the Olcha living between them and related to the Goldi, a number of things from the Gilyak system have been transmitted to them. On the other hand, they are very strongly under Chinese influence, which, going upstream on the lower Amur, steadily increases and reaches its maximum on the Ussuri and Sungari. They are in fact, and not merely nominally, like their northern neighbors on the Amur, subject to Chinese rule, in that in their territory there are several permanent seats of Manchu-Chinese government officials collecting tribute and exercising power (1), and, among other things,

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1. Once more I wish to call attention to the fact that only the conditions which I personally found in the Amur region in the years

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1. (cont.)
1854-56 are being discussed here.

they had to adopt the hair style prescribed by the Manchu dynasty for all the subjects of the Celestial Empire, while the Olcha and Gilyak, living farther away, were able to avoid this (2). Chinese

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2. See pp. 617-624 above.

traders from the Ussuri and especially from the Sungari constantly come, and in far greater numbers than among the Olcha, into the lower territory of the Goldi and establish themselves among them in order to enrich themselves as much as possible on them. The corrupt influence which these intruders exert upon the family relations and morals of the Olcha, as mentioned above, therefore makes itself felt to a far greater degree among the Goldi. In fact, they have it all the easier among them, since they are even more good-natured than the Olcha, and they lack the power of resistance which is inherent in the latter, thanks to an admixture of Gilyak blood which has resulted in the course of time. The material exploitation of the Goldi by the Chinese goes hand in hand with the loosening of family relations and the corruption of morals. Deprived of their possessions and plunged into debt through alcohol and other means, they lose all interest in acquisition, as well as the energy needed for it, and more and more sink into laziness and sloth, which inevitably leads to total poverty and depravity. Naturally, they have not all and everywhere reached this point by far, but the pernicious influence of Manchu-Chinese domination and exploitation in the direction indicated is unmistakable even where they are in the most favorable conditions, such as in the lowermost part of their habitation area, on the Amur, between the mouth of the Gorin and the Geong Mountain Range. They lack the free and self-assertive attitude of the Gilyak and, in part, of the Olcha, too, as well as the bent toward acquisition and gain which not infrequently manifests itself to the foreigner in rather obtrusive

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127 ways, and, on the contrary, they always have something de-
157 jected, reticent, fearful, and even shy in their nature. How
648 far their national consciousness has already been suppressed may
[567] be seen from the fact that, even though they are well aware of
[439] the despised position of male and female slaves among the
Gilyak and, like them will themselves now and then keep an
Ainu female slave brought from Sakhalin in their houses, never-
theless they do not scorn selling individuals from among their
own people into slavery to the Gilyak, which would never
happen among the latter and would be branded as wicked. /661/
197 Of course, the Manchu officials and Chinese traders have the
648 most destructive influence on the family relations of the Goldi,
because through threats, intimidation, and purchase they pre-
vail upon them to let them use their wives and daughters as
[182] concubines. Thus the loosening and dissolution of all family
ties are in fact sealed and will gradually be accomplished
177 without any further aid by the Chinese. Thus the tie, so tight
648 among the Gilyak, which links together all the members of
614 one and the same paternal kin-group, the Gilyak kall, or hala
171 as it is known among the Goldi, was bound to become very slack,
so that the Chinese government could not have found it difficult
to give it a local-district substratum, instead of a kinship one,
in order to utilize it for their administrative purposes, as will
be shown in detail in the following. As a result of this, however,
the rule which forbids marriage between members of one and the
same paternal kin-group (hala), if it originally existed among
the Goldi (1), could no longer fulfill its purpose of preventing

1. See above, p. /No page number is given in the original source, but see pp. 1035 and 1062./

marriages between persons too closely related by blood. Another likewise very strong family tie among the Gilyak, which arises from the rules of blood revenge, no longer exists among the Ussuri Goldi, because the latter is said to have already

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179 disappeared from among their customs (2). Finally, the tight
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2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Usuri i zemel' k" vost. ot" nela do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands Eastward from the River to the Sea/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXV, 1859, Sec. II, p. 239).

171 Finally, the Tight
587 family organization which among the Gilyak, Koryak, and Siberian peoples regulates the relationship of the brothers of a deceased person to their widowed sister-in-law (3) seems to

3. See above, p. /No page number is given in the original source, but see pp. 1061-1064./

have been disrupted among the Goldi. Wenjukof (4) mentions

4. Op. cit., p. 200; also Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii i zap. o nikh" /Notes on a Journey in the Borderlands of Asiatic Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 27.

an Ussuri Goldi, the father of a family and about 30 years old, who had three wives, two of whom he had inherited after the death of his younger brothers. As we have already seen (p. /no number given; see pp. 1061-1064/), this is not permitted among the Gilyak, Koryak, and other Siberian peoples, but only the opposite is customary, namely, that the widow is inherited by one of the younger brothers of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, in a definite order of succession. Now, since the latter is certainly not excluded among the Goldi, one can only draw the conclusion that among them both the older and the younger brothers of the deceased have a claim to his surviving

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171 widow, a drawback which presumably arose out of disregard of
587 the original, definite family organization and can all too easily cause discord and strife between the brothers.

177 Chinese influence has had the most pernicious effect on
648 the family relations of the Amur peoples among the Orochi, or Ta-dse, of the uppermost Ussuri tributaries and the adjacent seacoast. What was merely held out as a prospect for the Goldi in the above description has already been reached there: the destruction of all family ties and the greatest economic ruin and moral decay. Also, however, the Chinese are in the greatest
[162] numbers there, outweighing the Orochi, in part as permanent
/662/ traders mixed in with the indigenous population, small field and garden cultivators, ginseng seekers, etc., and in part as riffraff of all sorts annually streaming in in great numbers for seatang fishing, to wash gold, and to pursue other occupations, as has already been described above (1).

1. See p. 139 above.

Thus, if one travels from the mouth of the Amur, up the Amur and Ussuri almost constantly in a meridional direction, and from the sources of the latter to the neighboring coast, through the territory of the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and Orochi, one may observe a steady and rapid decline in the family customs and organization of the indigenous population, until finally, instead of the crude, it is true, yet tightly organized and, in their way, civilized family relations of the Gilyak, one is faced at the other extreme, among the Orochi, with the spectacle of their complete dissolution and destruction. And this change is taking place under the influence of a civilized people (Asiatic, it is true) which itself, in its homeland, is devoted to the ancestor cult.

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Section 12

000 Social relations: political and legal position. Social organization on the basis of wealth. National communism. Inviolability of property. Hospitality. Caution and indecision on journeys: wind and weather tests. Superstitious calming of storms. Greeting and expressions of thanks. The custom of giving gifts and return-gifts to one another. Reliability in business affairs. Time reckoning. Calender. Cosmic conceptions. Amusements: singing, music, dancing, games.

128 In connection with the family, the basis of all social organization, the most essential and important characteristics of the latter among the Gilyak and the neighboring peoples in the lower Amur region were discussed in the preceding section: morality, slavery, blood revenge. It remains for us to consider those aspects of their social life which are less directly and immediately connected with the family.

175 648 At the time of my stay in the Amur region the Gilyak were not subject or tributary to either China or Russia. At the beginning of the century the Chinese government had exercised some authority over them on the Amur as well as on Sakhalin and in several places appointed elders from among them, who were to collect a certain amount of tribute in their districts and deliver it to Deren. In the twenties, however, as was discussed in detail above (1), it relinquished this authority and confined it to

1. See pp. 970 ff. above.

those parts of the lower Amur region located farther upstream around the Sungari, so that the Gilyak and the Olcha remained only nominally subject to it, and since from then on no tribute was collected and delivered to the Manchu-Chinese government, the posts of village or district elders created by it automatically perished, too. For the Gilyak in particular, more conscious of their freedom, they had already in my time /664/ disappeared

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175 from memory to such an extent that I never heard them men-
648 tioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the
000 Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosta) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. isprawnik /ispravnik/) residing in the nearest post. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 233), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and generally failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

175 Thus in my time the arrangements made
648 by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and none had yet been introduced by the Russians; the people were left to themselves and within the limits men-
648 tioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

648 /664 cont./ The following remarks pertain
128 only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

621 Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak
622 have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood
[567] revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For
[197] the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach," but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

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556 While there is no ranking of individuals as superior or inferior in a legal sense among the Gilyak, a social structure determined by differences of wealth is very marked among them. Among a people so generally and to such a high degree devoted to trade as the Gilyak, it could not be otherwise but that wealth would play an important role in social life and become decisive for the reputation, moral power, and influence of the individual. The rich man among them, who on trading trips to the Manchu and the Ssisam provides himself with a stock of everything that his countrymen regard as necessary and desirable, is an important and indispensable person for the less well-to-do who are unable to make such trips: at his place they can always dispose of the precious furs, which they themselves have hunted, in exchange for the clothing, food, or luxuries that they need and, in case of necessity, can also count on help and receive some things perhaps on credit, but other things, and the most essential ones, even for nothing. Furthermore, thanks to his trading trips and his extensive contacts, the rich Gilyak is as a rule superior to his poorer countrymen in farsightedness, experience, discernment, and judgment and thus has not only an economic, but also a moral influence upon them. Finally, his means permit him to put himself at the very center of the whole social life now and then and to make his house the scene of social pleasures, especially the great bear festivals and the sumptuous feasts associated with them, in which his poor fellow-villagers and business associates may participate. Under these circumstances there is among the Gilyak a quite spontaneous superiority or inferiority of individuals in social relations, based on their greater or lesser wealth. Thus if one enquires among them, as I often did, about this or that person, they will never fail to mention first of all the financial position of the person concerned by briefly stating whether he is a tscholla nibach, i.e., a poor man, or a kolla nibach, a richer one, or mykstschr-kolla nibach, that is, a very rich man, with which at the same time his social position and the respect that he enjoys among them are generally indicated.

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556 Among the Gilyak the man who undertakes frequent journeys to the Manchu and Ssisam, carries on extensive trade with his countrymen and the neighboring tribes, and in general lives in evident prosperity is regarded as rich, kolla, and therefore esteemed. He is regarded as belonging to a higher level, however, as mykstschr-kolla nibach, a very rich and highly esteemed man, only if, in addition, he also meets the following conditions: 1) if he owns many of the above-mentioned (1)

1. See pp. 933-937 above.

objects which are especially valuable in the eyes of the Gilyak, such as a lynx-fur coat, old Manchurian iron-armor, bows with buffalo and rhinoceros horn mountings, three-handled Japanese cooking kettles, and the like, and then does not sell these inherently useless, but yet very costly articles, /666/ thus putting them to practical use, but keeps them only as dead capital and heirlooms for his sons, he proves his great wealth; 2) if from time to time he gives great bear festivals with opulent feasts and arranges for the invitation of many guests; or finally, 3) if he displays a particularly large household and has 3-5 wives besides several male and female slaves. It is not necessary that all three conditions be met by one person -- it is enough if one or another of them is satisfied as long as this is done to a particularly high degree. Ssogin in Kuĭk-Mäo, for instance, owned a number of luxury items and also had two wives and a female slave, but he was nevertheless regarded as only a kolla nibach. On the other hand, Numkwin in Wair (1), Ansin in Kaki, Ssondon and

1. The same who was mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) as one of the murderers of de la Brunière.

his son Libgun in Tschylm, Jondom in Kalm, Pysgun and Mesgun (2) in Patt, and, especially, Judin in Tebach were

[104] 2. In all the Gilyak names mentioned here the s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

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556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 735 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly [439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed, 426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

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426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence
181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
[186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/667 cont./

735 421 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely [182] active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 421 423 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can
the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons,
whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find
them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[429] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never for-
gotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it
is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter
and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other
fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the
views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to
collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with
him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obliga-
tion for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit
from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very
little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and
the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have
provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[429] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is
not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until
the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/669/

423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to 685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from 648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted [192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met 685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., 123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

/669 cont./

685 123 [122] cigar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter. Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

574 648 123 [159] Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national principle. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there

574 [648] was always a great difference according to whether it was a Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/670 cont./

574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 574 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

484 821 [114] In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations [157] ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, [114] [123] however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had 821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

821 /671 cont./
tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

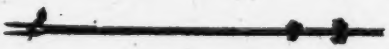
[104] 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause
[484] them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

[823] 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Duĭ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

[782 789]



Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

821 789 782 front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/671 cont./

821 782 789 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

576 [574] [127] I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too.

576 177 648 [123] With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschái" learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssan-ssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 574 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

576 /672 cont./ with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I,
too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not think-
[935] ing now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

431 On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
123 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
[439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

431 /673 cont./ this
439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

439 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

439 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously
114 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
157 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
123 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day-before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there

484 804 805 have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

/674 cont./

484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 821 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 184 [191] The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months.

/675 cont./

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1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

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184

these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

[114]

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

/675 cont./

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[114]

2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

/676/

June	Tengi-wota-long, also Pota-long . . .	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-long.
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long.
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long.
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

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Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their names for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . . Arschkai-long.

/676 cont./

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June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July
August } are not given.
September

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

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From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

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[122]

My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 184 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound 805 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle- 184 month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the 825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). [439] Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese 000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

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3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

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3. (cont.)
des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long--
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114 a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

/678 cont./

805 when the river becomes free of ice September -- when the kalchalch geese (Anser grandis) migrate, and November -- when an ice cover again forms on the Amur and much snow falls. The uncertainty in which the Gilyak live in general with regard to the current month naturally makes fixing a date further in the future especially difficult among them.

The twelve months of the year are distributed very unequally into the individual seasons of the year by the Gilyak. Actually, they distinguish only two seasons: winter (tulf or tulv-anj) and summer (tolf or tolv-anj), for which the decisive factor is probably whether they live in their winter or summer dwellings. Accordingly, there are seven months (October to April) in the former, five (May to September) in the latter. Autumn (tylf or tylv-anj) and spring (chonf or chonv-anj) hardly count at all, and one very seldom hears them mentioned. But if the distinction is made, each of these seasons has only one month -- they are the months of the customary transfer from the summer dwellings to the winter ones and vice versa, in October and April, respectively. In this case, then, there are among the Gilyak:

5 months of winter -- November to March.
1 month of spring -- April.
5 months of summer -- May to September.
1 month of autumn -- October.

821 In connection with the reckoning of time, a few words might be said about the cosmic conceptions of the Gilyak. As a result of the visible rising and setting of the sun, the Gilyak naturally assume that the earth (mif) stands fast and the sun (keng) moves about it. On the basis of the circular horizon, they believe further that the earth has the shape of a circular disk. As a rule they do not give any account of where the sun stays after it has set and night has fallen, and to my question concerning this they answered, amid smiles, with a counterquestion as to whether I had seen it then. From the constant succession of day and night,

/678 cont./

821 the thought of a continuous movement of the sun around the earth and thus an alternation of day and night on the side of the earth turned toward or away from it did come to the deeper thinkers among them, such as Iutschin and Ruigun --a thought which immediately gave rise to the question as to whether there were also animals and men on the other side of the earth. Moreover, the idea that the earth did not have a disk-shape, but a globular-shaped form was accepted by them more easily than I had imagined According to their view, the stars moved around the earth just like the sun. They have, however, a cosmic conception of them advanced to the point that they regard them as celestial bodies similar to the earth, which appear so small to them only because of the great distance. This /679/ undoubtedly arose from their indiscriminate use of the designations unghyr, "star," and unghyr-mif, "earth-star." Some of the constellations bear special names among them. For example, the three stars in the tail of the Great Bear are called tscharw(u)kritsch, the four in its body njagrnjo (1), that is, rats' storehouse; a constellation with

[192] 1. In the Tymy dialect; njo = njö on the mainland.

numerous stars near the Great Bear, perhaps the Pleiades (?), bears the name lumr (sable) on the Amur and, on Sakhalin, taghr-njo, that is, storehouse of Tamias striatus, or also tamml-unghyr (many stars); the sword of Orion is called tschechwak, the Milky Way taighonantif, which means roughly "unknown way," etc. One of their first and most frequent questions was whether there were [756] human beings on the stars. To my answer that these objects were too small to be seen even with a telescope because of the great distance of the stars they replied with great assurance that nevertheless their shamans had seen them, and from their stories they firmly believed that on the stars there are tall trees and extensive forests, various animals, such as sable, otter, foxes, bears, dogs, etc., and, finally, even human beings. These human beings, whom they called, again indiscriminately,

/679 cont./

821 sometimes unghyr-nibăch (star men) and sometimes unghyr-mif-nibăch (star-earth men), were of especially gigantic stature, the

[756] eyebrows bushy, the nose long and strong, etc. Occasionally an earth man might meet a star man, and the shamans knew how one would have to behave toward him. The story of such a meeting followed, but unfortunately I was unable to follow it in its fantastic and confused details.

128 If for the moment, however, we glance away from the shamans, their arts, conjuring the spirits, dances, and songs, to which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their amusements, songs, music, dances, and games remain.

533 The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more sober, serious, and practical purposes, such as acquisition, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much or often to singing. In particular I have never heard them sing at the bear festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved and in the stillness of Nature surrounding him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the dying fire in the silent forest or drifting down the river in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar -- only in such and similar cases have I heard him sing in the daytime, and then the prolonged gutteral notes of his song come over to one sounding so monotonous and melancholy.

533 513 On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-fur coat, he begins to sing in a loud voice, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a gutteral ga usually comes from here /680/ or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who renders the nocturnal song or the encouraging ga. Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I

533 /680 cont./Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
513 myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak,
[123] however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the
night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It
533 is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region,
513 Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging
171

[113] 1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kä, kä (2).

[113] 2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kä, kä, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kah! kah!, which means the same as da capo.

/680 cont./

513 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak,
191 or Olcha, etc., interrupts his night's sleep even apart from the nocturnal singing, he abandons his bed as soon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or on it, smokes one pipe after another, etc. But I never
[123] saw him, day or night, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whenever I did it, which was not infrequent on stormy days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general amazement and smiles among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of it.

533 Since I rarely heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reasons given above, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff crossed the northern river system of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and Dseja /Zeya/ to Ustj-Strelka, at the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/ to the Amur (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615-625).

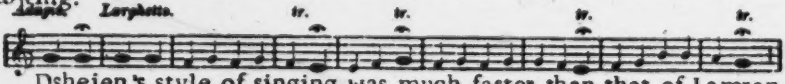
and Ulbanj Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Yakut and Tungus. Through the latter his attention was called to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitants of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps becoming embarrassed, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now each one had to step forward in turn. In general they sang with far more melody than the Yakut, but gutteral and /681/ nasal trills also always played an important

533 part. In pithy and drastic language, after a statement about the music concerned, Middendorff characterizes the style of singing of the individual singers. "First, the Gilyak Lamran stepped forward. He had a pleasant voice and truly a great deal of skill. During the singing one could hear only a few words besides anga -- ynga, and it seems as though these words, used as an introduction and refrain with each song, had no meaning, but simply belonged to the singing. Here are the notes:

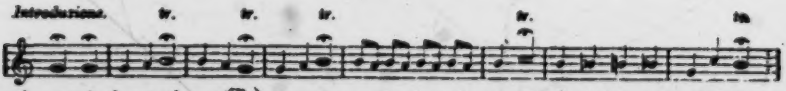
1.

The preliminary note was held as long as the breath allowed and formed (without words) the introduction. The trill is a gutteral trill and is likewise held a long time. Since Lamran held a very pure note and also had an acceptable vibrant gutteral trill, this slow style was very pleasant, but not a little melancholy.

The second singer was the Gilyak Dsheien, and his melody the following:

2. 

Dsheien's style of singing was much faster than that of Lamran, but the over-all impression was somewhat sad. Although the holding of the gutteral trills was also the most important thing for him, a special virtuosity was added: in holding the note, he suddenly acted as if he were losing his breath and as if someone were choking him, so that one became quite fearful and afraid that he would suffocate, but then the word begun came out quite clearly. Moreover, in between there was a sort of belching and sobbing, during which only the beginning of the word was pronounced, as by a stutterer, for example, an --- anga; then the loss of breath and the sobbing and belching fol-

3. 

lowed, and then the anga came out clearly This did not merely introduce the whole and the various stanzas, but was even frequently inserted between individual words.

Finally the Gilyak Njaungur stepped forward as third. He sang as follows: /see No. 3 above/

/681 cont./

533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in [194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the anga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and h, and, furthermore, the French ng, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

114 533 Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs, but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

/682 cont./

533 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song;
instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only
praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to
me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of
two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words
in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in
them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides
my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn
was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under
the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection
with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a
place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who
die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but
are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the
shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them
is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an
instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, ac-
cordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction
that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed
among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood,
and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The
first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into
which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining at-
tached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced
and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front
of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 533 534 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

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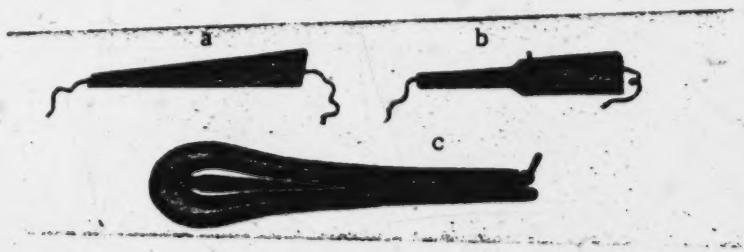

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517 533 534 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy. And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

534 /684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

[824] [237]

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over
[192] a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) is sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the
[191] stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I never saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasion; apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to them at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quite extraordinary circumstances: it was in Burukan, a place which the Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilyak, at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laughter, because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

545 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
171 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades or

/684 cont./

545 171 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc. whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected [157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, pp. 85, 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 [526] Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a 128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

524 439 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171]

2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

G 524 439 171 /685 cont./

2. (cont.)
cards, the game being played with 120
cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G 524 525 171 The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Prszewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Ssutschan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more rapidly down the Amur and that it has not found favorable soil in particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is undoubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have been carried to them by the Russians.

Gi 648 Before I start the description of the bear festival of the Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with regard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above.

/686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or Russia Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

Gi [439]

1. Cf. p. 950.

Gi 648 [439] /686 cont./ officials in Ssan-ssin a certain amount of tribute in order to obtain permission to do so. Nevertheless there was a very noticeable difference in the position of these two peoples with respect to the rule over them, abandoned only recently and to a certain extent compulsorily by the Manchu-Chinese. Henceforth the more G [648] energetic Gilyak paid no attention to the district elders appointed by the Manchu-Chinese government for the purpose of collecting tribute and previously disliked by them, and permitted neither a Manchu official nor a Chinese trader to enter their territory. The gentler and more fearful Olcha, however, did not have the courage for such a decision; they were still afraid of a return of Manchu-Chinese domination and of the events that seem to have followed the abandonment of the trade center of Deren located in their territory (2). This fear can be explained in part by the fact that

2. See pp. 978-982 above.

the lower Goldi immediately adjacent to them and the Samagir on the Gorin still remained under Manchu-Chinese rule and the Olcha received many a fugitive and immigrant from there. In part it was also fostered by the fact that the Chinese traders staying here and there among the Olcha, freed from any kind of control, such as had formerly been exercised by the Manchu officials in Deren, now treated the Olcha with even more imperiousness and audacity, especially since they found among them long-customary, humble submissiveness.

Gi 648 181 556 The fear of a return of Manchu-Chinese rule and the accompanying insecurity with regard to property, as well as, on the other hand, the Tungusic nature of the Olcha with its much less industriousness and gain-seeking in comparison with the Gilyak, further explain the fact that greater or lesser prosperity does not by far play as considerable a role among them as among the Gilyak, and the social organization which has developed on the basis of Gi 556 it is more or less missing among them. Not that there are no wealthy individuals among them, for example, Todo in Tschiloi, who was one of the few Olcha who even owned a lynx-fur coat (3).

3. See p. 579 above.

Gi 556 /686 cont./ But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly as much esteem, moral influence, and popularity as among the latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the G [157] greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues unceasingly to try to increase it by buying new furs in the neighborhood and on trade voyages, through which his name and reputation /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The G [157] Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and more easily satisfied nature in this respect.

G G 181 171 Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of tribal affiliation nearly as much as is the case among the latter. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligi- Gi [735] ble to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no such support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a decidedly milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

Gi 42 224 Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

/687 cont./ will take place. An honesty going beyond the tribal boundaries is therefore also presupposed. And I myself have had the opportunity to see that such does in fact exist. In one hunting tent, for example, I saw a whole musk deer, not yet skinned, which I wanted to buy. The owner, however, an Olcha, was absent, and the tent was empty when I arrived. My guide, a Goldi, expressed the opinion that the transaction could easily be carried out and that the animal was not worth more than a bundle of tobacco leaves. I increased the price to two bundles, whereupon, in the place where the animal had been, he put a wooden stick with notches, one of which, the upper notch, indicated that one animal had been bought, and the notches put below on another side gave the number of articles in kind paid for it. When later on by accident I met the same Olcha on the Amur, he confirmed that he had received the price mentioned for the musk deer and was quite satisfied with the trade. The Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir have the same respect for the property of a traveler; in their villages I never discovered any pilfering of my property, let alone theft with violence, such as may occur among the Gilyak. True, this does not always happen out of honesty, but rather in part their greater contentment and less striving to increase their possessions keep them from doing it, as well as in part their more timid and apprehensive nature.

/688/ Finally, hospitality among the Olcha and other Tungusic tribes is far less nationally colored than among the Gilyak. It has more eager helpfulness and kindness associated with it and is expressed in more civil and friendly ways. Sometimes the host of the house receives one at the door, bows his head in greeting or utters a friendly ssoro-de, good day, and, with a motion of his hand, invites one to enter. Occasionally, a knee is bent before the traveler, as the Samagir and Goldi usually do, and, to be sure, the latter in all the more humble a form the farther upstream one travels; that is, the closer one comes to the Manchu and Chinese; in fact, the upper Goldi, in bending a knee, may even put the palms of their hands together as though in supplication. In the house the host spreads a small rug on the sleeping bench for

Gi 574 576 177 /688 cont./ the traveler and puts a low table and a basin with glowing embers (jachalacco) beside it; indeed, he may even light his pipe at the embers and offer it to the guest in the hope that the latter will do likewise -- clearly customs borrowed from the Manchu and Chinese. In the meantime, the women have taken the baggage of the traveler from the sled and have brought it into the house.

Gi 574 576 171 [123] In the houses of the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir one is very pleasantly impressed by the lighter atmosphere so much freer of superstitious restraints. Despite many contacts with them, I never heard any Olcha or Goldi expression for the Gilyak uïtsch, and none expressed in reiterated shouts from all sides of the yurt as a sign of general displeasure, such as happened to me so often among the Gilyak (1). They are much too modest and reserved

G 576 123 1. On the basis of the many uïtsch in the Gilyak yurts I likewise made the observance of three uïtsch mandatory for the Gilyak who frequented my house in the Nikolayev post. Namely, they could not: 1) sit on my bed, 2) spit in the middle of the floor, and 3) smoke their own tobacco, but only mine -- an uïtsch that they accepted gladly.

Gi 574 576 171 for that. Finally, I must note a sign of more humane feeling or at least more civil formality among the Olcha and Goldi: the expression of gratitude, which appears so utterly alien to the Gilyak, I think I heard repeatedly among the former in the expression fodomonero.

Gi 648 175 In my time, the situation among the Goldi in politico-administrative respects was different than among the Gilyak and Olcha. Even after the abandonment of the trading center of Deren, the Goldi, like the Samagir and the Orochi, remained tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government, a situation which did not come to an end until 1858, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun between Russia and China and the subsequent

/688 cont./ definitive occupation of the lower Amur region by the Russians. In order to collect the tribute (Goldi álba), the Manchu-Chinese government made use of the traditional organization of the Amur peoples according to the paternal kin-groups /Geschlechtern/ or tribes /Stämmen/ (hala) and for each of them appointed a tribal elder (halada), who had to collect the tribute and keep a record of it, as well as of the deaths and births that occurred in his tribe, /689/ and give an account of this to a Manchu official, who was obliged to travel through the country from time to time, and hand over the tribute collected. Originally, the office of halada was said to be hereditary in each tribe. But since the individual tribes were spread over various villages, separated and confused, the division by tribes gradually changed into one by districts to which several villages belonged and in one of them the halada, usually appointed by the Manchu officials, had his residence. Mamia Rinsô became familiar with this administration of the lower Amur region by the Manchu-Chinese government in the place itself, first on Sakhalin, to which it extended at that time, and later in Deren and along the Amur River. In the speech of the Japanese, however, who replaces the letters l and d with r and t, the designation of the tribal elder, halada, took the form harata (1). Though the names of the tribes were retained for the

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1. See p. 972 above. The etymology of the term used by this same traveler for the second-elder of the tribe, kasinta, is unknown to me.

Though the names of the Tribes were retained for the districts, nevertheless with this division of people and land, which was more suitable for administrative purposes, the awareness of tribal affiliation was bound to disappear more and more among the people. For example, the Goldi Dshinga, on whose story the above data and the following handwritten notes by Maximowicz are based, had to think a long time about the name of his own tribe, whereas he could enumerate the villages under a halada without hesitation. This predominance of an administrative point of view among the Goldi, as it was taught them by the

/689 cont./

648 631 622 Manchu-Chinese government, in contrast to the idea of the kall among the Gilyak (2), which is conditioned altogether by family

2. See pp. 1063 ff.

relations, the laws of inheritance, and blood revenge, constitutes a very characteristic difference between these peoples. The 648 631 622 halada whom Dshinga could enumerate were: a Gilyak in Tschomi, an Olcha in Uchtr, Kasm, and Gauwne, although there had been none among the Gilyak and Olcha for a long time, and a number 103 of Goldi, for instance, in Köurmi, one halada to whom the Samagir villages on the Gorin were also subject, in Zollazi, Dsongmi, Odshal, Boolan, Emero, Katar, and Kewurda, for the Kewur River emptying from the left below the Ussuri, etc. Also the names of several tribes and of the villages over which they had spread were known to him, for example: the Tummala hala with the villages of Belho, Chome, etc.; the Ssioiger hala with 13 villages and among them Odshob; the Bjelde hala embracing the villages of Daisso, Dole, Dshare, Kjaure, Ssoja, Chula, and others; the Possar hala with the villages of Mare, Tolho, Adseko, Dondon, Da, Gassieng; the Geikar or Onni hala with the villages of Naiche, Dyrerga, Boaza; the Dsjads'chor hala, in part likewise in Tolho and Da; the Kilengko hala, in part living in Gassieng; the Achtar hala in Ssündaka; the Udi hala in Kewurda, etc.

In addition to his above-mentioned duties, the halada is 648 631 622 also responsible for the upkeep of the little tribute house (giassa) located in his district and serving for the temporary stay of a [485] Manchu official traveling through, and for taking care of him with regard to supplies of fish, boat repairs, and the like. These little tribute houses, one of which, for example, /690/ is located opposite the village of Mylki on the right bank of the Amur on a river inlet formed by an island, look like a palisaded [203] Goldi dauro. During the time of the stay of the Manchu official in the giassa, the halada must arrange for spreading the news of it over as general and wide an area as possible so that those who have not yet paid their tribute may appear there.

/690 cont./

648 651 The tribute consists of one sable pelt per male soul, and everybody who is older than 15 is obligated to pay it. Every tribute-payer receives a gift in return, which may consist, depending on the circumstances, of several pieces of various Chinese cotton fabrics, which are known among the Goldi under the names of ssamssa, ssangnja, chodo-bosso, and amba-bosso, of white, blue, or red color, the two first ones of four fathoms each in length, the chodo-bosso of eight, and the amba-bosso of ten. The number of pieces of cloth given in return for the tributary sable depends on the greater or lesser quantity of cotton material available in Itscha-choton. In 1855, for instance, the Manchu in Itscha-choton allowed only four pieces of ssamssa and two pieces of chodo-bosso in return for the tribute, whereas in former years they gave four pieces of ssamssa, eight pieces of ssangnja, and one piece of amba-bosso for each tributary sable. Moreover, the Manchu allow more for the tributary sable if one travels to Itscha-choton in person than if one delivers it to the official locally.

648 651 622 The halada is distinguished from the rest by the fact that he pays two sables in tribute annually and, in exchange, receives not only the cotton fabrics, but also a piece of silk. If a new halada is appointed, however, he must first make an inauguration journey to Itscha-choton, which costs him a number of sables. In return, he receives the right to wear a Chinese official's hat with a small dark-blue glass button.

Since, as a rule, the halada have no idea of the number of natives dwelling in their area and the account obligatorily made for Manchu official, showing both the number of tribute-payers and the number of deaths and births that have occurred in the meantime, is likewise extremely faulty, and, furthermore, since everyone tries to avoid paying tribute as much as possible and, if he does not succeed, must pay double and triple the amount as a penalty, the collection of tribute becomes an altogether arbitrary act and gives rise to violence and extortions
648 of all kinds. There is hardly a Manchu official who will let such an opportunity go by without enriching himself at the expense of the natives, and they are therefore generally feared

/690 cont./

648 and despised by the Goldi and, though outwardly treated humbly, are designated with the nickname ssingare, rats, behind their backs, because, like the latter, they devour their principal item of wealth, sable furs.

648 The constant prospect of being forcibly plundered by the
177 Manchu officials and the feeling of powerlessness with regard to
157 the Chinese traders who make them their permanent debtors through advances of all kinds of goods, especially liquor, tobacco, cloth, and the like deprive the Goldi of all pleasure and enjoy-
[461] ment in property and in increasing it. Added to this is the disruption of their family relations caused by the latter /691/ as well as their indifference and indolence toward setting to work unless forced to do so by dire need, which is more or less characteristic of all primitive peoples, but especially of the
[511] carefree Tungus. These living conditions and character traits of the Goldi are the reason why, in spite of the wealth of large game and fish in their homeland, they are far from living in prosperity like the Olcha and the Gilyak, and it is not so decisive a factor in their social relations.

648 The same reasons also explain their somewhat depressed
157 and fearful demeanor as a rule, which is in sharp contrast to the self-reliance and frankness of the Gilyak. Their submissiveness toward the Manchu-Chinese goes so far that they always try to say what will please them and do not dare express anything that might in any way be unpleasant to them; therefore, if they observe this or are afraid of it, they are immediately prepared to maintain the opposite of what has just been said. This be-
157 havior in relation to their tyrannical rulers has become part of
123 their nature, and they felt obliged, as guides and oarsmen on our boats, to observe it toward us. For instance, the answer to our question as to whether it was still far to the next village was "Yes, far," and, if merely a slight, unpleasant doubt were expressed about it on our part, it was immediately said, "No, it is near." They therefore first liked to sound out one's own opinion and give the answer accordingly, or they simply say nossa, "I do not know," or more naïvely: bichaissa, ssisare, "How should I know, you know it" -- an answer which often,

/691 cont./

157 especially in matters which were certainly well known to them,
123 made us angry. But the exceedingly great goodheartedness,
peacefulness, honesty, and lightheartedness of these people al-
ways made up to us for their faults, taught to them by the Manchu-
648 Chinese. The Manchu-Chinese government, constantly dogging
123 the footsteps of the Russians in the Amur region, had forbidden
122 the Goldi to serve us as guides or as oarsmen on our boats. This
prohibition, however, was not observed by them, because they
did not have the strength to resist the good wages which we
offered them and probably also saw nothing wrong in disobeying
the hated Manchu as long as there was no danger to themselves
involved. But they anxiously avoided every village where a
government official was staying, and once, when they did not
succeed in this and caught sight of him, their fear was so great
that they wanted to get out of their obligation to us immediately
and to run away without having received their wages, which we
were able to prevent only by threatening them with force. That
in no way disturbed our good relations, for, as soon as they had
recovered from their fright, they were glad not to have lost their
wages, and soon their former willingness and friendliness, indeed,
526 even cheerfulness appeared again. When we landed during the day
[533] for a meal or stopped for a day of rest, after several days of travel,
[529] there was always something for passing the time, sometimes sing-
ing, sometimes some game, either a native one or one learned
from the Manchu-Chinese, several of which we became acquainted
with in this way among the Goldi. Sometimes, for example, a
rope, the one that was used to drag the boat upstream, was swung
back and forth by two men, while /692/ a third made various
evolutions over it in such a way that the rope could always swing
back and forth unimpeded--a game that was called tabbateré: first the
one involved threw himself down on all fours and, alternately
supported on his arms or on his feet, let the rope swing through;
then he lay flat on his back, threw his legs in the air, and
jumped over the rope with his arms, etc. After about three or
four evolutions of different character, as soon as the rope came to

/692 cont./

526 a standstill, another man stepped in (1). Sometimes there was

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1. According to Castrén (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849, p. 223), this game also occurs among the Tungus on the Yenisei, who exhibit an extraordinary adroitness at it, in that, while jumping over the swinging rope, they pick up a bow and arrows from the ground, draw the bow, and shoot the arrows -- indeed, in the same way especially bold persons among them are said to expose their legs to the blade of a bear-ax which a person stretched out on the ground swings around with the greatest force.

competitive wrestling (Goldi ngwatschê), sometimes competitive jumping, either on one leg (toomendí) or on both, but with the legs close together and without a running start (derindí), for which the important thing was to give oneself a swing forward by a forceful movement of the arms; the one who threw the other

524 to the ground or made the longest jump was the victor. On another occasion, our Goldi drew a chessboard on the wet sand of the bank and played various chess or, more properly, checker-like games on it with two kinds of small wooden sticks. One of them, which I watched and which they called "Manchu" after its origin, or tonga (five) anaká after the number of wooden sticks on both sides, consisted of the following. The square chessboard was divided into 4 × 4 small squares or fields; the players were given five specially marked sticks each, which they first placed on two opposite sides at the points where the lines bordering the fields intersected. Alternately each player was allowed to make a move forward, backward, or sideways along these lines, but not diagonally across the field. As soon as two sticks of one player were behind one another on the same horizontal or vertical line and a stick of the opponent was immediately in front of them,

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/692 cont./

524 it was removed, and this continued until all the sticks of one or
[177] the other player were eliminated. As the special term for this game (tonga-anaká) in itself indicates, the Goldi surely have various others of the same type, which they in part may have learned from the Manchu or Chinese and in part put together themselves.

533 Now and then they also passed the time with a song ren-
171 dered by one or another of them. One who particularly distin-
177 guished himself in this respect was a young Goldi by the name of
[122] Hykkerlaké, whom I had hired as a guide above the mouth of the Ussuri on my return trip down the Amur. Always in a good mood and very talkative, he possessed an inexhaustible supply of not only Goldi songs, but allegedly Manchurian and Chinese songs as well, which he sang for me even en route, rowing his bark canoe close to my boat, hooking onto it with one leg, and letting himself be towed along. The Goldi songs, to be sure, usually are also somewhat melancholy and solemn and, as a rule, are sung with a drawn-out voice, but without the gutteral tones which represent an essential attribute of the Gilyak songs, and there is /693/ far more melody and euphony of language in them. The Chinese songs, on the other hand, seemed very artificial to me, not to say distorted, when sung by the Goldi.

805 Since in the discussion of the social relations of the Gilyak
171 their time-reckoning has also been considered above, a few remarks here on the same subject with regard to their neighbors on the mainland, the Olcha and the Goldi, follow. In spite of the already far advanced assimilation of the Olcha, in their way of life and their customs, with the Gilyak, their time-reckoning corresponds, not to that of the Gilyak, but to that of their southern Tungusic neighbors, the Goldi and, so it seems, the Manchu.
805 In the handwritten notes of Maximowicz, who spent some time among both peoples, I find the following notes on the subject. "If one asks," it says there, "an Olcha or Goldi about their division of time, the answer runs as a rule: 'How should we know that, ask the Manchu or Chinese, who will tell you.' To be sure, everyone is able to name one month or another and also the season of the year into which it falls: obtua (winter),

/693 cont./

805 niengnia (spring), dshoa (summer), or bolo (autumn), but it usually does not go beyond that. In Mylki I finally met a Goldi who named 12 months for me, but I do not know whether all the names are Goldi or some perhaps of Manchurian or even of Chinese origin. According to him, these 12 months (bie) of the year (afnganie) are named as follows: Nguíren (when the ice begins to form on the river), Itschía (when the river is covered with a firm covering of ice), Gússe, Agdsema, Naúdsema, Chu, Chíela (when the ice breaks), Niúngun-bie (the sixth month), Nádan-bie (the seventh month), Dshákfun-bie (the eighth month), Chújun-bie (the ninth month), and Dshóan-bie (the tenth month). But in spite of his assertion that the year had only 12 months (bie), he then named a thirteenth one, Pótkianko, in which the salmon species daua (Salmo lagocephalus) is caught and much jukola is prepared from it." In Odshal, moreover, Maximowicz became acquainted with a Goldi who in part confirmed the above information for him and in part supplemented it with the following, the natural conditions or activities of the Goldi and Olcha characterizing the individual months. "In Nguiren," he said, "when the river freezes over, people go to the mountains and forests to catch sables, and they do not return before the month of Chu-bie, after having hunted during the months of Itschia, Gusse, Agdsema, and Naúdsema. While the Goldi are hunting, the Olcha make their trading trips to the Orochi (which they do in part also during the summer). In Chiela the river opens up; one then catches adi (Acipenser orientalis) and uja (Cyprinus carpio) in abundance and dries what is not immediately consumed. The Nadan-bie is poor for fish. In Dshakfun-bie uru is caught and, below Kidsi, also sselke (Salmo lycaodon), as well as uja, kundu (Acip. schrenckii), and, sporadically and rarely, also adi. In Dshoan-bie and Potkianko the catching of daua and the preparation of jukola from it take place. With the month of Potkianko one begins the counting of the months in the year and counts (as is also the case among the Gilyak), not according to days, but according to nights."

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805 Needless to say, the 13 months of the Goldi cannot coincide exactly with our 12. Nevertheless the natural events and activities of the natives taking place in them /694/ indicate clearly enough the months to which the Goldi names refer. At one point, by the way, the two informants of Maximowicz do not agree with each other: whereas the Mylki Goldi mentioned Potkianko as simply a thirteenth month, the Odshal Goldi designated it directly as the one with which the counting of the months, that is, the new year, begins. If one counts, according to the statements by the Mylki Goldi, backward from the months designated only by numbers, one comes to Gûsse-bie as the first one in the year. In literal translation this is Tschamlong or eagle month, the January of the Gilyak. But I do not know whether the latter actually begin the counting of the months of the year with it, or whether this, as well as the name of the month among the Goldi and Gilyak respectively, is to be traced back to Manchu-Chinese influence. As far as the Goldi are concerned, we are told that their new year begins with Potkianko, the month when the mass migration of Salmo lagocephalus up the Amur takes place. This highly important event for all the dwellers on the Amur River and its tributaries commences at its mouth around the middle or end of August and continues farther upstream, in the territory of the Olcha and Goldi, throughout September and, in fact, in the Ussuri, even as late as October, with diminishing intensity, until the ice begins to form (1).

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1. See p. 817 above.

805 171 221 Therefore just as August among the Gilyak on the mainland, but, because of the later appearance of the mass migrations of Salmo lagocephalus, for those on Sakhalin September is designated as pilja-tschrar-long or simply pilja-long, i.e., "great fish month" or simply "great month," so it seems to be among the Olcha and Goldi with their Potkianko, which occurs, earlier among the former, later among the latter, from September to October and inaugurates the beginning of a new year and a new cycle of

805 22 [171]

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activities (2). In any case a national feature in the calendar of

> 2. Could not the other designation, Pottschawo-long, which I heard among the Amur Gilyak in addition to the more customary Oni-lami-long for October, also be traced back to Potkianko and thus be of Olcha-Goldi origin?

the Goldi and Olcha is expressed in it. Potkianko is followed by: Nguiren -- November, Itschia - December, Gusse - January, Agdsema - February, Naudsema - March, and Chu-bie - April -- months which the Goldi spend almost entirely and the Olcha at least for the greater part in hunting in the forest and mountain wildernesses. If one considers how extraordinarily important for them this activity is and how happily they pursue it, it will seem characteristic that for these months, too, they have special names and do not merely designate them by numbers. To these is to be added Chiela-bie, May, which is of the greatest importance for them inasmuch as then a new source of food becomes available to them with the opening of the river and the beginning of fishing and especially hunting with harpoons the largest fish of the river, the sturgeon and hausen. For the following summer months from June to August, however, in accordance with the far less zeal with which they do the other fishing, they have only designations by means of numbers, which may cause considerable uncertainty in use, in contrast to the more ichthyophagous Gilyak who for this very /695/ season, from May to August, use national months-names that refer to fishing throughout.

821 Neither Maximowicz nor I were able to find out anything definite about the cosmic conceptions of the Goldi. Maack (1),

> 1. Puteth. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1859, pp. 164, 189.

however, following the story of a Goldi informant, relates that they have the earth revolving around the polar star, which they

/695 cont./

821 regard as the only fixed star in the sky and therefore call chadá-ossikta, "fixed star." The same man was able to give him the names of several other stars. Thus, Jupiter is called chorakta among them, the eagle ilan-ossikta (three stars), Lyrae dsára, Aurigae ssuen dsara, the Great Bear faulja. Special veneration [171] is given to the latter in China, since, according to Pauthier (2),

2. Chine moderne ou descr. hist. géogr. et litér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, p. 262 (L'Univers).

in the capital of each of the 18 provinces of this empire among the other temples there must also be one dedicated to the constellation of the Great Bear (wen-tschang-li-kiun). Hence, it is not sur- [177] prising that in the Amur region, too, perhaps under Manchu-Chinese influence, special attention is given to this constella-tion by the Goldi and Gilyak. The Goldi call the Milky Way ba-mamgu, which Maack connects with the designation Mamgu for the Amur, though the latter more properly is Mangu (3). If

3. See pp. 306-310 above.

there is such a connection, by the way, it could only lie in the fact that the Goldi think they see a reflection of the Amur River in the Milky Way. The Manchu Kächuïng, whom we met at the [171] mouth of the Ussuri, pointed to the converging arms of the Milky Way and said, "yi Sachali, yi Sungari," which reminds one of the conception of the Australians who see in the Milky Way a reflection of the Darling River, on whose banks their transfigured departed engage in fishing (4).

4. Peschel, Völkerkunde, p. 352.

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Section 13 (1)

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1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

(The bear festivals. Their cultural character and social significance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Ceremonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the bears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the bones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha, as well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

825 The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the peoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But among none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among the Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

its vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find anywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka, makes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its frequent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast of prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the imagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and surrounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious ideas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that the soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves into the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly arisen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its bearing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like them, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses, on berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a place for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs, like them it stands upright in combat, etc.

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825 [RX2] like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this, however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

231 The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

231 /697 cont./ From now on
796 it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor,
[182] ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course,
[574] within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host, he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.1251/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

/698 cont./

231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

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2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

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114 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the
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3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

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1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

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3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

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4.(cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

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The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the [756] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears [609] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration [123] of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

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*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the [123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi- [114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to [778] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd *796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young 526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, [574] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

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*796 526 to some of our French rounds: the players joined hands, forming a circle; the circle moved around rapidly until it broke at one point, and a single row was made out of the circle. As soon as this happened, the first man passed under the raised arms of the last two members at the other end of the row, pulling the whole row after him, and making it necessary for the last man to turn himself around himself. If he succeeded in doing this and thus became the first man, he did what the first one had done, and so it alternated on and on, until the clumsiness of one of the leaders or a slip and fall by a member of the chain caused the whole row to break up, which happened not infrequently in the slippery, unevenly packed snow in front of the house and was always accompanied by the resounding laughter of all the bystanders. Close by another circle made up of young boys romped about and imitated exactly everything relating to the adults (see Plate XI /p. 991/). Many women, girls, and small children of the village had gathered around both circles and at every opportunity expressed their approval by wildly shouting in unison and by stamping and loudly beating on their furs and robes.

*796 231 After the game had come to an end, Judin approached us and urged us to enter the house, /701/ into which the whole crowd from outside followed us. The dogs' table had been removed and in its place were three bears who were tied to the two central posts of the yurt and to the supports on either side of the absent dogs'-table top, for the latter alone would not have offered enough resistance. The bear wears a stout leather band around its neck and a second on its back connected with the first around its body directly behind the front legs, which serves to keep the neck-band from slipping over the head of the animal. The space otherwise taken up by the dogs' table is rather small for three bears, especially since the animals cannot be put too close together, so the chains running from the neck-band, which are extended by a long rope on either side, are drawn quite taut, but always so that the animals can lie down, get up again, and move somewhat to the side. This greatly restricts the free

/701 cont./

*796 231 traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly seized by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Judin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschilwi and Aure, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalm and was the property of another Tebach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak molk) by the Gilyak, which happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

*796 526 [191] Immediately after we, followed by the throng, had taken seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun here, despite the limited space, the one that I described above in discussing the Goldi games and which consists of jumping over a rope swung by two persons. The Gilyak called it tyk-tyk (1),

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1. Tyk means cord.

and the activity that goes with it, tykyrtsch. But it did not last long and was not performed nearly as skillfully as by the Goldi. Nevertheless it is part of the entertainment program during a bear festival and, judging by the noise, shouting, and laughter of the onlookers, found hearty approval. I did not see it performed by the Gilyak at other times, and the fact that it took place in the limited space of the house and not outside, where, in the moonlit night, it would have been much better and more comfortable for the fur-clad players as well as for the spectators, and the brief duration of the game, /702/ almost permit one to conclude that

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*796 it took place only in honor of the bears present. The latter, more-
*796 over, were immediately afterwards treated with mossj, which they
231 licked from long nichyr.

Next came the chief entertainment of the festival, the procession with the bears from house to house. For this, as for all subsequent events, the same order was always observed with the animals, in that first came the small one, then the large one, and finally the medium-sized bear -- an order evidently determined by the unequal share of their owners in the festival, since two of them belonged to Judin and he was at the same time the chief host of the entire festival. Accordingly, the procession began with the small bear. The ropes with which it was tied to the posts were loosened, and at each of them a long row of Gilyak posted themselves in alternating order. The two men standing next to the bear on either side had reversed their fur coats, wearing the back in front, and their sealskin apron-skirts (kossjkha) were around the body as tightly and smoothly as possible, so that if a bear claw grazed them, it would not catch anywhere, but would slide off the smooth skin. Each of them also held a short stick in his hand in order to tease the bear. The first man standing in the direction in which the procession is supposed to go now jumps in front of the bear with his legs apart and his chest pushed far out and goads it with his stick. The animal roars loudly, throws itself forward, partly lifts itself up, and flies out at its opponent with its paw. But the latter instantly jumps back a step, and all those standing at the same rope move one step forward toward the house door, dragging the bear after them. The same thing is repeated a second time, a third time; the bear tries in vain to seize its opponent, but its claws always slide off the smooth skirt. Meanwhile others are busy with sticks and poles pushing the bear in the direction it is to go. If it presses the man in front too much, if it has not only grazed him with its paw, but clawed his fur coat, making his plight dangerous, the first man in the row behind the bear goads the animal from the rear and forces it to turn around and to direct its attacks at him, while those standing at the rear rope at the same time drag the animal backward.

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*796 354 231 Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, sometimes backward, but always closer and closer to the house door, amid the loud roars of rage of the bear being tugged back and forth, in which the other two animals join, and amid the wild, intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as the bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that all those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movements, and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention of one or the other man in front. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and from there illuminate the turbulent proceedings, following the procession back and forth with improvised torches, which consist of rolled-up birch-bark and sometimes flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke. Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

*796 231 The two other bears were then /703/ led out of the house in the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decidedly the most enraged and intractable of all, which the Gilyak ascribed to the fact that it had broken a leg while being captured and consequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differently the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themselves up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear behaved quite differently; it did not try to get up at all, but attempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw in front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goading it, or it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its paws. It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, however, the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

[825] The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead them through all the houses in the village, of which there were seven in Tebach; the procession with the three bears turned into each of them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, the large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and treated with mossj from nichyr spoons as a sign that they are held in esteem and are welcome guests in each house.

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and are welcome guests in each house. Thus the procession lasted a long time, and the bears were not returned to Judin's house for the night, but remained in one of the other houses. It was not until the morning of the following day (January 11) that the two animals belonging to our host, the small and the large bear, were brought back to his house and were displayed there in the customary manner.

Meanwhile it was time to feed the dogs which always takes place in the morning. There were many of them on account of the many guests who had traveled to the place. Since the dogs' table had been removed, another arrangement had to be made in order to feed the dogs in the house. For this, a long pole was put through an opening in one of the central posts between which the large bear stood, and it was fastened at the ends to the supporting posts at either side of the top of the dogs' table. The dogs, very excited by the presence of the bears in the house, were now tied to this pole; and in front of them lay a board upon which the troughs with the steaming fish-broth were placed. The feeding of the dogs seemed to be done with special care this time, because dog races were to take place on the following day. Judin was very busy and concerned that everything should be done properly for his guests.

After the arrangement for feeding the dogs had been removed, the leading of the bears in and out began again, without my being able to discern any apparent purpose for it: the small bear was taken into another yurt, while the large bear was led out of the door of the house and immediately back in again four times, with intervals of only a few minutes. Perhaps through the frequent repetition of this experiment the neck-band on this bear may have become somewhat loose or damaged in some other way; it soon appeared necessary to the Gilyak to provide it with some auxiliary ropes -- an undertaking that was most interesting for me, for it showed me the great intrepidity /704/ of the Gilyak in confronting the bears and their enormous skill and adroitness in dealing with them. This task was even more difficult than putting on the neck and body bands at the beginning, which was

/704 cont./

*796 231 described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the animal had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses, and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring loudly, repeatedly shaking itself. Now, together with the small bear, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and crowberries /Strickbeeren/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times, that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

*796 322 998 Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end, or, more properly, to whittle them, that is, to make the so-called nauws (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

[104]

1. The s here is to be pronounced soft, like the French z.

778 /704 cont./
*796 Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but
[322] most of them on two opposite sides, and some all around; indeed, from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called zach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3), etc.,

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not, of course, be absent from the bear festival. Thus we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time a part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more copious masses as the bear festival progressed. For the moment, however, the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out, in order to be used on the following day. While the men, youths, and boys carved on the sticks, the women prepared a fresh supply of mossj, into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir-needles (from Picea ajanensis, Fisch., Gilyak twisk -- an activity which lasted until evening.

*796 Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other
231 houses of the village went on without interruption. The Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment, and they take as lively an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at, say, contests, festive games, or dances with the merry music, which in
[554] this case is provided by the roaring of the bears. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders to display his prowess, intrepidity, skill, and presence of mind; the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him, the greater the danger to which he exposes himself, the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

/705 cont./

*796 talked about in an animated discussion; in short, on such an oc-
23/ casion one hardly recognizes the otherwise serious, sedate, cauti-
ous, and somewhat taciturn Gilyak. Late at night the procession with the medium-sized bear paid a brief visit to Judin's house. But only the two bears that belonged to him returned to it for the night. Men and animals had tugged themselves weary and seemed to need a rest. The night also passed more quietly than one would expect with two bears quartered in the house.

Toward the morning, January 12, however, I was awakened by a loud roar from the bears; the leading of the animals back and forth, out of the house and back again, had begun anew. First our two sleeping companions were taken out, and then all three bears were brought back in again, in the order established at the beginning of the festival, and fed out of three nichyr, the mossj that had been prepared the day before, some of which the people ate, and then the foreign bear was removed again, while the other two
*796 remained in the house. Then began the preparation of the place where on the following day the bears were to meet their deaths and then be skinned and cut up. For this, a rectangular area not far from the house was marked off with the sticks (nauws) carved the day before, and at each of four places about a fathom apart on its longitudinal diameter two strong stakes with head-shaped tips were rammed into the ground beside each other. These stakes were old and may already have served the same purpose several times. They were likewise surrounded by whittled sticks. At one end, in line with the row of stakes, an entrance to the area marked out by the nauws (the so-called kahdra of the Gilyak) was left open; at the other, opposite end a small structure made out of boards (called läsng (1) among the Gilyak stood somewhat elevated above

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1. The s is to be voiced like the French z.

the ground on four posts driven into the earth and was closed in the back, but in front, in the direction of the row of stakes, was quite /706/ open, and here, besides a crosspole near the roof, had a second, lower crosspole, by means of which the opening was

/705 cont./

*796 divided into approximately even halves. The path leading from Judin's house to this place of death for the bears was also marked out with a few whittled sticks.

*796 231 541 Meanwhile the dog-feeding was going on in the house in the same way as on the day before, except that those animals that were to participate in the races an hour hence did not get anything for the time being; they were also brought into the house, to be sure, but could only watch while the other dogs ate, their feeding being postponed until after the races in order to stimulate them to run faster. Everyone now set out for one end of the racecourse, which was laid out on the ice-cover of the river and consisted of a strip about two fathoms wide, on which the snow had been shoveled to the sides and the ice smoothed somewhat for a distance of about one and a half to two versts. Here stood two sleds, one harnessed to 14 dogs, the other to ten, of which the three front ones on the first sled were adorned with elegant Manchurian collars, the above-mentioned rüssk (1). In front of the sleds two other dogs were held

1. See p. 750 ff. above with the woodcut, and Plate XXXVI /p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5.

on long straps. Many spectators had stationed themselves on the elevated embankments at both sides of the racecourse. First the two dogs not harnessed to the sleds were released; they pulled behind them at the end of their long straps only a fox tail and the tail of a black dog, respectively. With this light burden they disappeared from the racecourse in an instant and ran up the hill to the house where they were caught by the women and children. They were particularly swift-footed animals, one of which was a so-called kylå or kylå-kan among the Gilyak, over the possession of which Judin was very proud, saying that in the whole Amur region there were only two or three animals of the same quality, and he could name their owners. It was not clear to me, however, what the special characteristics of the kylå-kan are, aside from swift-footedness. The animals harnessed to the sleds did not get off so easily, for although the burden which they had to pull was

/705 cont./

*796 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay
231 only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of
541 another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the
*796 hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with
541 cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework
534 in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode
*796 of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p1248/). As soon as all
541 the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal
231 is set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, in-
[521] dulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

*796 After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had
231 been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

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*796 231 bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mossj and crushed ice. Twice they came into Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak especially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, participate in the feeding of the bears: they bravely step up to the animal and offer it the spoon filled with mossj, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

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*796 231 In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below; by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

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*796 23 in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the bears and dragged up the hill. During the whole procession the women again drummed incessantly on their beam. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously seen among the Goldi, and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the [513] night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep: the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to these for a moment.

*796 262 [197] In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out

1. See pp. 676 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a vegetable nature and in particular consist of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. This is especially true of the great feast held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the one during which, sometimes at a much later date, the bear itself is eaten. Aside from these two, I might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival, but in an irregular fashion, during the intervals between the individual festive events and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on such an occasion is always very considerable, and I was amazed at the colossal quantities of hausen and sturgeon which were used, in addition to the regular jukola diet of the Gilyak, in Judin's house alone.

/708 cont./
000 house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
252 principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
[354] tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area
*796 and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
[824] call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quantities of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissk) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festival, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them. Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
231 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak, and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the back of the kadhra, the läsgn, the large one in the middle, and
*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
[574] The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule, it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/709 cont./

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more uʃtsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal/710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal. Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause
*796 after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
541 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/710 cont./

*796 [541] amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river [264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

*796 824 From all the houses of the village the people congregated around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of [291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks, [239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 231 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi- [156] ment. Chunisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/710 cont./

*796 231 156 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already performed a feat on the large bear that /711/ brilliantly proved his bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the house, it seized so firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled close to the furious animal. At this moment, Chusisin, who stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's back and landed directly in front of its snout; the startled bear, infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chusisin took the precaution of wearing his dog-fur coat reversed, with the fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the fur coat projected out in front of him hump-like and stuck out far from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a roar; now he stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down. The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.

*796 231 After this was taken care of, the bears set out on their last walk: in the same order as before, the procession, accompanied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance of several steps the hole in the ice where the women scoop water (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/), and returned up the hill. The bears passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession involuntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kadhra. Boys [857] came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but not always harmless arrows at the animals, which the leaders, visibly amused, permitted them to do.

/711 cont./

*796 231 [554] visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Judin had chosen two young people, one of them an Olcha from Tschilwi whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a distance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood [784] [826] which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be uitsch.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into the kadlra by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life, on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into the kadlra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the läsng. The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were skinned and cut up. For this purpose a /illustration appears here/ strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached [784] to the stake in front. Again it is uitsch to step over this strap -- one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

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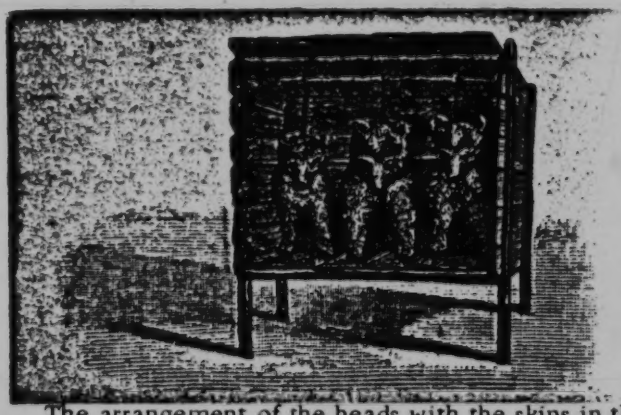
experiment was repeated several times, whereupon the carcass was once more rolled over on its back to be cut up. First of all the layer of fat, about two inches thick, had to be removed. For this purpose a narrow strip of fat was first cut off along the middle

Place of death for the bears.

of the entire belly side, provided at one end with an eye-shaped cut, and hung by it on one of the surrounding peeled sticks. A similar strip of fat reaching from the head to the tail was also taken from the back side of the /713/ carcass, again rolled over, and was treated similarly. Then, between these two longitudinal strips, two narrow transverse strips were cut out on either side, one directly behind the front legs, and the other directly in front of the hind legs, and the same was done with them. Obviously this was intended as an offering, which perhaps was to serve to appease the spirits of revenge of the slain bears. The whole layer of fat was divided by the longitudinal and transverse grooves cut in the fat into six areas, which were now individually removed and each one immediately placed between two fresh fir-branches and carried into the storage chamber. While this work was going on, the Gilyak could not resist nibbling at the fat now and then. Cutting up the rest of the carcass now followed: first the legs were amputated, then the breast and belly pieces carved out, the intestines removed and squeezed out, and, finally, the rest of the body was severed

/713 cont./

*796 231 from the head and cut into halves on one side along the spine. Thus the dismemberment was completed, and only the head remained in the skin. All three bears were treated in exactly the same way. After the pieces of meat and bone of the bears, and finally also the strips of fat hung on the sticks and meanwhile frozen, were put away in the storage chamber, the three bear-heads with the rest of the skin were carried to the läsng and there, by means of a strap slung around the



The arrangement of the heads with the skins in the läsng.

skin directly behind the head and knotted to the upper crosspole, arranged so that the heads rested on the lower crosspole, but the skins inside the structure. It thus appeared as though the bears had entered this abode and were looking out of it through the window opening, the large one in the middle, to the left of it the small one, and to the right the medium-sized bear, that is, in the order in which they had stood in the house. In front of this structure, however, a fir branch was planted in the snow, the tip of which reached to the heads of the bears and partly shaded them.

*796 With this the first big act of the bear festival came to an end. The head and the skin of the bear are kept in the

/713 cont./

*796 läsng, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Judin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I *796 114 regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of [191] the Gilyak, but in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservative nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. In Judin's house quiet had been restored: the many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up again, and /714/ uïtsch-fears had given way to a *796 greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there 114 for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many 126 notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz in order to add the landscape background of Tebach to the sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p.1247/, and XLVIII /p. 1248/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dimitrijef-Orenburgskij, the latter by Mr. Fr. Russow, custodian of our museum.

On the evening of January 15 we were again in Nikolayevsk, *796 where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to 114 Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Judin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bothering him, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip, before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolayevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the [127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113]

1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf *796 of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126]

1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/715 cont./

*796 [123] [126]

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the étagère, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilengat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of gracefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which [184] will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the étagère was smaller, though all the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special étagère for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the läsng into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Messrs. Ditmar and Brevern in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar, "i. e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the läsng, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the étagère as the place of honor. At this window,

* 796 532 825 /715 cont./ AT This window, after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

> 2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

> 3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251/, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260/, LXI /p.1261/, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

* 796 252 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the

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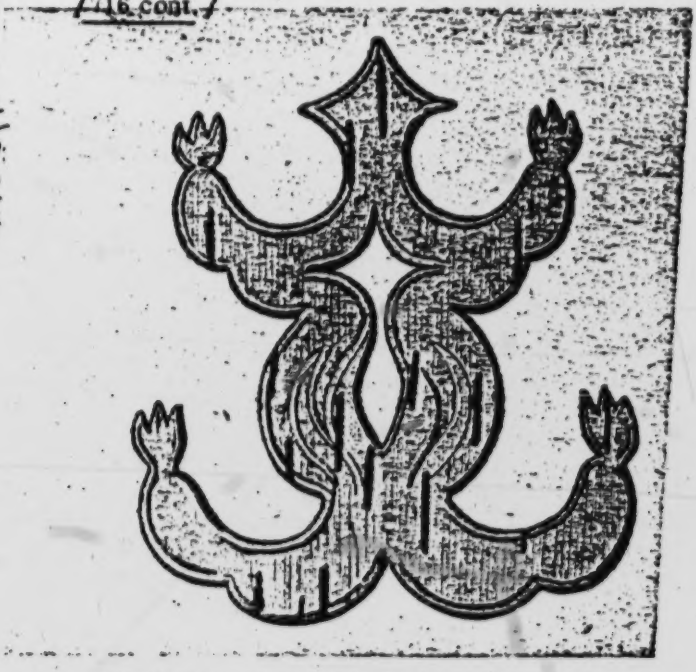

Toad made out of birch bark.

*716 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
[888] deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
[887] fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
[784] similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is uĭtsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
[532] The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

[887] The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/716 cont./

*796 252 hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

*796 412 (252) [887] Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uĭng-dshakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uĭtsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

*796 412 415 530 322 The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./
*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uitsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band; Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

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*796 252 [784] [263] just as it would be extremely uïtsch if one wanted to fry, not only bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward [782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 [887] [251] In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.

*796 231 541 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 252 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/718 cont./

*796 252 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as mossj, several kinds of groats, beans with fish oil or seal oil, and the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) began with putting on the bear rack the two pelves of the bears, three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all the dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mossj out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dogs along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat were again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of fir branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed in [252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but eaten raw; like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corner of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags, began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset *796 325 552 322 824 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below their eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in the middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give no

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear knows that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toad,

*796 825 /719 cont./ that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recognizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consolingly drying the tears in its eyes. Therefore no guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic *796 act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas, a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

ball which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead, the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory. *796 197 174 These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workmanship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungari, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite [825] [796]

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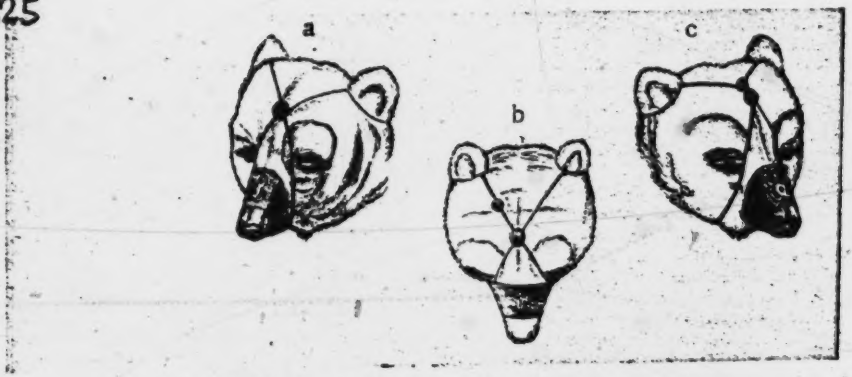

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

*796 179 174 825 796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

*796 574 415 576 With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred [262] utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

*796 574 262 415 576 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aamngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each *796 574 576 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured [562] back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast; indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a [262] meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

*796 574 262 576 This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already appeared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./
*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250/, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[851] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./

*796 594 267 596 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their möps as provisions for the trip.

*796 53 562 171 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

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2. See p. 719 above.

*796 756 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

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It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/ who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the festive meals as a matter of principle.

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The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives, friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13) the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to Nikolayevsk.

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As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, concluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

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When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,

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opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha gjamssassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but somewhat smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passageway between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/723 cont./

796 central area of the house between the two étagères was thickly covered with fir branches, on which troughs filled with bear meat and fat and decorated with gjamssassa stood here and there. At [415] both sides of them birch-bark bowls and large round wooden plates (Gilyak aam-ngir = Olcha kotá) for the diners were arranged in neat rows, though for the time being they were turned upside down; the bear bowls (Gilyak nichyr-ngir = Olcha necharâ), however, described above in detail, stood upright on and below the bear rack. The number of these various implements came to seven on each side, which indicated 14 participants at the feast. To [574] begin with, there were only guests of honor from various villages, a Gilyak from Tylm among them; the villagers and other friends and acquaintances were not to participate until the following days.

796 And now the foods intended for the feast besides the bear
574 meat and fat /724/ were brought in wooden troughs and birch-
576 bark bowls and were set down side by side or one on top of the other between central area of the yurt, covered with fir branches, and the bear hearth, and some of them were replaced by new ones as needed during the course of the meal. First, there were [415] four troughs about three feet long and a foot wide containing [177] millet mush (Olcha, like Gilyak, budá), a smaller trough only [262] about two feet long containing barley mush (Olcha, like Gilyak, mudí), a similar trough and a birch-bark basket two feet square in size containing yellow beans (Olcha turé) -- all Manchu-Chinese products; in addition, there was a trough two feet long with fairly well-crushed bilberries and a birch-bark bowl of fish oil. The server of the food sat astride a sled standing in front of the bear hearth, and the guests sat down on the bench of honor along the wall with the two most distinguished ones, among them the Gilyak from Tylm, in the center or innermost in the row numbering seven men from either side.

[533] It was 12 o'clock; from outside resounded the previously described drumming of the women, and the feast began. Each side of diners, counting from the center to the outer end, had its server and its marshal. The two former are young men appointed as such for the duration of the meal; I shall designate as

576 /724 cont./
796 marshals the two guests who sit on either side at the extreme end
574 of the diners First the servers turned up the large plates (kota)
[415] standing in one row on the floor, and likewise the birch-bark bowls
[412] in a second row behind them, with the hollow upwards, then took the plates from the floor, carried them to the server, who put in each of them an equal portion determined by the large iron ladle, and put them back in their former places, beginning with the rearmost plate standing next to the bear rack and proceeding toward the front and first attending to the implements on one side and
[262] then on the other. The first dish consisted of dry millet-mush. When the plates were provided with their portions, the two marshals got up and stationed themselves back to back at the pole put crosswise from the bear rack to the bench of honor, the server handed them the full plates, and they put them in the middle of the bench in front of the guests, always in the same order, beginning with the two in the middle and working toward the ends, so that the plates intended for themselves were put down last. Next they took the spoons from the bear rack and put one on each plate. Now the servers stepped forward again and took a taste from each one, always in the same order. Only then did the guests draw their plates closer and take a bite, but then laid the spoons down and pushed the plates away again, whereupon the two marshals, who had done likewise, got up again, first collected the spoons and put them back in place, and then gave the plates back to the servers, who put them on the floor. All this was done in the same order with regard to the guests. The servers now poured the contents of the plates into a birch-bark bowl, and the children were immediately at hand to lick the plates clean again to the great amusement of the guests. When they were finished with that, the second dish was carried in and served with the observation of the same formalities. /725/ It, too, consisted of
[262] millet mush, but with a small stick the server made a depression in each portion and put a spoonful of fish oil in it. This dish was not merely tasted by the guests and then pushed back, but was eaten; in fact, they summoned the children, who stretched out in front of them flat on their stomachs and were fed by them, and

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796 574 576 [262] [415] [271] even older boys and youths stepped up and, having been bidden, ate from the plates. After the utensils were once more cleaned in the same fashion, the third dish, which consisted of cooked beans, came amid the same formalities and met the same fate as the first. Then the guests moved forward to the edge of the bench so that they sat on it with their feet hanging down, and the servers handed them the bark cup ordinarily used for drinking water and fastened to a handle with a bent end (1). It was full of water, and everyone

1. For hanging it on the rim of the large water-container found in every house near the house door.

drank from it. When they now stood up, there was confusion and noise in the house: the young people and boys, armed with fir branches, hastened to the door and posted themselves there, and the guests, in the order in which they had eaten, from the midmost to the outermost, first the one side and then the other, went to the door and received blows on their backs with the fir branches. The younger ones among them received especially many, and when they tried to avoid them by speed and agility there was great merriment among young and old. [533] Outside they were greeted in the same way by youths and boys, but with drumming on the suspended beams by the women and girls. The first part of the feast was thus at an end.

After a short pause, when the guests had entered again and had taken their places in the same order, the second part began, which in all the details of the ceremonial, was identical with the first and ended the same way. The effort to keep everything the same went so far that even the same spoon had to be placed on the same plate -- which certainly was not done out of possible disgust -- and when one marshal once made a mistake in this, his attention was drawn to it by one of the guests and the spoon was immediately changed. Only some of the dishes were different. In this part [262] beans formed the first course, with a spoonful of fish oil in each portion (the first part had ended with this same dish without the oil). This dish and the third as well, which consisted of fairly well

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796 574 576 [262] crushed bilberries with a spoonful of fish oil, were consumed and shared with a number of the younger and small fellow-guests who were beckoned over, whereas the second dish, consisting of dry millet-mush, was refused and poured into a birch-bark bowl which stood in readiness. After this second part of the feast, which was concluded in the same way, there was a somewhat longer pause, which some of the guests used for sleeping.

796 574 [262] After all the guests had assembled once more and had taken their former places, the third part of the meal began, but of its three courses, which consisted of dry /726/ millet-mush, beans with fish oil, and dry barley-mush, only the second was eaten and was also approved by the nibbling youngsters, but the other two were again cleared away in the customary manner. This part was distinguished from the previous two in that in the somewhat longer pause between the second and third courses, one of the marshals, an aged, well-dressed man, who wore a belt of wood shavings around his fur coat, such as a number of other guests also had, in part recited and in part sang a few songs and thus contributed greatly to the entertainment of the company. It also provided another deviation in that at the end some of the young men went to the beam hanging in front of the house and on it, in place of the women and girls who otherwise acted here, performed several airs with changing rhythm.

796 574 [415] [262] [264] [576] The fourth part began with the same formalities as the earlier ones and again millet mush with fish oil was brought as the first dish. When this was consumed, however, the large wooden plates were removed altogether and in their place the bear bowls (nechara) were brought to the food server. Into each bowl the latter poured a spoonful of liquid (albeit cold) bear fat (Olcha chimssa, i.e., fish oil) and then put on it several strips of solid bear-fat (Olcha nymu), which were cut into strips about a span long and half an inch wide and were strung on thin wooden sticks. Likewise he provided each bowl with a small, shovel-shaped stick and a handful of fine wood-shavings (gjamssassa), which, to be sure, are regarded as a symbol of holiness, but in this case serve for wiping the mouth and fingers. When all the bowls, filled, stood on the floor, they were put before

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796 574 576 the guests by the server and marshal in the same ceremonious fashion. Before the guests pulled them toward them, however, a taste had to be taken from each of them, which the servers did at three or four portions and then let themselves be succeeded by other young people in order to grant them, too, some of the choice morsels. The portions were measured out so generously that they could not be dealt with by the guests alone, and therefore members of the household and other members of the village, who had gradually begun to make their appearance for the forthcoming fifth part, were diligently helping the guests. After the drink of water, offered by the server as always, departure followed, and the scene customary at the end of each part was enacted at the door and outside the house.

796 574 [264] The fifth part of the meal required some preparation, and the pause between it and the fourth part was therefore longer than at other times: the bear bowls, set in a row on the floor, were cleaned by collecting and taking away in one of them the remains left in a few of them, but the rest were licked clean by the children. Similarly, the birch-bark bowls containing the foods which had merely been tasted were put aside. Their contents were intended for the next day and would suffice for almost as large a company, since during the first three parts a dish pushed back had always alternated with a dish that was eaten, and the former was always dry, while the latter was served with a spoonful of fish oil in each portion. Finally, the bear bowls as well as the small shovel-shaped sticks and the gjamssassa had to be taken to their places, /727/ the former below and around the bear rack, the latter two on its shelves. In the meantime the house was gradually filling up more and more with people, for in this now imminent last part of the feast not only the invited guests, but other adult villagers of the male sex were permitted to take part, and they had come in large numbers indeed and had taken their seats on the remaining benches of the house next to the row of guests. In the passageway between the benches and the central area of the house boys were scuffling, and even some women and girls could be seen standing in the front section. [576] With so large a number of diners, the ceremonial hitherto most

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Olcha

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796 574 [596] [262] strictly observed, with one server and one marshal on either side of the house, seemed to be regarded as no longer feasible, or at least as unnecessary. On the other hand, the food server was given an assistant to speed up the carving of the bear meat into individual portions. The head of the bear provided the first two portions, the skull with the upper jaw forming the one portion, and the lower jaw the other. Each of them was placed on a round piece of [237] [415] the head-skin of the bear, the hair turned up, with a layer of fir twigs directly underneath. The rest of the bowls or plates likewise consisted of such pieces, about a foot in diameter in size, from the head or leg and foot skin of previously killed bears, and some of them were sewed together out of several patches. Like the bear bowls or wooden plates and the like, they are part of the household utensils of the yurt or, more correctly, of the village, since, as common property, they are used as needed, sometimes in one or sometimes in another of its houses. The bear meat, however, is never placed directly upon these skin bowls, but always on fir twigs spread over them, which, however, is not exactly clean either, since they probably do not even undergo the aforementioned cleaning method. The first two portions were put before the two most distinguished guests, who were sitting in the middle, one of whom was the Gilyak from Tylm. The rest also received their portions as soon as they were divided up, but without any ceremony, by one [262] of the servers. The portions were shockingly large, for, in addition to the meat, they contained 7-8 huge strips or slices of bear fat. 796 354 574 But no one as yet touched the portion allotted to him. First the oil lamps in the house had to be lighted: four in the vicinity of the four corners of it, where they usually burn, a fifth lamp at one of its longitudinal walls, and finally, a sixth which is specifically associated with the bear festival. Driven into the floor behind the bear rack, that is to say, in the passageway between the latter and the bench of honor, in front of the two guests sitting in the center of it, there was a stick which at the upper end spread out [237] in three diverging arms. On them was set a pecten shell (from Pecten jessoensis Jay), filled with fish oil or seal oil and equipped with a wick. The small flame of this lamp threw its light especially

Gi /727 cont./
796 upon the rack in the central section of the yurt, decorated with
574 fir branches, numerous wood shavings (gjamssassa), and the bear-
[354] skin hanging down from the top, while the other lamps shed a gloomy light upon the long row of totally befurred fellow-diners sitting along its walls and, with legs crossed, waiting for the meal.
Gi There was /728/ something orderly and yet savage and uncivilized
796 about this strange picture. Now one of the servers stepped up to the
574 guests who had received the two head-pieces of the bear, cut from each o
576 these, as well as from the portions of those sitting next to them, a small piece of meat into his bear-bowl, and went off with it. Only now did the two guests in the middle draw up their portions and begin to eat, and all the others followed their example forthwith. Immediately smaller and larger fellow-guests presented themselves here and there, and a few young men passed along the whole row of diners and collected from them contributions in special bear-bowls for those who did not participate in the meal, and a few bites were also given to the women and girls.

Gi By now it was 7:30 in the evening; the feast had therefore
796 lasted seven and a half hours and, judging by the size of the still unconsumed portions, would not be over for a long time. Unfortu-
Gi nately I was obliged to depart, since the night had to be utilized for
[114] traveling on account of the great amount of surface water that had already formed over the ice covering of the river at this time of year.

G Let us now compare this second act of the bear festival as it
+796 proceeds, on the one hand, among the Gilyak and, on the other,
171 among the Olcha. In spite of the great similarity in the principal
Gi and secondary features of this festive performance, a very different
796 spirit in the way it is carried out among the Gilyak and among the
171 Olcha is apparent to us. Among the former the character of the festival is altogether original; among the latter, that of having been transmitted. While the object of the whole is exactly the same, purely utilitarian, in both cases -- the ultimate consumption of the
G bear -- very different ways are used by the one and by the other to
+796 try to attain it. Among the Gilyak the bear festival proceeds from
825 the idea of the bear cult, or at least is tied up with it: it is
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825 produced in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by
171 superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge, it is given the
Gi place of honor in the house, the people appear to act only with
796 its permission, reluctantly and out of sheer necessity, as it were,
825 and, finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them.
171 On the other hand, scarcely anything of the sort is noted among
Gi the Olcha: the only superstitious conceptions referring to the bear
[123] and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the
[372] fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they
[177] regarded it as uïtsch (an idea which they have likewise received
[784] from the Gilyak) to go outside with fire taken from the hearth
during the bear festival, which, they said, was by no means for-
bidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious,
and, as it were, religiously colored conception of the Gilyak, the
second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated
into mere ceremonial among the Olcha, a series of pedantically
observed formalities, such as one might expect from the millenniums-
Gi old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degenera-
[177] tion of a custom originally foreign to the Olcha, which does not
have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-
G Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the
*796 festival, with almost the sole exception of bear meat and fat, are
262 of Manchu-Chinese /729/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in
177 accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and hausen meat and
Gi mossj prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the
796 festival. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of for-
262 eign, Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality
177 even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it
automatically lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and
Gi puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-
[439] Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olcha in comparison with
the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these
products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the
permanent residence of Chinese traders in the habitation areas of the
Olcha and Goldi and the more frequent and active intercourse be-
tween these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

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After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these bands: if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

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G /730 cont./
* 796 mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 5,
412 from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during
G the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially
[172] by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax
is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in
G former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an
* 796 iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,
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1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I
Gi had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The
[412] above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also
used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of
Gi
[825] blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but con-
[262] tent themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

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[136]

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

G /730 cont./
+796 sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the
766 habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls,
825 to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the number of bears killed or captured and eaten there annually is probably much larger than among the Goldi. This definitely indicates that, unlike the Goldi, the Gilyak, aside from breaking open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to it which is scarcely less suitable than the covering of the bones for removing it from the sight of human beings. In fact at various places in the forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spots which, upon close inspection, proved to be sites of bear skulls: trunks of young trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, split down to its base was wedged into the split in such a way that the two prongs projected out of the zygomatic arches and held it clamped between them close to the ground; in addition, on either side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygomatic arches and into the ground. /731/ If grass grows over the spot,
Gi 796 766 825 [191] G [191] nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of dealing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the Olcha and from them to the Samagir, who are closely related to them and also directly adjacent to them on Lake Udyl and elsewhere. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Ngagha on the Gorin I found such bear-skull sites in two directions and in one of them, which lay in an open birch grove, counted within a circle of 30 paces, no less than nine bear skulls treated in exactly the same way as among the Gilyak. Since the rest of the bear bones presumably also lie buried in the same places, they are not merely bear-skull sites, but general bear-bone grounds.

Gi [782] The Goldi, who hang their bear skulls on trees, do something similar with other bear bones that are suitable for it. Near Bitschu, at the mouth of the Gorin, for example, I saw a decayed or split bear-skull lying on the stump of a broken tree a few feet high, but below it in the underbrush hung various bones of the animal, among them a shoulder blade and a number of dorsal vertebrae

Gi /731 cont./
1796 which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia
766 on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-
825 bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites,
782 of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

G It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ es-
*796 sentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their
825 basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, espe-
184 cially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having
174 come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home
[648] there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

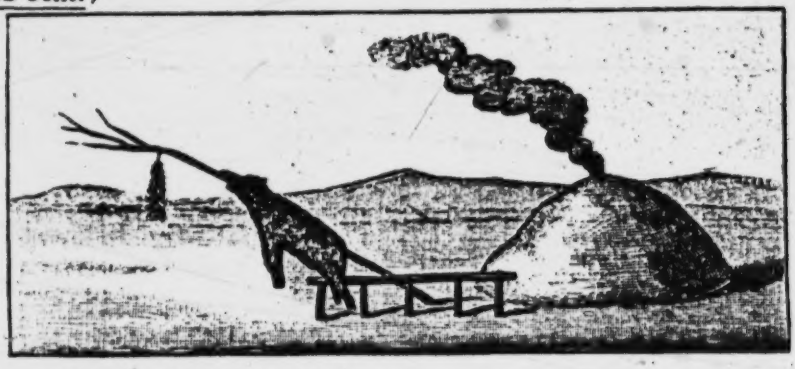
G As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a
*796 low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the
184 top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the
[342] bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from
G the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been
[239] eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./

*796 184 237



Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

If the head and leg pieces of the skin have already been cut off to be used as bowls at the bear-festival feasts, they are sewed back on the rump section on such an occasion, in order to make the skin look whole.

*796 342 184 The narrow, low, and dark passageway leading into the earth yurt and the small entrance often closed only with a board that can be pushed in a horizontal direction instead of a door make it impossible to lead the bear in and out here, and in the interior of the yurt, taken up almost entirely by the hearth and the three sleeping-benches, there is no room for temporarily displaying even one bear, much less two or three (1). Thus this principal pleasure of the Amur

1. See the plan and the arrangement of a Gilyak earth-yurt, p. 452 of this work.

Gilyak during a bear festival must be renounced by their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin, in so far as there are only earth yurts there.

*796 342 184 177 The opportunity for this was first offered to the Gilyak when the earth yurts (toryf), originally customary among them even on the mainland, were replaced by houses built in the Chinese fashion (tschadryf), which in my day had already taken place throughout on the mainland, except for one earth yurt in Pättach, and to a large extent along the Liman coast of Sakhalin (2). At first, the conservative spirit which

2. See p. 469 above.

/732 cont./

*796 342 184 177 animates all primitive peoples may have resisted any change in the traditional custom, but gradually there must have been greater utilization of the advantages which the new housing offered to them by its position on level ground and its greater spaciousness also for the celebration of the bear festival and this could not have taken long for a people with such practical talents as the Gilyak. If one sees the Amur Gilyak lead their bears, temporarily displayed in the houses, out through the door and immediately back in again many times, apparently without any purpose whatsoever, and stroll around with them in this fashion from house to house throughout the entire village, it gives the impression as though, with their traditional memory, so to speak, of the limitation that was formerly imposed on them in this respect and within which their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin still find themselves today they revel in the enjoyment offered to them by their present /733/ dwellings, which are more suitable for the bear festival. As a matter of fact, this custom seems to be only the manifestation of joy and satisfaction gradually becoming customary among the continental Gilyak over the change in the construction of their dwellings which has taken place in the course of time.

*796 342 184 Another difference in the bear-festival practices determined by the different construction of the dwellings among the continental Gilyak and the Sakhalin Gilyak pertains to the transfer of the bear's head from the läsng into the yurt. Among the former this is done, not through the door, but always through one of the windows of the house. The earth yurt, however, has no windows and gets daylight only through the smoke vent, which, aside from the door, is generally the only opening in it leading to the outside. I therefore suspect that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, this transfer taken place, not through the door, but through the smoke vent, which would scarcely be possible in the Gilyak houses built in the Chinese fashion, and therefore the continental Gilyak are obliged to use the window opening instead of the smoke vent, which is also much easier. I think that confirmation of this conjecture of mine with regard to the Sakhalin Gilyak is to be found in the fact that over a yurt in which a bear has been eaten the skin of the animal consumed, immediately after the meal is finished, is spread over a pole jutting

/733 cont./

*796 342 184 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 184 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 184 354 252 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious, two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or [824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

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1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 178 353 184 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. [171] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

184 /734 cont./

*796 I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of
574 the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the
262 second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on
[114] the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled
[177] around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as is customarily served to guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Duĭ, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter, at which, lacking other food, dogs were eaten, as has already been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

*796 It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen
184 of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

2: Schrenck--1184 E-5. (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

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/734 cont./

northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tymy Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

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/735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

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1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

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2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

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3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

2: Schrenck--1185 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[176] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure,

796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion

[181] at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss) is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 171 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

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1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 798 171 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imitations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

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796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
798 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 231 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 782 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eating of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

A /737 cont./

796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kĭngulātsch, an attribute that means the
G [778] same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
[532] whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuĭk (***). But they

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

796 /739 cont./ But they
124 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
798 called Mäü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
171 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

124 I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
782 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
791 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
796 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction between their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

791 Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
796 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[782] stract, commpletely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "kĭngulātsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
791 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/740 cont./

771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes, together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus

771 812 532 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives rise to customs and special performances that are intended to pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the personified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, approximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in wood, and to shamanism The many wooden figures of bears, lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are also found among them should not be interpreted as though they were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthropomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.

771 812 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stands wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstition he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may make the representation of a human being necessary for the performance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the [796] Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations. But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanism, etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in their lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

/741 cont./

771 and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the
812 Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray"
174 (mjāgratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be ex-
771 plained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions
812 here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps
[171] commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kingulātsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely
812 driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[126] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kuik from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

[192]

1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped säwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
532 is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./

778 789 755 532 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I [126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

778 755 184 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 755 532 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr. It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off [126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kuĭk. In the same village among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away 778 for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of 532 another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./

778 532 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fastened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybys. The Gilyak Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression tyf-ýżigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard the word ýżigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand. I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house, the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since the latter bears the name kánigs, I must relate it to the yurt of the Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

778 184 532 171 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber, human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. -- 778 532 184 [353] In the village of Kuik, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the same place as in Patt This is a very dark spot in the yurt, concealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously revered the idols are. (1 W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

/744 cont./

778 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

[782] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 532 751 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalż and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/744 cont./

778 951 532 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 776 532 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

[753] [761] 775 766 776 [532] [778]

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 532 [751] I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

G 278 532 /745 cont./ more general meaning and to refer to amulets in general (Bm. II, pp. 30-32).

Gi 778 532 [184] 7. Idols in human shape among other Amur peoples. The wooden idols, säwa, of the Samagir are shaped exactly like those of the Olcha and Goldi (Plate LIII /p.1253 /, Figs. 6-8) and stand in the same place, propped upright on the sleeping bench along the transverse wall of the yurt, away from the door. (1 W.R. II, p. 77.)

Gi [171] [126] 8. Goldi. The same custom as among the Gilyak, wearing idols around the neck, probably exists among all Amur peoples. Fig. 1 on Plate LIV /p. 1254/ represents such a small idol worked in lead, which I obtained from a Goldi on the Ussuri. (Bm. I, p. 58.)

9. Samagir. I found a small idol hanging in a deserted hunting-hut of the Samagir along the Gorin, and it reproduced the human figure in exactly the same manner and with the same features as the large säwa which one sees in the yurts of the Samagir, Goldi, and Olcha. The single deviation was that it bore a wooden eyelet on the head, through which a strap was drawn for the purpose of wearing it around the neck (Plate LIV /p. 1254 /, Fig. 2). When this is done, my guide said, the säwa is fed by the one wearing it, in that the owner smears around its mouth a bit of everything that he himself eats. When I asked what the säwa actually is, he said that it is everything, the well-being of everyone, and thus his, my guide's, physical well-being, for example, the healing of his leg bitten by one of my dogs. I could not find out anything more (2). There is

Gi [755] ooo

2. The guide of the author also called säwa the little stick, mentioned on p. 1113, deposited for a musk deer taken from a hunting tent on the Gorin (1 W.R. II, pp. 84, 85).

Gi 778 777 171 ooo There is evidently connected with the säwa the idea of the prosperity and well-being of man under the influence of a power outside of him and superior to him. This conception may not be very different from that of the Gilyak. A /746/ fact which speaks very much in

778 /746 cont./A /746/fact which speaks very much in
791 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
191 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

778 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
532 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
825 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

[171] near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuĭk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

778 /746 cont./
532 the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mä(r)ngai on the back side
825 of it, and the snake kŷlanga, whose image is found on either side between the first two. I often witnessed the awe and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (*).

* See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the att or märeder, with downright superstitious fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name of att or märeder, are rarely seen in their northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the att are less common than those of the bear. The slight acquaintance of the Gilyak with these predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3);

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of this work.

see Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an att idol which I found in the village of Kuĭk. It bears none of the marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Goldi. Only the general shape is similar to those figures. /747/ But that this figure is in fact supposed to represent an att is certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Bm. I, pp. 59, 61.)

532 11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from
825 the Gilyak village of Tebach, seems to serve less as an idol or amulet than as a piece of carving, as a representation, tschngai in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ngy-tscho, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebach the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which likewise had no significance other than that of pai (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 4, 5. Later, I obtained another carved fish from Tebach, which was supposed to represent the pak(ch?)-tscho, i.e., a large pilengat-tscho. (Bm. II, p. 32.)

Goldi RX3
Olcha

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12. Olcha. In the village of Adi (on the Amur) my first concern was to search for a wooden idol which was supposed to represent a tiger and which Maximowicz had seen here on his first voyage upstream. At that time it was located in a nearby grove under an old ash tree. But we could not find it there anymore. We therefore inquired among the natives and demanded to see the idol, but the people simply did not want to understand us and finally declared that such a thing would cause them sickness of the body. It was not until we promised them tobacco that they were willing to show the idol. First they led us to a smashed idol of the animal. There was little to be seen on it: it represented the animal lying down, the tail lying over the back, and the broad short head clearly indicated a kind of cat. Then an Olcha guided me into the woods and pointed out to me here a second idol of the animal, which he carefully kept in a small crate made out of pieces of wood. A tiger could be recognized from this idol without any doubt: it was about two feet long and likewise represented the animal as it lies in wait, except that the tail was resting on the back. The head was short and broad, the chin likewise short. Over the back of the animal a black stripe was drawn, from which alternating black and red (one of the Olcha said "yellow") stripes ran crosswise over the sides. This representation made it certain that the idol represented the tiger and not Felis irbis, which was further confirmed by the accurate oral description which they were able to give of the animal. The idol, however, had not been made by them themselves, but by the shaman. The people called the animal máre and máre-mafá. The latter designation, with the epithet "the old one," in itself reveals an analogy with the attitude toward the bear to whom this epithet specifically and exclusively belongs, for among them the bear is called simply mafá or bûju-mafá, the old animal, although bûju also refers to the elk. The fear that the animal inspires in the natives may have led to the epithet "the old one" for the tiger, just as for the bear. For this reason a superstition similar to the one linked to the bear may be linked ot it, and this fear may give rise to the making of idols -- bears as well as tigers. They did not

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Goldi RX3
Olcha

/747 cont./

778 532 [825] like to speak of the tiger, like the bear, avoided naming it, and hesitated to show the idol for fear of coming to grief and /748/ falling ill because of it. This was the first and unmistakable trace that I found of the tiger in the Amur region.

In the woods where the tiger idol was there were other wooden idols -- representing bears and other animals, as well as human beings, most of them under larger trees, propped against the trunk or hidden in the bushes. Many had already fallen over or had been pushed to another spot and lay there neglected under the feet of passers-by. This disregard of the idols absolutely proves that the representation and keeping of them is prompted only by a superstitious fear and that they are only a means of escaping evil powers rather than a means of attracting good spirits and making friends with them, in which case the idols would have to be held in esteem. (1 S.R. II, pp. 2-4.)

778 532 751 126 13. Olcha. In the Olcha village of Dshai I acquired an idol for warding off sicknesses, which represents an imaginary animal with a large heart in its mouth (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Fig. 5). -- (2 S.R. I, p. 35.)

778 532 825 14. Goldi. In the village of Naichi I again saw two tiger idols of exactly the same nature as the ones in Adi, only not represented as lying down, but erect. Again a black stripe ran over the back, from which alternating black and red stripes were drawn crosswise over the sides. The tail was long and had black and red rings. The Goldi called this idol máre-mafá, too, but since the epithet mafá ordinarily belongs to the bear, the latter, for distinction, is also called sahár-mafá, "the black old one." (1 S.R. II, p. 44.)

15. Goldi. Near the village of Agdrai on the Ussuri, the wooden figure of a large cat from the leopard group stood, concealed by logs, under an oak tree. I immediately summoned some of the older men of the village in order to obtain some information about the animal that it represented. Though the representation was crude, the cat genus was unmistakable. Moreover, the shape of the animal was quite reminiscent of the idols of the tiger in Adi and Naichi. The low legs, indicated only

Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS
Manegir

Gi 778 532 825 /748 cont./ rudimentarily, suggested the lurking pose which is characteristic of cats. The markings of the idol, however, were completely different from those of the tiger: instead of the cross-stripes, numerous ring-shaped rosettes covered the body, and, to be sure, with a red spot in the center alternating with red with a black spot in the center; this marking extended even to the tail. A black stripe ran over the back to the tip of the tail; black and red cross-stripes ran from the snout obliquely toward the neck. The people thought that the representation of the animal (Irbis ?) which they called jérga, was very true to nature.

Gi 778 532 126 I wanted to sketch the idol and asked, since the mosquitoes were very annoying in the woods, whether they could not bring the idol into the yurt. But the Goldi would not agree to this at all, anymore than they did to my question as to whether they would sell me the idol. On the other hand, a Goldi offered /749/ to carve out of wood and to paint for me an identical and true-to-nature idol of the jérga, which he did (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Fig. 3) (1 S.R. III, pp. 29, 30.)

Gi 778 532 825 126 16. Goldi. In Dschuada on the Ussuri I acquired in trade small wooden idols of a tiger and an Ussuri leopard. The former is somewhat larger than the other one, which may be related to the different sizes of the animals. Both have exactly the same shape as the large idols, but are in miniature. The marking of the Irbis differs from the one from Agdrai in that the ring-shaped rosettes do not enclose one spot, but several (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Figs. 1, 2). (Bm. I, p. 61.)

Gi 778 532 825 17. Goldi. In Chaizo I had already seen two still smaller idols of the tiger and leopard on a Goldi who wore them attached to the sleeve of his jacket, probably as a kind of amulet against an attack by these animals, just as they also wear wooden human idols around the neck. (1 S.R. III, p. 49.)

T 778 532 751 825 18. Manegir. Among the Manegir I not infrequently noticed small idols carved out of wood which often had the shape of fantastic birds and dragons, and which were probably made for the purpose of warding off evil spirits and sicknesses and the like, as among the peoples on the lower Amur. (2 S.R. III, p. 41.)

778 /749 cont./
532 Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal
825 Figures and Others
755

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with
[775] reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's
[126] head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

778 20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not
532 far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the
825 Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

778 Finally I found here the representation of an animal
825 reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an
532 amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth.
755 The natives called it chaż, or, as an idol, chaż-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

/750 cont./
figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4); several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pómi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

/750 cont./

778 532 [126] Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1202/ above).

[825] Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchä there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

778 532 539 "Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchä returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

G /751 cont./
778 third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time
532 they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect
539 the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchă and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

G I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented
778 and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the
764 figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Năgda
G /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the
[126] extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

G: 24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those
778 who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no
825 wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the informa-
[764] tion of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is
[763] based on the bird kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
G: 778 case had happened many years before in the village of Chala,
825 opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip
173 of a larch tree (Olcha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

Gi 778 825 173 /752 cont./ the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Gi 778 825 751 25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a säwuchsa, provided with various säwa or representations of idols, to be worn around the body as an amulet against sicknesses (Plate LX /p.1260 /, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two snakes (dshalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khasj (chaż of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak in Chiare and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kägn and the säwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

G Gi 778 771 171

Shamans

G 756 184 [171] 26. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak the shaman is employed much less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, Goldi, Kile, and others, and therefore the shaman's implements are much less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur peoples in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, shamanism is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wassj on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin farther inland. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

G 756 /753/ 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak there are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their countrymen. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

/753 cont./

756 was Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tschéžach, lives in the village of Kaki, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (1). There are shaman implements, however, such as

> 1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153. 1165; cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brothers Surgin and Sogin in Kuĭk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part [789] of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 34, 35.)

756 825 782 787 28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that snakes are especially feared from information given to me by an eye-witness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskoye. After singing and howling had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

787 /753 cont./
756 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

825 753 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

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> 2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

> 3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuik. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

825 /754 cont./
753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself
of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however,
755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kăgn (a good god), who removes
756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch
532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of
[787] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn
by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future.
A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The
mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-
[322] mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp.
1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found.
[462] This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always
[824] made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupa-
tion for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting
arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of
birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mă(r)ngai) are
755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much
825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head
of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the
above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196/.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak
554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admira-
tion and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts
deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputa-
tion of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/754 cont./ such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak
[756] [554] [789] Ráppun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported. His hands are tied to his back by straps, and his throat is likewise strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt,
[533] in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongations, monotonously frequent repetition and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead. /755/ Now all those present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kägn.

[787] During this conjuration a kägn appears, invisible to everybody except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlagu-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits
[787] down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kägn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small kägn hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

[756] [533] [787] Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a kägn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, the kägn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kägn is expressly invited to dance (lärta). But the appearance and the dancing of the kägn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

/755 cont./

756 [124] 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

756 787 789 It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

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of all his bindings and alive again. With the words, kāutschek via, kāutschek via! (*) which he calls out to each kāgn, the shaman now

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*Perhaps kaunczza = out! virá = let us go! - - according to the Gilyak word-list by Dr. W. Grube.

banishes all kāgn from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performance is over, and the fires in the hearths may be rekindled. (Bm. II, pp. 55 and 57.)

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32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I was told that there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same instruments of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kasŝ), shaman's belt (Olcha jangpá), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Figs. 2, 4). (2 W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tschai-wo on the east coast, consisting of at least ten yurts, was said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

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33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Ngāgha. I was told that in the neighboring yurt the shaman's drum was being beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children were crouched. The dull tones of the drum, accompanied by a melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I sat down on one of the sleeping benches and listened for a while to the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (jachalacco) with dying

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755 embers at her side. He pointed to the patient and indicated to me
756 that the shaman sounds had been made for her. I now examined
756 more closely the instruments of the frightful music. The drum
534 (ûngtschu of the Kile and other Tungusic Amur peoples) consisted
239 of an irregular oval ring of wood, somewhat pointed at the ends, over which was stretched the membrane of a roe /deer/ bladder. A crossband on the inner surface of the drum served /757/ to hold it, while it was beaten with the foot of a dog or a stick (gessé)
756 covered with the skin of a dog's foot (1). Unfortunately, because
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1. Cf. Plate LXI /p.1261/, Fig. 4.

of lack of knowledge of the language, I could not learn anything concerning the content of the shamanistic singing (1 W.R. II, pp. 77, 78).

34. Olcha. One evening while I was drinking tea in a yurt in
756 the village of Yrri, I noticed the people arranging two shaman drums and other paraphernalia and, it seemed, preparing them
[114] for use. I now expressed the desire to see the performance, and preparations for it were immediately made. First the shaman
756 drums were slightly warmed in front of the hearth, to give them
534 the right tension and a loud tone. Here, too, they were made of
[239] roe skin (2), but, besides this, the leather of elk, the red deer,

2. Or bladder? See Appendix 33.above.

and reindeer, in other words, of all Cervus types, are used for shaman drums, if they are to be good ones. While the drums were
756 being tuned, the shaman got ready in his costume. He took off his long overcoat and put on the so-called kossjkha of the Gilyak (3).

3. Apron-skirt; see p. 585.

Around his head he put a band of wood shavings, from the back of which a bundle of wood shavings (wood curls) hung down over his back like a queue, the so-called giasadá. Then he put on the shaman belt, which had on a strap a quantity of iron blades, brass

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756 rings, and similar metallic objects, which serve to make a loud clatter and rattle during the dance of the shaman. In the language of the Olcha, the whole belt is called jangpá and bears the following metal pendants: a large brass ring with a small eye and some relief on the surface, revealing a Manchurian origin. This ring is the so-called tolé, the largest piece among the rattles on the belt. Furthermore, there are several iron pieces in the shape of the fire-steel (jassó) of the Manchu and Tungusic peoples, then numerous sheets of iron of irregular shape, the so-called kyiré, which form the major part of the rattles; then several rolled-up sheets of iron, the so-called kongoró, and finally a kind of small bell of brass, but without a clapper, kongoktó (bell). All these objects hang close together in a bunch and, when the belt is fastened on, lie at the back of it. The belt has considerable weight (*).

* Cf. Plate LXI /p. 1261/, 4, where the scene depicted is designated as Gilyak, though no other description as pertinent is found in the notes. The drawing therefore probably refers to the Olcha, unless it is perhaps meant to be only a schematic rendering of a Gilyak shaman's performance.

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When the shaman had tied it on, he sat down on the bench, the drum was handed to him, and a sheet of iron with glowing embers was set down before him on the floor, over which was placed the dried herb of Ledum palustre (Olcha siankurá). This immediately spread a strong smelling and undoubtedly also narcotic smoke into the yurt, whereupon the shaman, bending forward toward the rising smoke, began a melancholy song in low and prolonged tones toward the rim of the /758/ drum held up vertically, and he accompanied it from time to time with weaker and then stronger beats on the drum. Gradually, however, the tones grew louder and the drumbeats more vigorous. The shaman stood up and began to accompany his singing with the rattling of the jangpá. This is done by moving the hips back

/758 cont./

755 and forth, likewise in a certain rhythm with the song and the
756 rolling of the drum. The pan of coals with the siankurá was now
533 removed, and the shaman stood in the middle of the yurt, his face turned toward the door and his back to the people sitting around. From time to time, however, he turned, intensifying the clangor
[535] of the jangpá, and faced the people sitting around, during which his feet moved, likewise rhythmically to a certain extent, but always slowly. It was not an actual dance, but only an increased movement of the hips combined with a slow rhythmical turning of the whole body. At the same time he held the drum high and turned it toward all sides of the yurt. The sounds which he produced on the drum also varied greatly, sometimes softly rolling, sometimes piercingly loud, so that the small yurt rang. In order to produce these tones he had to make quite different motions with his hand, but there was always something rhythmical in them, just as in the turns of his body and the movements of his feet. With the more violent clatter of the jangpá and the louder rolling of the drum, the singing itself grew weaker and finally died out completely; only the music and the dancing continued for a long time in an uncannily stirring and at the same time tiring fashion.
[534] The drum was often changed; the one that had lost its tension was tuned again in the meantime by being slowly turned around in front of the fire by one of the people sitting around. And in between the shaman was given a sip of water and once also a small bite, probably of fish. Finally he stopped, apparently quite exhausted, and sat down on the bench, immediately preparing a pipe for himself. But after a brief rest the music and dancing began anew. The shaman stood up and seemed to want to continue in the previous manner. Then he motioned to one of the women seated there. She was now immediately given a kind of large wreath and at the same time a rather high crown of straw for her head, and a wooden band with long points hanging down for around her neck. The fur sack in which the drums are kept was spread on the floor in the center of the yurt. The woman sat down on it, and the shaman began a slow dance around her, accompained by the drum and the jangpá. Then, at a signal from

/758 cont./

755 the shaman, the flames in the hearths were extinguished, I had to
756 blow out my candle, too, and it was now completely dark in the
533 yurt. The shaman stood behind the woman and continued his music for a time. But then I noticed that the drum was being beaten by one of the persons sitting around, a circumstance that, in view of the total darkness, required, led me to suspect that sensuality must play a large part in the shamanistic performances. Finally the shaman himself took the drum in his hand again, the flames in the hearth were fanned again, and my candle, too, was lighted once more. The woman sat as before, but the wreath and neck ornament were missing, and some pieces lay in shreds on the floor. The shaman /759/ touched the woman's head several times, moving his hand rhythmically and in a circle, whereupon she stood up and the cover was removed. The shaman now began another long song, which seemed to consist of regular long stanzas, each one being accompanied in the same fashion with the drum and jangpá. At certain intervals he sang the tones toward the edge of the vertically held and just beaten drum, which, vibrating, resounded vigorously and gave a very peculiar sound to the song, as though it were produced in doubled fashion and from different places. This singing continued for a long time, and the drum was changed several times, until the shaman finally broke off exhausted. This last song undoubtedly contained the essential content of the shamanistic performance. Unfortunately, however, I could not understand it, and my guide could only tell me that the whole ceremony with the woman was säwa (1). (1 W.R. II, pp. 94-97.)

1. See Appendix /p. 1198/.

35. Olcha. The sound of a shaman drum resounded from one of the yurts in the village of Mongolé. A shaman sat there on the bench next to a sleeping patient, and the drumming and singing were for him. Since I did not understand the words, both seemed to me identical with what I had seen and heard among the Samagir in Ngágha (2). Until late in the evening the muffled sound

2. See Appendix 31 /p. 1213.

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/759 cont./

755 of the shaman instrument could be heard at intervals in the village
756 (T. 1 W.R. II, pp. 113 and 114).
533 36. Olcha. There was a sick child in a Gilyak yurt in the village of Kalm (3) The Olcha woman on the Olcha boat accom-

3. On the right bank of the Amur.

panying us offered to cure it by shamanism in exchange for three bundles of tobacco. The shaman sounds soon resounded just as I heard them in Mongolé and Ngágha in connection with curing the sick and have described them, except that here they were produced by a woman. After an introductory song with the accompaniment of the drum the woman acting as shaman took a few wood-shavings (säwa) and a rag and with them stroked the naked child lying in the mother's lap, in the manner of magnetizing, and at the same time she sang toward the edge of the resounding drum. When this was done, she concluded the cure with a song and beating the drum, whereupon the child was put back in the cradle. (1 S.R. I, p. 7.)

756 37. Olcha. Only the "good, proper" shamans, of which
772 there are only a few, may go to the land of Bun, the next world of the Olcha, but not the "small or bad" shamans, which may be found in every village. (4). They can only perform the shamanistic

4. See Appendix 27 /p. 1208/.

songs and dances, but they cannot travel in the land of Bun. They are, therefore, not proper shamans, but only solde nei, i.e., ordinary human beings. At the present time the Olcha count only five proper shamans who visit the land of Bun: two of them live on Lake Udyl, one on the Amgunj, and two on the Gorin -- strangely enough, all on the tributaries of the Amur, and none on the great river itself. (2 S.R. I, 37.)

756 /760/ 38. Goldi. While we were busy with observations
764 and collections on Cape Auwa *, a small, heavily laden Goldi
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*. Aua on the map, on the right bank of the Ussuri.

Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS
Manegir

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boat passed us. Two women sat in it, and an old man pulled it with a rope. It stopped in Auwa, and we learned that there was a corpse in it. When it arrived in Auwa, a general lamentation and wailing were raised by the inhabitants of the dauro (**) lo-

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[361]

** Summer tent of the Goldi, see p. 552; In the travel journals of the author, however, one also finds the expression "dauro of (so many) tents," which indicates that it also refers to a summer colony.

cated there, mourning in which a Chinese who had come over from his nearby residence, likewise called Auwa, joined. It was
G: the corpse of the husband of one of the women in the boat. She
[302] had cut her long hair in mourning and tied up her head. The people pitched their tent in front of the dauro in order to spend the night. When evening came, a fire was burning in front of their tent, and the shaman drums were stretched in front of it. The shamanizing was done by a woman (not, however, the widow of the deceased) in the customary way. The moon came out from behind a dark cloud. Its pale light fell upon the ugly spirit-conjuress, who, singing, swung her large drum before the blazing fire and, dancing, moved the clinking shaman-belt. The widow and the Goldi from the dauro, however, sat and stood around the fire and listened silently to the singing and the eerie sounds of the drum and the belt. The shamanizing evidently was for the corpse and lasted until late evening only to be resumed at sunrise, whereupon the tent was taken down and the boat with the corpse put underway for the rest of its journey. The death of the husband probably broke up an established household, and the widow was looking for a home upstream (1 S.R. III, p. 34).

G:
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825
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39. Goldi. The stork is not used by the Goldi, except that its meat is eaten by the shamans. (1 S.R. IV, p. 14.)

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Note. The author was unable to learn anything about the shamans of the Manegir beyond the fact that they do exist. (2 S.R. III, p. 41.)

Tungus RU5
Daur
Manchu AG4

T 756 T [292] T [179]

/760 cont./

40. Daur. In the village of Chormoldin on the upper Amur I was shown the shaman utensils customary among the Daur. They consisted of a crown made out of cardboard, with human faces painted upon each of its prongs (***), and a cloak of red cloth on

*** Perhaps patterned after the Buddhist priest's crown, just as in the case of the crowned Gilyak idols; see Appendix 20 and 21 /pp. 1204-1205/. The Academie Museum owns some similar idols, but with animal figures standing erect on the heads, from the Orok on Sakhalin.

which large sheets of brass and smaller pieces of metal hung in several rows, which gave the cloak an enormous weight. One could not help but pity the shaman who had to perform his dance movements under such a load. The host and owner of the cloak claimed to be a shaman himself and to be able to conjure away sickness. According to him, the Manchu practice similar shamanistic customs. Among both, however, one finds small temples in the vegetable gardens, which seem to be Buddhistic. (2 S.R. II, p. 57.)

T M [346] [179]

M 756 177

/761/ 41. Manchu. In the village of Torell we heard the well-known, but for a long time not heard, sounds of a shaman drum, which came to us rather unexpectedly here, for Torell was inhabited by Manchu, whom we were inclined to regard as Buddhists. But here was proof that the shamanistic belief is current among the Manchu, and, if not exclusively, nevertheless mixed with Buddhism. (2 S.R. II, p. 59.)

/761 cont./

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II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] [778] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 533 [124] 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

/761 cont./

000 heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large
775 village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it.
[764] The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227/, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

775 The surprising answer to my further question as to what hap-
766 pened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

[171] /762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224.

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237.

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

[22] Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the lan-
[196] guage, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me
[774] from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

G 795 766 [825] /762 cont./ on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

G 795 766 825 [171] 44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***), the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

*** See Appendix 45, below.

†. See p. 851.

G 795 766 821 It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlö), where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

G1 795 [115] 45. Olcha. From Chossiambo I learned the following about the views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/762 cont./

775 If an Olcha dies a "peaceful" death or violently through murder, he has gone to the land of Bun. Chossiambo could not say where this country was located, whether upstream or downstream, and found my question strange since he had never been there. But he emphatically denied that it was on earth; this [171] conception therefore seems to be different from the Mlygh-wo of the Gilyak. Moreover, Chossiambo could say much more about the land of Bun than the /763/ Gilyak could about their Mlygh-wo. He said that it was of exactly the same nature as this land (the earth) with sun, moon, and stars, a mangu (Amur River), with mountains and with all the animals and plants that there are here, with various peoples and families who go about their occupations there just as here. The only difference is that when it is summer here, there is snow and ice there and people are traveling with dogs in the land of Bun, and vice versa, and similarly, if it is daytime here, it is night there and people are asleep. The fate of the Bun inhabitants is also correlated with mankind here: if in one year they catch many fish and kill many bears, only a few fish are caught and few bears are killed during the same period here, and vice versa. The prophecies of the shamans are based [787] upon their knowledge of these conditions. They have the power [756] to go to the land of Bun at will and to return to this world again, which is not granted to an ordinary mortal, who, once he has migrated to the land of Bun, never returns to this earth again as a human being.

The migration to the land of Bun requires a certain amount of time. Choss. thought that, traveling slowly, one would have to stop overnight nine times, at a faster pace only five times, but it could not be reached in four overnight stops. This determination of time is all the more remarkable since there is no determination of area for the land of Bun, about which I had previously in- [756] quired. The Olcha thus probably owe most of their conceptions of the other world, about which I learned the following, to the reports of the shamans who betake themselves to the land of Bun:

In the land of Bun, as on this earth, the members of one people, and likewise of one family, remain together, and each one, after his death, takes his proper place within his family. The peoples

Gi 795 /763 cont./ in the land of Bun continue to live in the same manner as here. And, finally, like the inhabitants of earth here, the inhabitants of the land of Bun (Buntschi-nei) are mortal and meet a fate in part similar to that of the inhabitants on earth and in part special.

Gi 795 824 If a Buntschi-nei dies "peacefully" or violently, through murder, he changes into an herb, a grass, or a tree of our earth here. This is therefore the shape in which an ordinary mortal returns from the land of Bun to this earth. Choss. and a Dyra Goldi present expressly affirmed the transformation of the dying Bun-inhabitants into various plants on earth. There was said to be no distinction according to age or sex for the various types of plants, so that a child as well as an adult, a man as well as a woman, can be transformed into a tree or a lowly grass. But there is a great difference according to the good or bad character of the dying Bun-inhabitants. If the Olcha chop off a piece of the trunk of a felled tree and split it along the middle, and the two halves fall apart evenly and are equal in size, they will say, it was a good person, but, if the two halves fall apart unevenly and crookedly, it means: this was a crooked person!

Gi 795 796 825 It is different for the Bun inhabitants who have drowned or were torn to pieces by a bear. They suffer the same fate there as do the inhabitants of earth here who have died a similar death. /764/ For in the land of Bun, as on earth, there is an amba (Gilyak kins = devil), who, in a thousand shapes, lives in the forest, mountains, and waters and tries to seize and to devour human beings. If a Bun inhabitant drowns, the water amba (toll-kins of the Gilyak) has eaten him, and he is transformed into a sea dog /harbor seal/, a fish, or some other aquatic animal. If he is torn to pieces by a bear, the forest amba (pall-kins of the Gilyak) has seized him, and he roams the forest as a bear. (2 S.R. I, pp. 36-39.)

Funeral Rites and Mourning

G 758 46. Gilyak. One of the inhabitants of Kuĭk was brought to the hospital of Nikolayevsk critically ill. The Gilyak, however, did not permit him to stay there, because they regarded it as

/764 cont./

758 uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited
764 me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death)
114 during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

764 47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put be-
765 side the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cremation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

764 48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one
[114] yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely
[824] worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the head,

/765 cont./
[764] lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

[493] and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p.1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located, marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p.1232 /.

lowed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

[824] 1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

/765 cont./

764 After the narte had been set down, the dogs were unhitched, and one of them led back to the village, while the other two were tied to a tree. Now the wife of the deceased stepped up to the corpse and removed the pieces of cloth and the spears, the gray shroud, the jukola, the tobacco, and the pipe, and put these articles aside on the ground. She also untied the eye binding and threw it away, as well as the bundle of wood shavings from the neck. Then she took from one of his hands a pinch of fine tobacco and from the other a root which had been placed between the fingers, and finally, untied the string which tied the corpse to the narte. In the meantime an old Gilyak had been busy spreading fir branches on the pyre.

When this bed was ready, the corpse was lifted from the narte and put on the pyre (Plate LXIV /p. 1264/). On the bottom of the narte lay a board and on it a large piece of birch bark which showed traces of its use for storing berries and which had now served as the underlayer immediately under the corpse. The board and birch bark were thrown off, and the sled was pulled aside, where a Gilyak broke it in two and left the pieces lying there. In the meantime, others were busy killing the two remaining dogs, which was done in the following way. One of the Gilyak held the dog on a cord, another threw him a piece of jukola, and, while the dog was eating it, a third hit the dog's neck with a cudgel and pressed it /766/ to the ground with it, whereupon a fourth pierced the animal's heart with a small pointed stick. Both dogs were killed in this manner and laid aside (*). Meanwhile, still other

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* On Plate LXIV /p. 1264/, due to an error, all three dogs are pictured as present during this act.

Gilyak made the fire for the cremation of the corpse. According to the Gilyak view, this may not be produced in the ordinary way with flint and steel, but must be made by rubbing pieces of wood together. For this purpose a kind of spindle was carved out

/766 cont./

764 of dry larch wood, as well as two elongated pieces of wood with
372 a cavity in the center of each one, into which the tip of the spindle exactly fitted. A small piece of fungus was put into these small depressions in the pieces of wood; the spindle was put into them with its tips vertical, and turned with the help of a strap, which ignited the fungus after a few moments. The fire obtained was then maintained with fungus. (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, left foreground.)

764 Meanwhile the other preparations were made at the funeral pyre. After the corpse had been placed upon the layers of fir branches, as has been mentioned, it was covered up with a thick layer of fir branches, but in such a way that the forehead and the crown with the gray hair were visible in the brushwork. Now long logs, of the same dried larch wood as all the rest, were put around beside one another in the form of a pyramid, with only a small space left open at the head end, through which one could still see the gray crown. At the same time, several long logs were placed inside the pyramid on the fir branches that covered the corpse. When the pyre was ready, the place around it was cleared somewhat, in that the dry brush, the smaller roots, and the grass around the pile of wood were removed with the ax, so that the fire would not spread. Now the widow of the deceased took the glowing fungus, wrapped it in dry moss, wound a wide strip of birch bark around it and, by swinging it back and forth, made the flames which she fanned into bigger ones with another piece of birch bark. Since, out of lack of experience, she did not know where the fire must be put first, an old Gilyak gave her the necessary directions, and she now put the fire under the head part of the pyre (Plate LXV /p. 1265 /). As soon as that was done, other Gilyak came to help, took fire from the wife, and put it at corresponding places on the other side of the pyramid, under the corpse and then all around it, for which they used the birch bark that had lain under the corpse on the narte. The dry and easily inflammable material quickly caught fire, and with the moderate breeze the whole huge wooden pyramid soon stood in blazing flames. The heat streaming from it forced the

/766 cont./

764 bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /; between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the [237] [294] wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, as on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

G 764 [237] [294] [262]

/767 cont./ them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

Gi 764 152

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, buĭke, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/,

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

G [114]

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

G [211]

/768 cont./

764 A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadżach) stuck in the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buried. (Bm. I, p. 18.)

764 648 51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kuĭk discovered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kuĭk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

764 [778] [784] 52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be transferred to another place. This would be uĭtsch. Therefore; though the Gilyak from Kuĭk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kuĭk. (Bm. 1, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-rawź (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

764 /768 cont./
on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden bowl (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 4); moreover, there is a small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tutut or pyk, is carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark, wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

[765] 54. Gilyak. According to Surgin's explanation, a bit of the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the cremation, for the ashes in the raff; therefore in every raff one finds all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

[532] 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from Tebach, the little stick, tutut or pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

/769 cont./

764 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tútut) or a
532 cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird; hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely
764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word píttyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a de-
[562] ceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Brn. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a píttyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an ex-
184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected
556 in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

/770 cont./

764 184 556 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269/).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

[114]

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

/770 cont./
764 the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

[778] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265/, to the right in the middle distance).

[784] There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 766 [795] 57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

[795] 764 262 755 the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The [769] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

/771 cont./

000 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
766 of a person killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
[267] lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[755] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
184 and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
[162] them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
[778] Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

766 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
778 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest, instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/771 cont./

766 778 532 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn, [674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 532 825 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628] [627] 1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

G 778 532 625 627 628 /772 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

G 766 775 Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

G 766 184 778 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

G 764 184 63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-ngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

G [784] [171] 64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

Gi 764 531 65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/773 cont./
764
531 and especially animal figures, which among them bear the names chŏldochsa or chywar (*). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

* See Plate LXX /p. 1270 /, where one should probably read Olcha instead of Goldi in the caption, since no Goldi tomb and, in general, nothing similar is discussed elsewhere in the journals.

766
[165] 66. Olcha. The sudden outbreaks of bad weather on the Amur may in part be the reason that one so often finds tombs of drowned persons along the bank. I saw one in Dzaĭ (Dshai on the map) on the right bank of the Amur (Plate LXVII /p. 1267/). It was still quite new and therefore equipped with all the accessories that are customary in such cases. The uilepo, the usual small house, in which the coffin stood, was located on a low terrace on the bank facing the river and was surrounded by pierced birch-bark baskets and bowls, which mark every grave site. Beside it lay a boat and somewhat in the background stood a small hut similar to a dovecot. Two rows of giamssassa stuck in into the ground led from the tomb to the river, forming a wide path. At the beginning of it stood a wooden pole in the ground, on which hung many pieces of string, birch bark, etc. A thick nettle rope ran from this wooden pole to another pole which stood in the middle between the two rows of giamssassa, and from here to a third one at the end of the path. Several low poles placed together in two (3?) clusters were in the river itself in front of the end of the path (**). This equipment at the tomb

** Probably the small groups of wood-shavings sticks in the illustration; see the next report.

indicates a very elaborate burial ceremony which may be done out of superstition and the fear of a similar fate. What especially struck me was that in front of the tomb a fresh small tree branch was only slightly stuck into the ground, from which a cord ran

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/773 cont./

766 into the coffin through a hole pierced in the wall of the little burial house ***. (1 S.R. I, pp. 54, 55.)

*** Omitted in the drawing.

[114] 67. Olcha. (Supplement to the notes concerning the tomb of a drowned Olcha near Dshai on the Amur, visited in 1855, which the author again visited in the summer of 1856 and this time had sketched, which may explain a few slight deviations in the preceding description.) -- The tomb was still very well preserved; I inspected it more closely and, had some explanations given to me about it. In the uilepo or uilep stood the coffin with the corpse of a man. The head was turned toward the river, that is, to the west. The cord, which led from the
766 interior to a tree branch in front of the uilepo, was still there.
775 It is fastened at the head of the corpse. As far as I could gather
825 from the explanations given, the soul of the deceased migrates out of the burial hut on this piece of string (siri). But why, since according to the explanation of the same informant, the soul of a drowned person /774/ migrates into a seal, a fish, or some aquatic animal? This statement was confirmed by the fact that I found in a small framework similar to the Gilyak pittyssj which was near the uilepo, two idols of seals, in addition to other objects. (Like the Gilyak, the Olcha believe that the soul of a person devoured by a bear goes into a bear.)

766 On the framework where the seal-idols lay, the uilep-aũndsha, that is, burial-house night-lodging, the following additional articles lay on spread-out fresh twigs of Pin. picea: a small kettle, a trough (oto) (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 2), and a wooden pestle (mónopo) for preparing mossj (ibid., Fig. 3), and hence, the trough is also called mossonso-oto, and, hanging on a small stick above this, a fire-steel and a bark basket with fire-making equipment.

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/774 cont./

766 The tree branch (tura) in front of the uilep, still green the year before, was now dried up. Close by and in front of it there was a stick (uilep-tûdsha) on which all kinds of articles were hanging: empty bark-bowls, little bark-baskets with berries, roots, sarana tubers, strings of sarana, etc., surrounded by a large number of wood shavings. From this stick a thick [783] willow-bast cord (*) led to the river, supported by several (**)

* In the preceding report: nettle rope.

** Above -- three sticks.

sticks with curled wood-shavings. On each side of the cord there was a row of whittled sticks (with wood shavings). The thick [775] willow-bast cord is likewise called siri, and its course down to [825] river makes one conclude that it has the purpose of guiding the soul of the drowned person from the uilep into the water and to establish communication between the uilep-tudsha, equipped with all kinds of utensils and provisions, and the river, where dwells the soul that has migrated into a seal. The bâobu have almost the same purpose; they are small clusters of whittled sticks put closely together, which stand at the edge of the water in front of the end of the bast cord and the two rows of wood-shavings sticks. Mossj is put between these sticks, evidently for the drowned persons, and there are therefore several bâobu, depending on the higher or lower level of the water, At the side of the one row of wood-shavings sticks lay a boat with the stern pointing toward the river. In addition to the aforementioned uilep-aündsha, there was another one next to it, a similar one, but somewhat larger, in which there were likewise bowls and the like.-- Around the tomb there were several fire areas and a camping framework, a sign that natives had spent a night here. The fresh fir branches in the uilep-aündsha and next to the uilepo itself evidently were brought by them. Probably a memorial visit [769] by the relatives of the drowned person had taken place. (2 S.R. I, pp. 33-35.)

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Orochi

/774 cont./

766 The little burial house (uilepo) has the same size as the ordinary chóldochsa, if the corpse of the drowned person has been found and is deposited in the little house, whereas otherwise a much smaller one of quite similar construction is erected to his memory, as, for instance, in Aure. (2 S.R.I, p. 26.)

764 /775/ 68. Orochi. In the forest in the vicinity of an Orochi village near de Castries there were several graves which were identical with those of the Olcha: small houses with a door in each of the transverse sides. They are significantly larger than the small tombs of the Gilyak, however, since among the Tungusic Amur peoples the corpses are not cremated first. In the interior of the little houses I always saw one or several long wooden boxes, probably coffins, but there were no boards and sticks with wooden bowls and eagle feathers and the like, such as the Gilyak graves have (see Plate LXX /p.1270 /). (1 S.R. I, p. 37).

69. Orochi. On the west side of Observatory Island (in de Castries Bay), next to the remains of former Orochi tents, there are still old graves of these people. One of them was opened, and in the middle of it I found a coffin likewise opened. It was simply put together out of five boards, but the top board [322] was missing. The boards were joined in such a manner that at the end of each board a pin (or peg) was left on and this was stuck through a hole in the board adjoining it (*). The coffin was five

* See Plate LXX /p.1270 /.

feet long and one foot and two or three inches wide. (1 S.R. I, pp. 43 and 44.)

70. Orochi and Olcha. In the forest not far from the Olcha [322] village of Pjedanj (**), I came across an Orochi tomb. A coffin

** Pjedanj = mouth of the Pje.

made out of six boards put together in an unusual way, by means of prongs, stood completely free and uncovered on three tree-trunks standing opposite one another in a triangle about four to

Gelji RX3
Olcha.
Orochi

/775 cont./

764 322 five feet above the ground. On two of them a thin, upright prong was left standing on the trunk of each one (***); on the third

*** In other words, tree stumps are meant.

trunk two of them were present. Poles were laid on these prongs, from the first two trunks to the third, each of them provided at their ends with a corresponding opening for the prongs. The coffin rested on these poles (placed on them crosswise (†), pressed

† According to a small schematic drawing in the text.

down on top by similar poles so that it stood between two pairs of cross-poles which were supported by the tree trunks. The corpse 764 in the coffin was wrapped in birch bark. We learned that it was the tomb of an Orochi woman from the village of Tzidžuē (Zidsuē on the map) on the seacoast, who had died here. It was said that this was the customary mode of burial among the Orochi, if, as in the present case, death resulted from sickness. Such a tomb is called igda-chóldochsa. Men, women, and children are buried in the same way.

766 171 Moreover, this mode of burial is said to be used by the Orochi in cases of violent death, whereas the Olcha erect a chóldochsa (the little house), as the Gilyak do the raff, only for those who die "peacefully" (a natural death), but bury the corpses of murdered persons in an igda-chóldochsa, which is said to be quite similar to those of the Orochi, except that the coffin stands higher above ground.

766 If an Olcha or an Orochi died as a result of being wounded by a bear, a special tomb, a so-called tzéūpo, is erected for him. This is extremely simple, in that /776/ the coffin is set on a pair of longitudinal poles, which are laid on the ground, and is fastened at the sides, whereupon two fir branches (from Pin picea) are stuck into the ground in front of one end of the coffin. Such a tzéūpo was also next to the Olcha tombs near Pjedanj, but the

Gi /776 cont./
766 fir branches were lacking, which is not permissible for a person who has been torn to pieces by a bear.

Gi The inhabitants of individual villages and localities differ
764 with respect to the position in which they put the corpse in the coffin in relation to the points of the compass. The decisive
823 factor seems to be, not the sun, but, among the coastal dwellers,
184 the sea, and, among the Amur dwellers, the river. But different customs prevail, depending on the locality. The Orochi of the coast from Nangmar to Idi are said to place the corpses in the igda-chŏldochsa with the head toward the sea, that is, to the east. At the Orochi tomb in Pjedanj, however, the head was turned toward the Pje River, that is, to the west. The Olcha of Pjedanj, like those on the Amur River in the villages of Kidsi, Dshai, etc., give their dead this same position in the chŏldocha.
Gi In de Castries the chŏldocha, which are not far from the village
[162] and are said to belong to the Olcha who died there, although the entire population now consists of Orochi, have their doors toward the west, that is, toward the distant Amur River, and not toward the sea to the east. The door on the chŏldochsa, however, is always at the head end of the burial house. Thus, these Olcha, if they actually were such, had it oriented according to the customs of their homeland. But the same custom is not found in all the villages on the Amur. In Darachta, for instance, on the left bank of the Amur, where its direction is to the north, the corpses are said to be placed on one side in the coffin, so that they are turned with the face and the chest toward the east, with the head in an upstream direction toward the south, the feet in a
G downstream direction toward the north. Among the Gilyak, the
764 river seems to be absolutely decisive for the position of the raff, because I always saw the door of the raff turned toward the river,
823 no matter what its direction was, for example, in Kuĭk, Kalgho, Tacht, Kalm, and Chjare, at the first two places, therefore, toward the south; at the latter, toward the west. (2 S.R.I. pp. 25-27)
000 /Page 777 contains a list of errata which have been corrected in the text./

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] 1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XLVII

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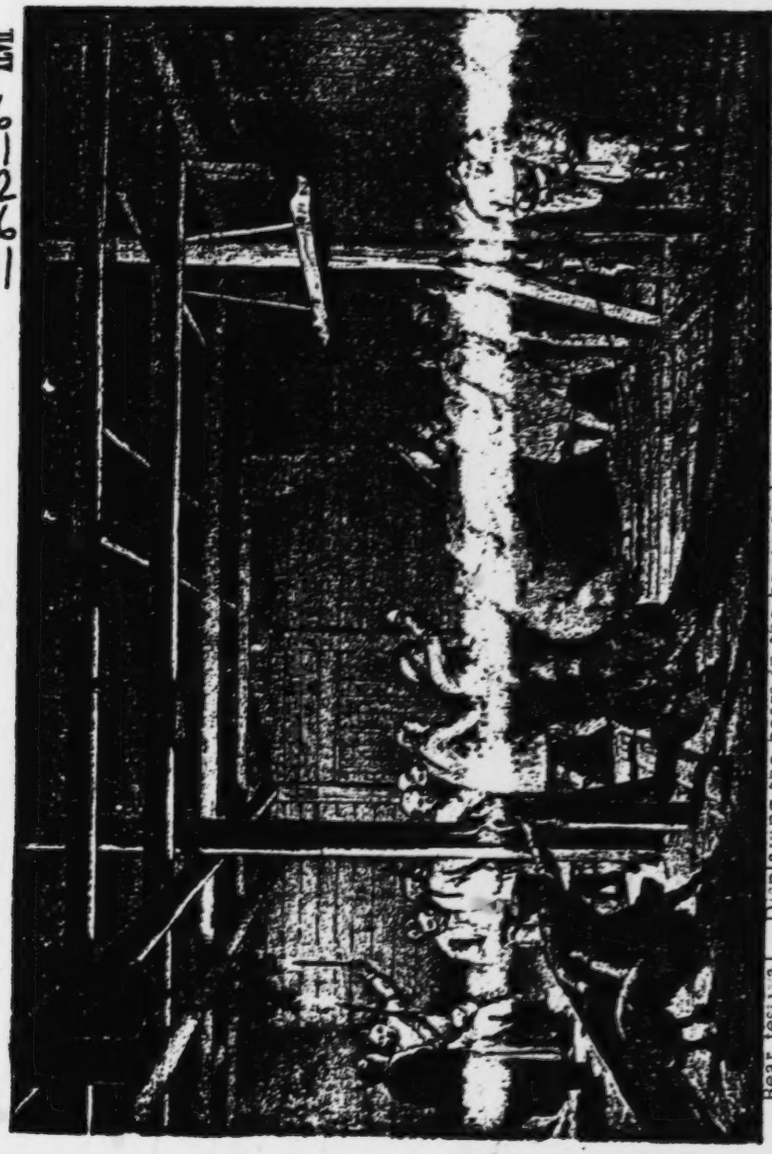

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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XLVIII

Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

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597
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417
415
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Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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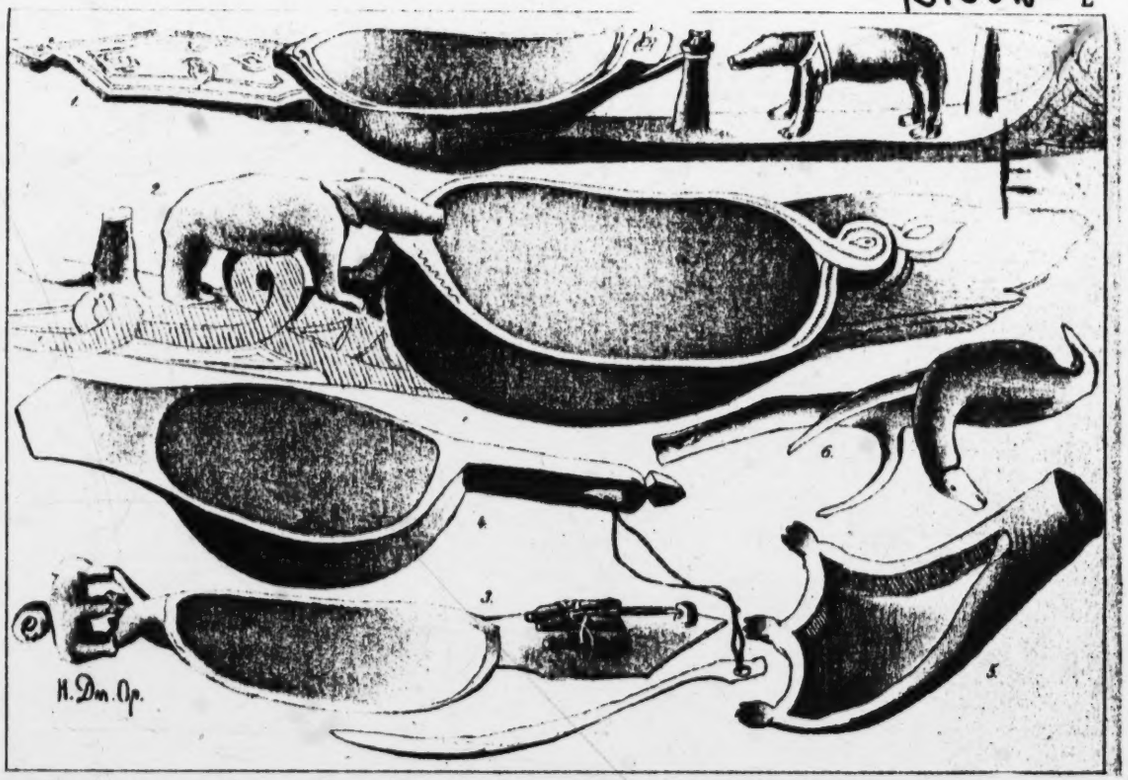
2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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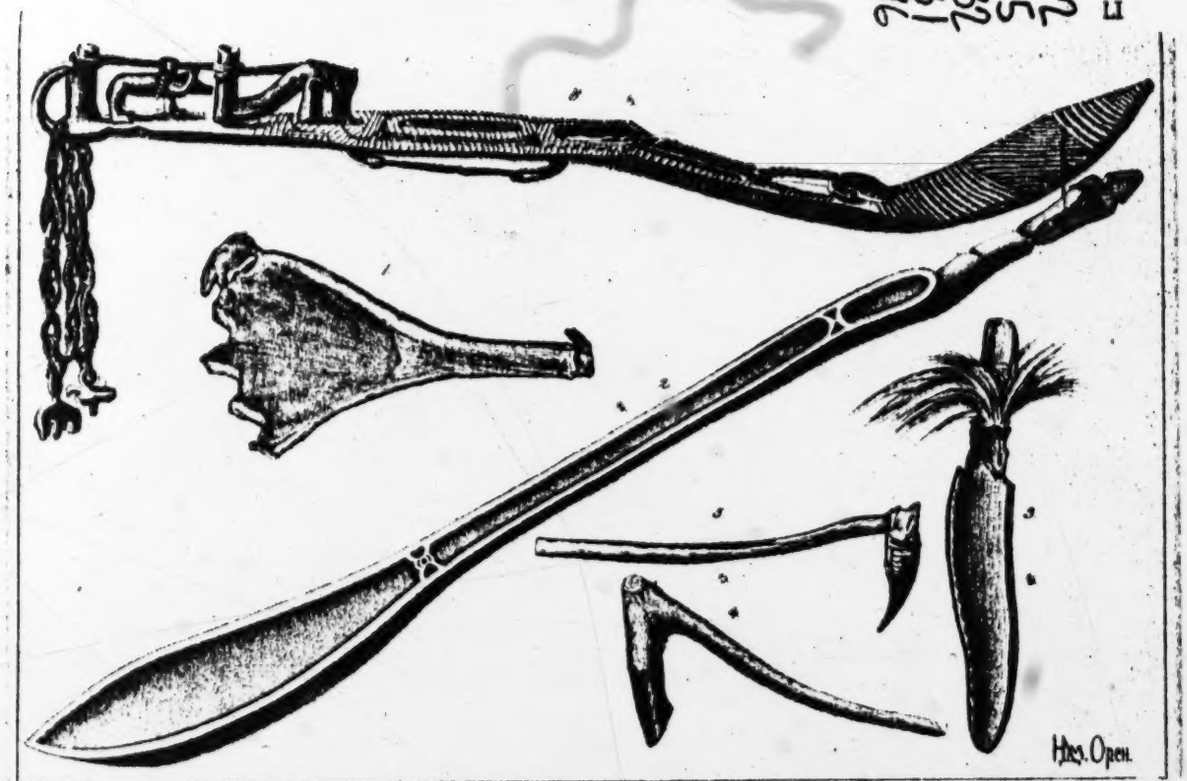

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak; 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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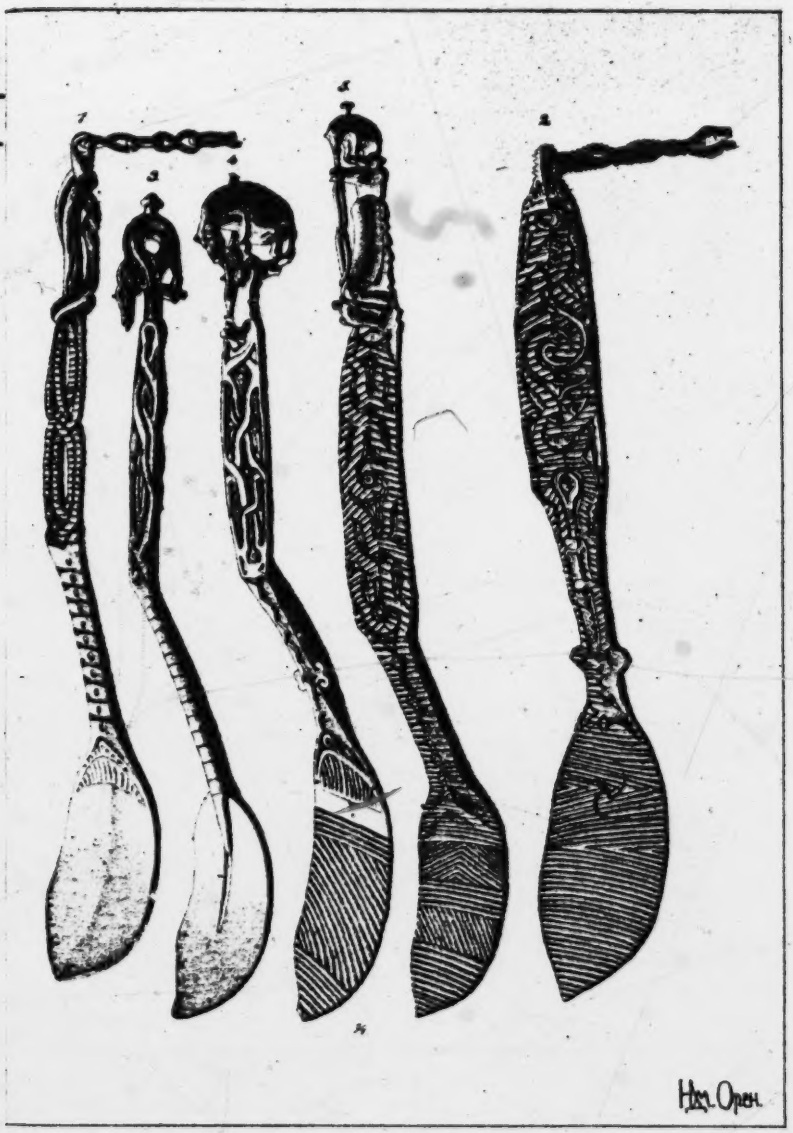

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1253 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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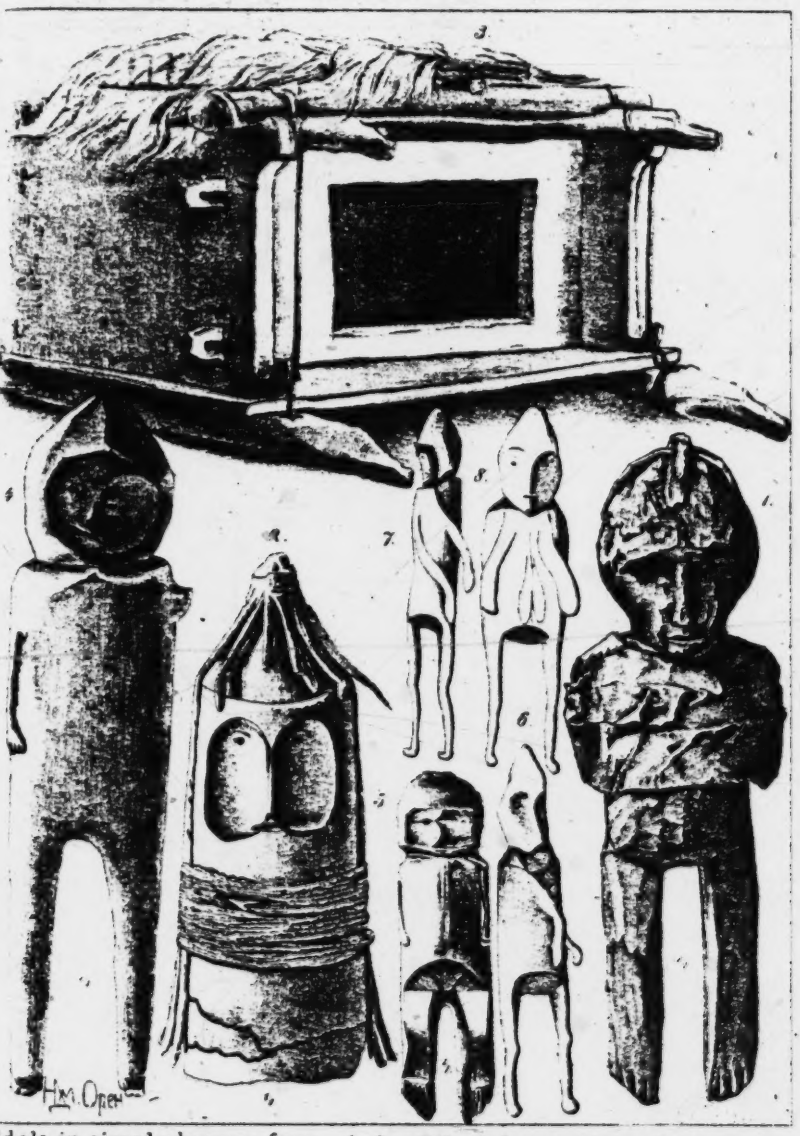
778
532



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Idols in simple human form. 1, 2--Gilyak house idols. 3. Dwelling of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-armed Gilyak idol. 5. Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Goldi (reduced).

2: Schrenck--1254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3 LIV.

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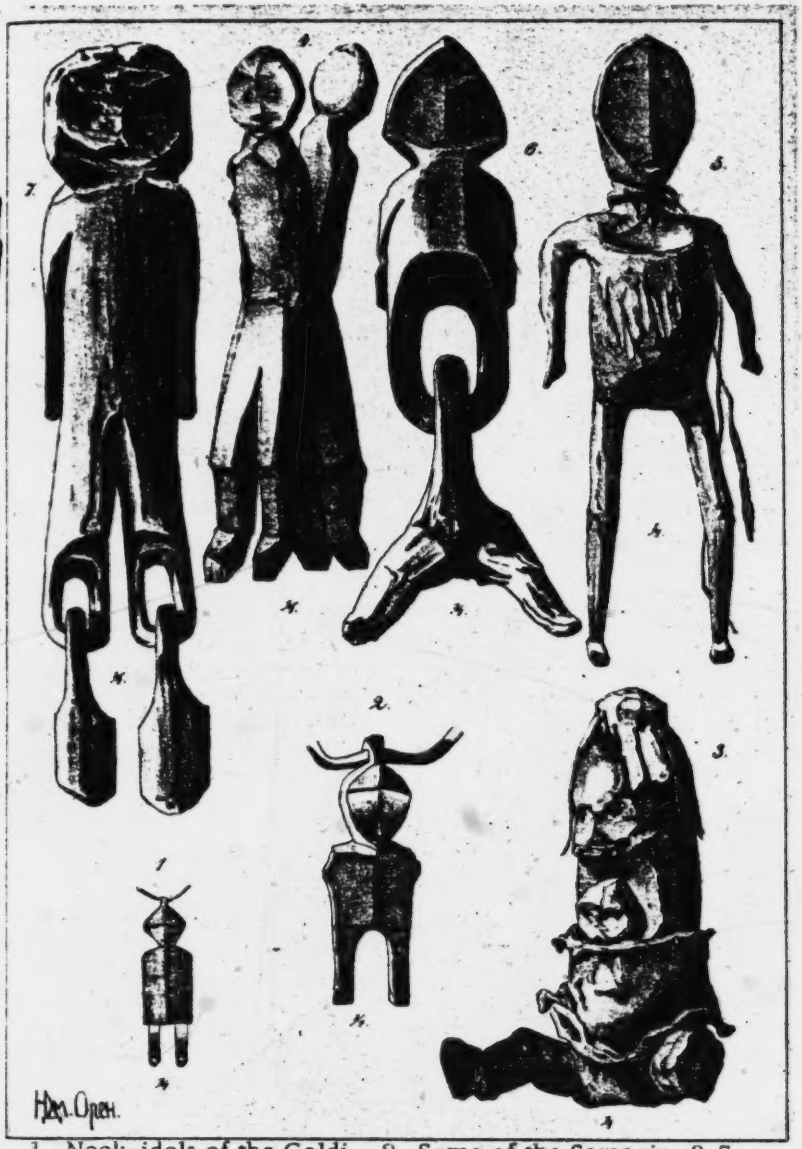

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1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

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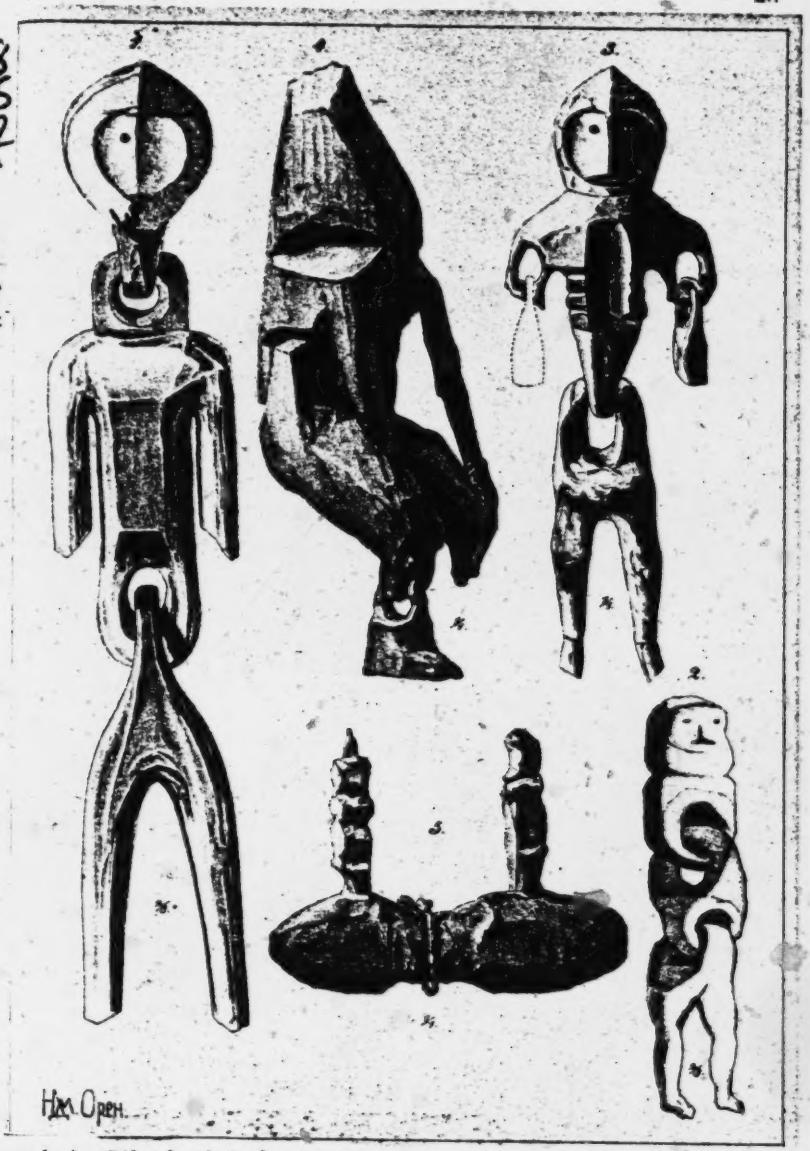

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

2: Schrenck--1256 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LVI
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Gilyak idols made out of combined human and animal forms. 1. Human being and tiger. 2. Human being, tiger, and bear. 3. Human being and bear. 4. Human being and owl. 5. Human being and white whale.

2: Schrenck--1257 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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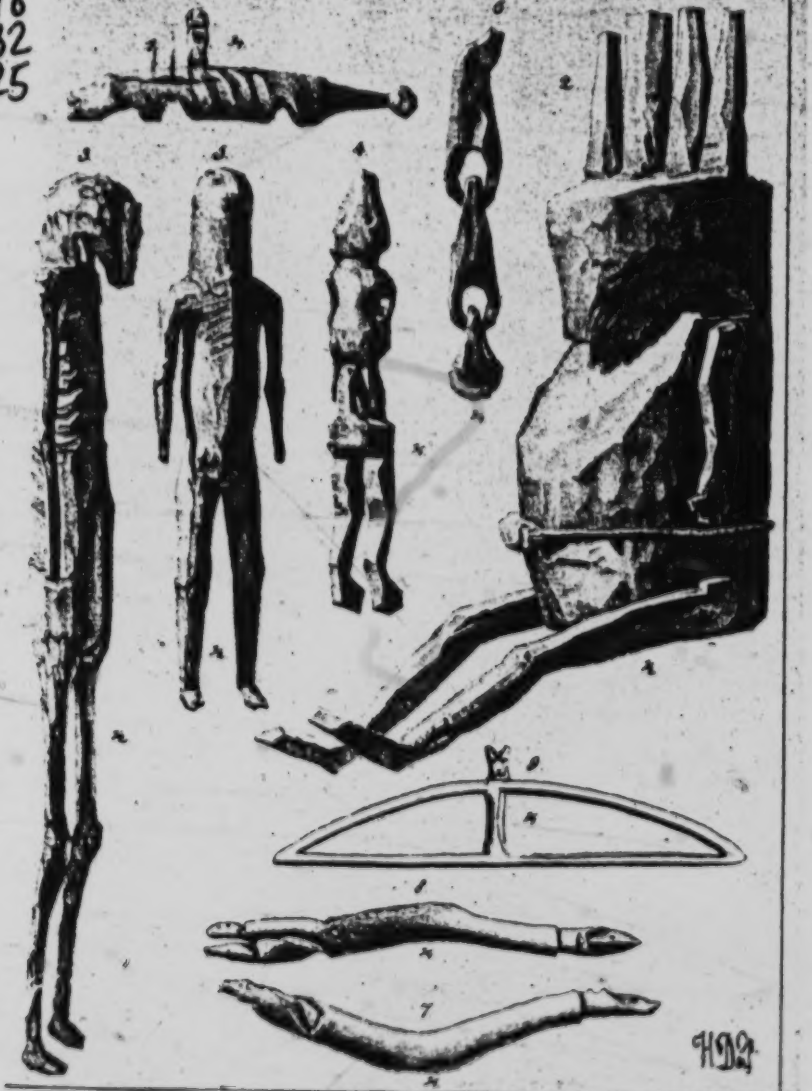

[755]

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combined: 1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head; 3, 4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with owl head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7, 8--Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly, a bow with human head.

2: Schrenck--1258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LTR

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532
825

[196]

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front on the belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, jointed, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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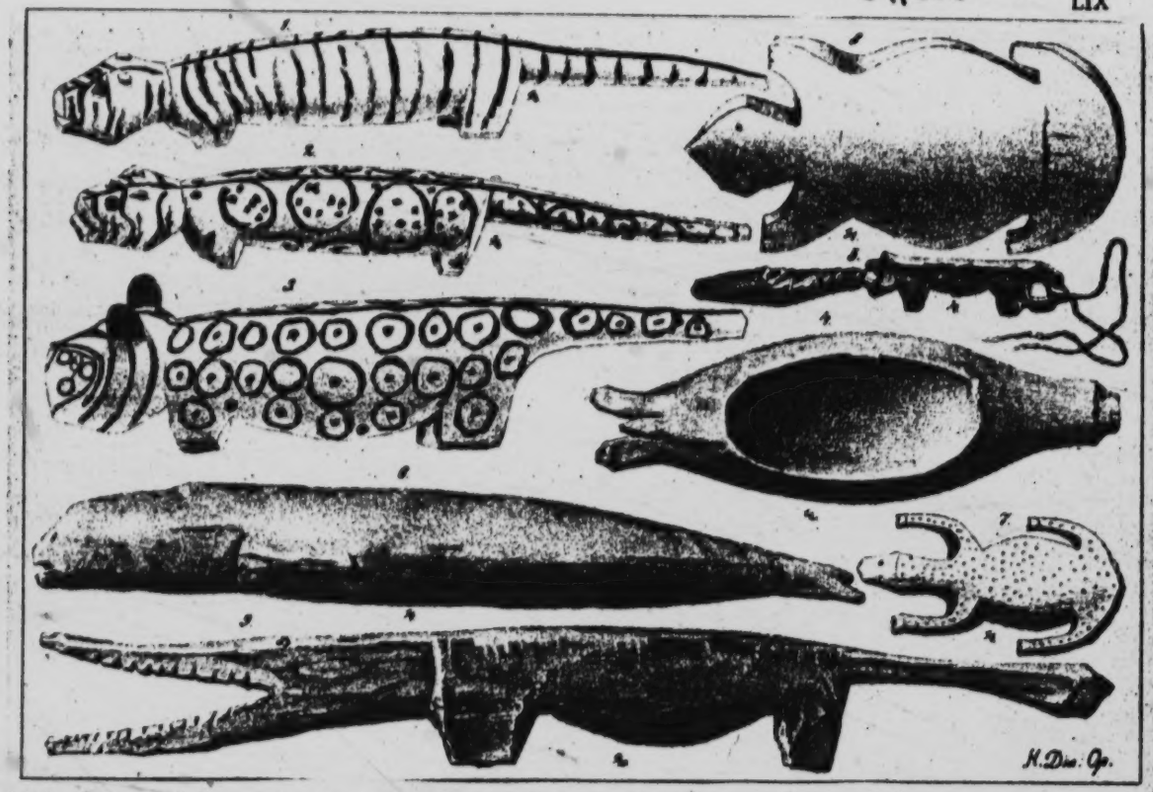
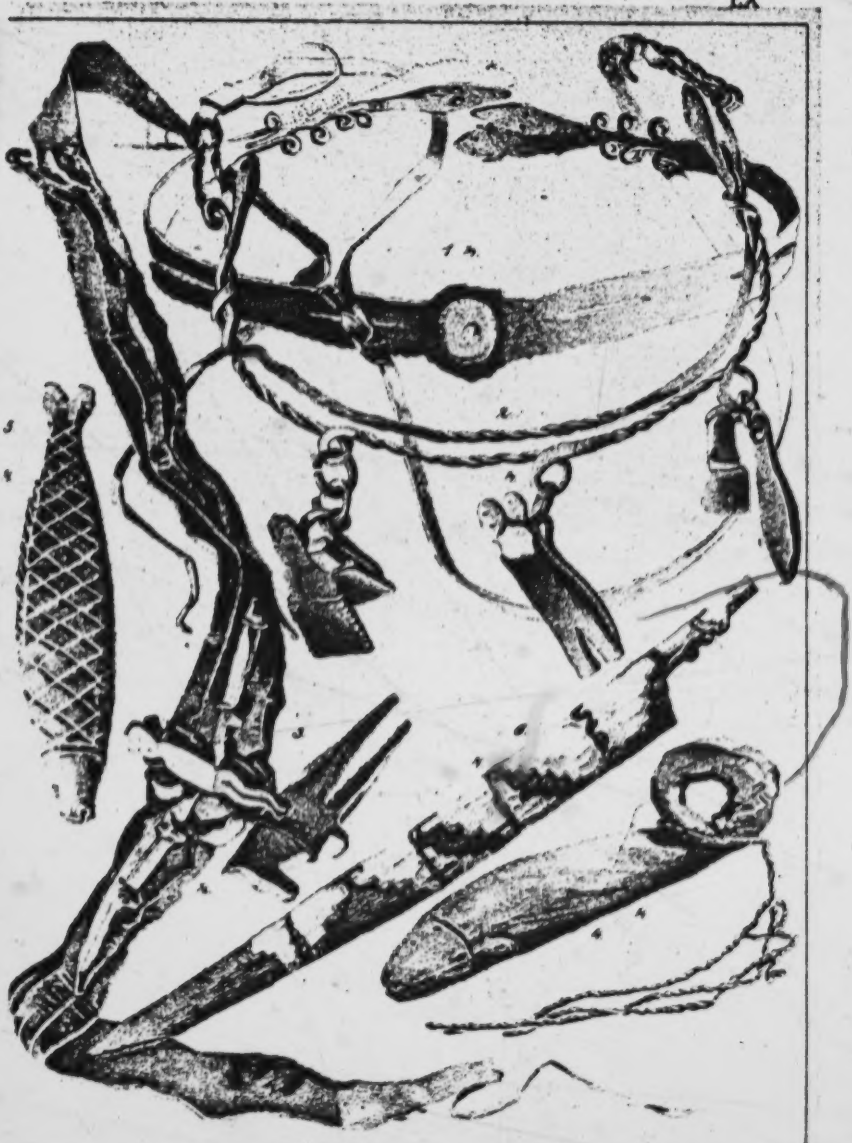
LIX



Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha amulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7, 8--toad (Gilyak); 9--"chas" of the Gilyak.

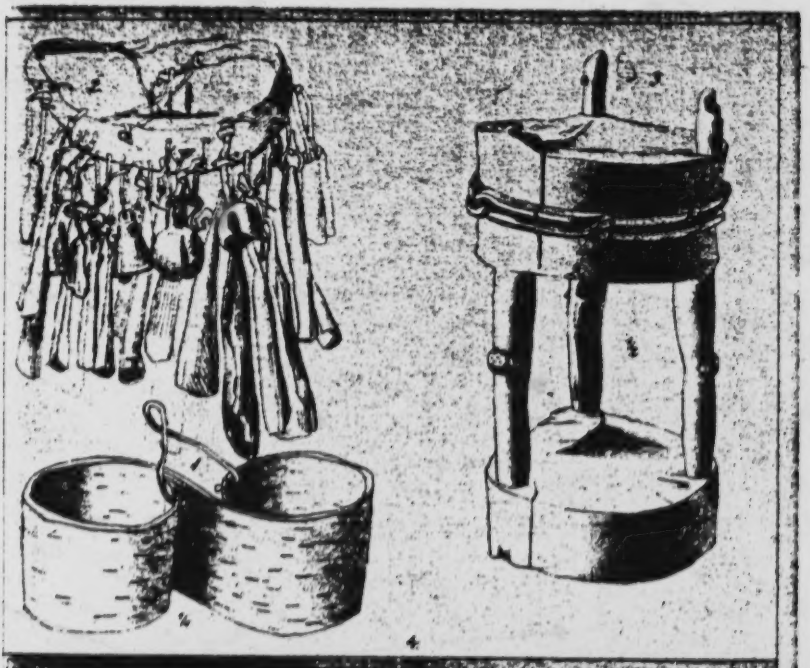
2:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LX
778
532
751
532
[524]



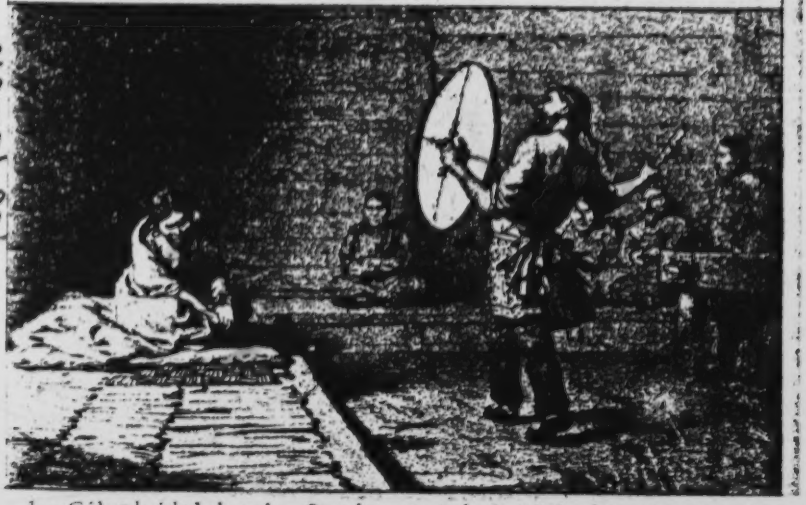
1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
VI

756 ←
778
782 →
778
415 ←



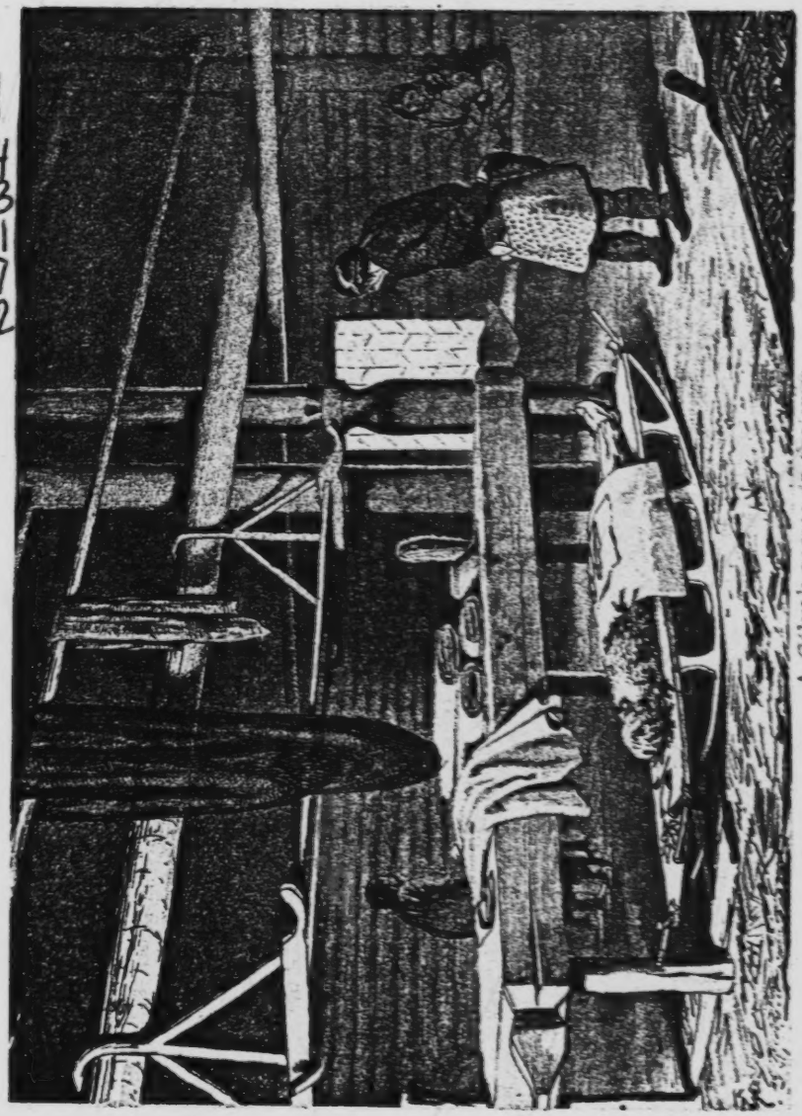
756
755
291
292
516
352



1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

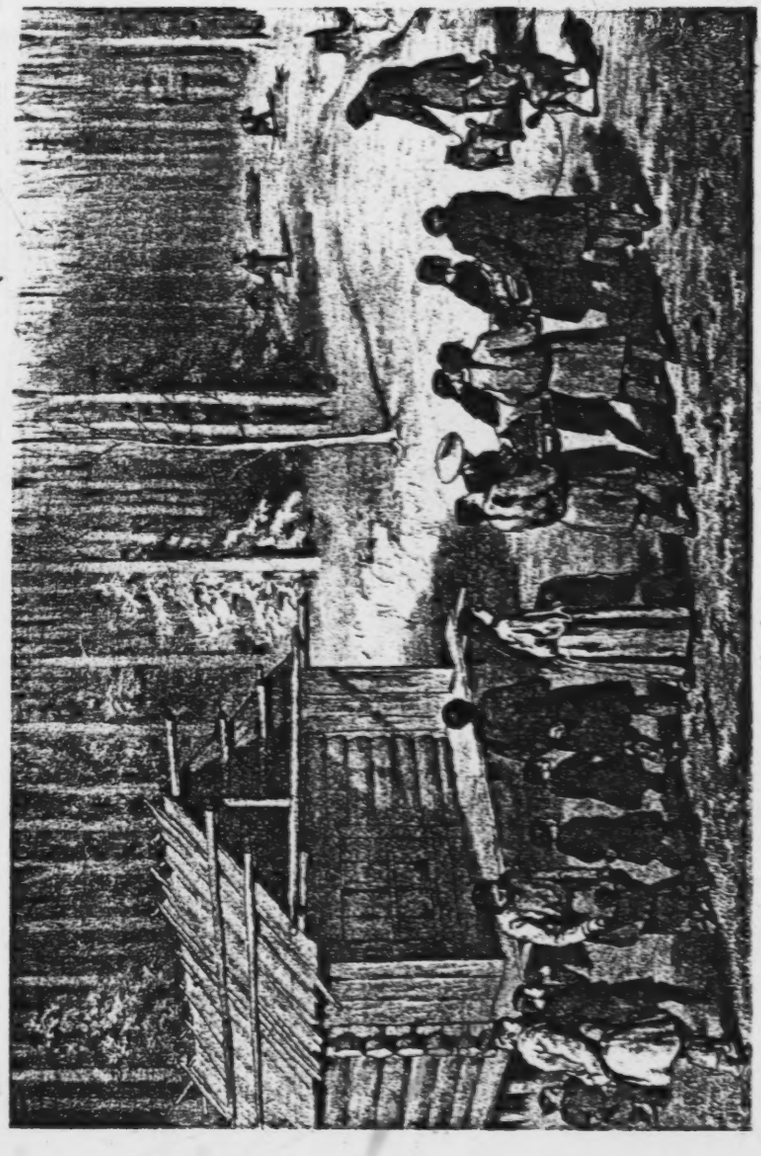
2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXII
764
493
291
417
352



A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



Gilyak interment.

LXIII
764
231
342
291

2: Schrenck--1264 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

764
231
291
372
412
493
137

Gilyak funeral.

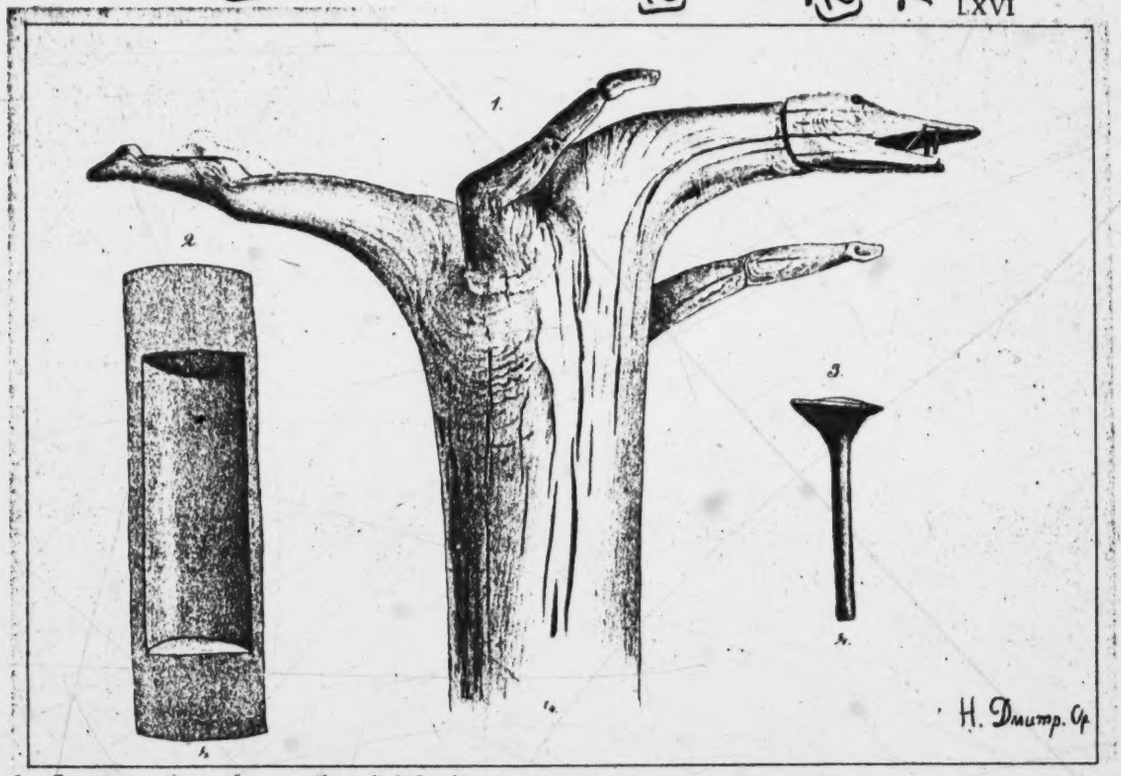
2: Schrenck--1265 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXV

764
291
139

Gilyak funeral.

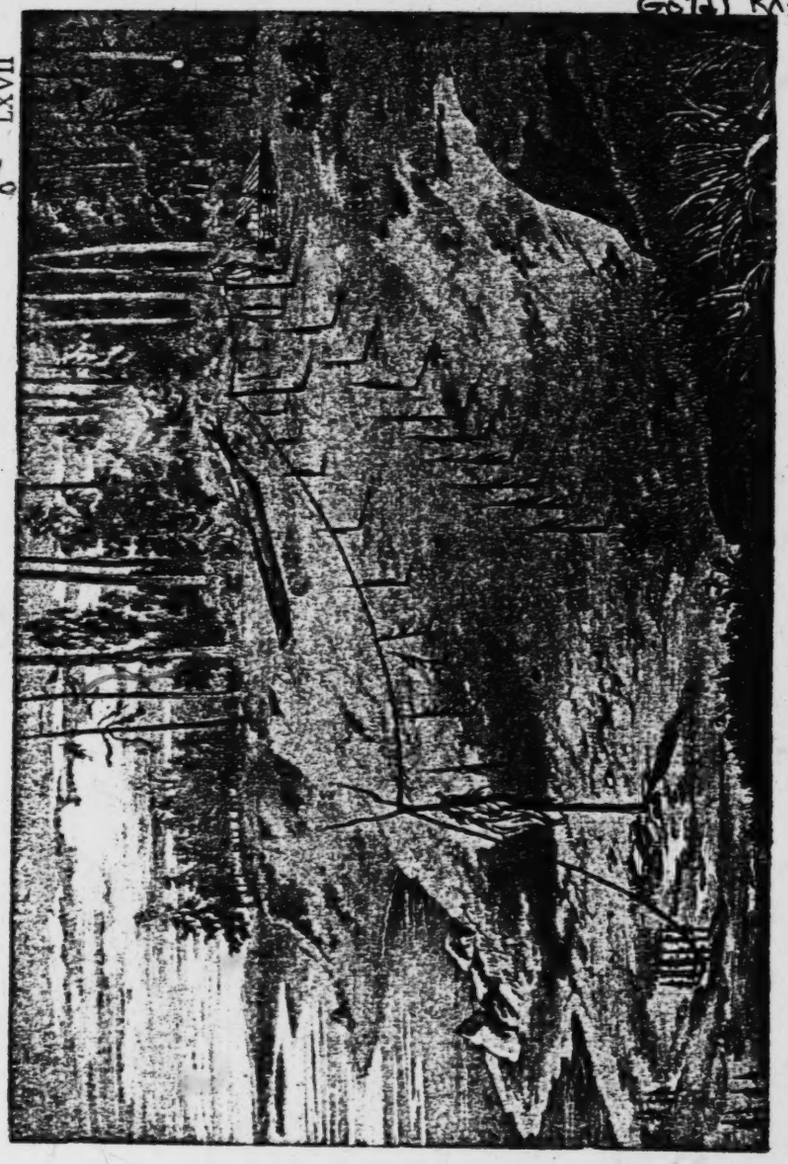
2: Schrenck--1266 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

2: Schrenck--1267 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX3

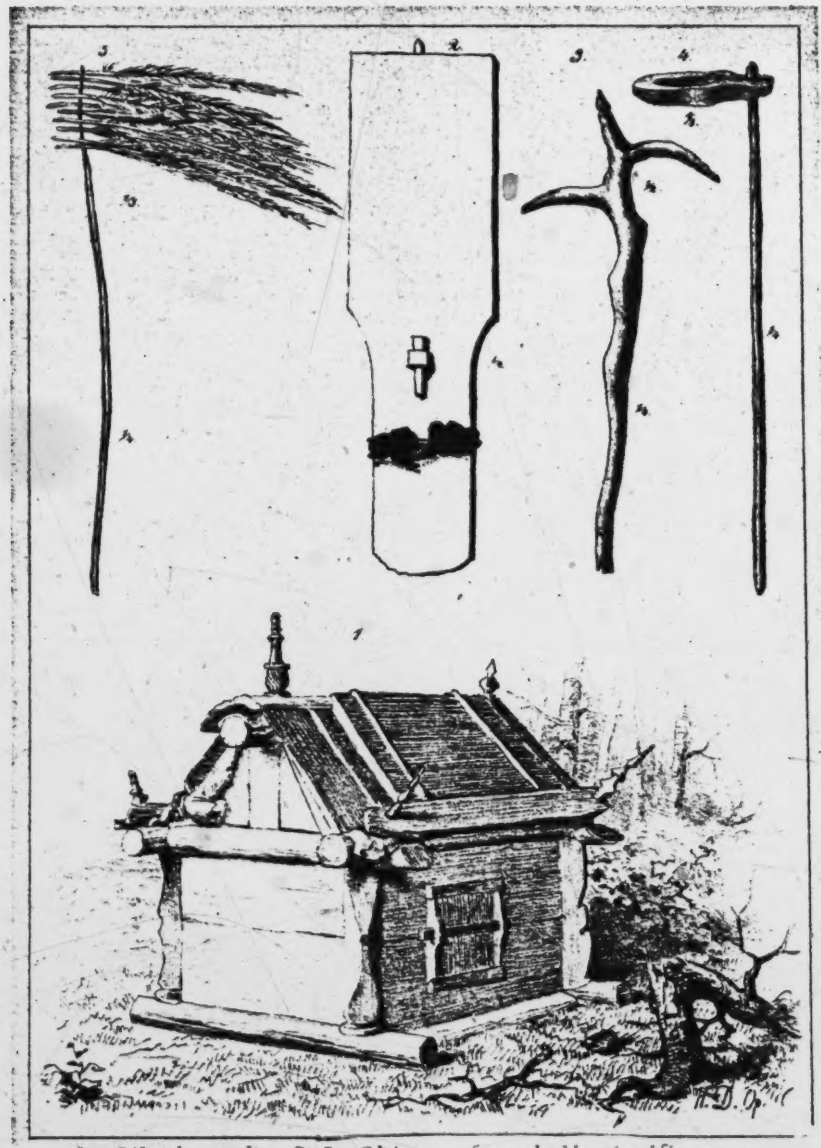
766



Grave of a drowned Manguñen.

2: Schrenck--1268 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

764
532

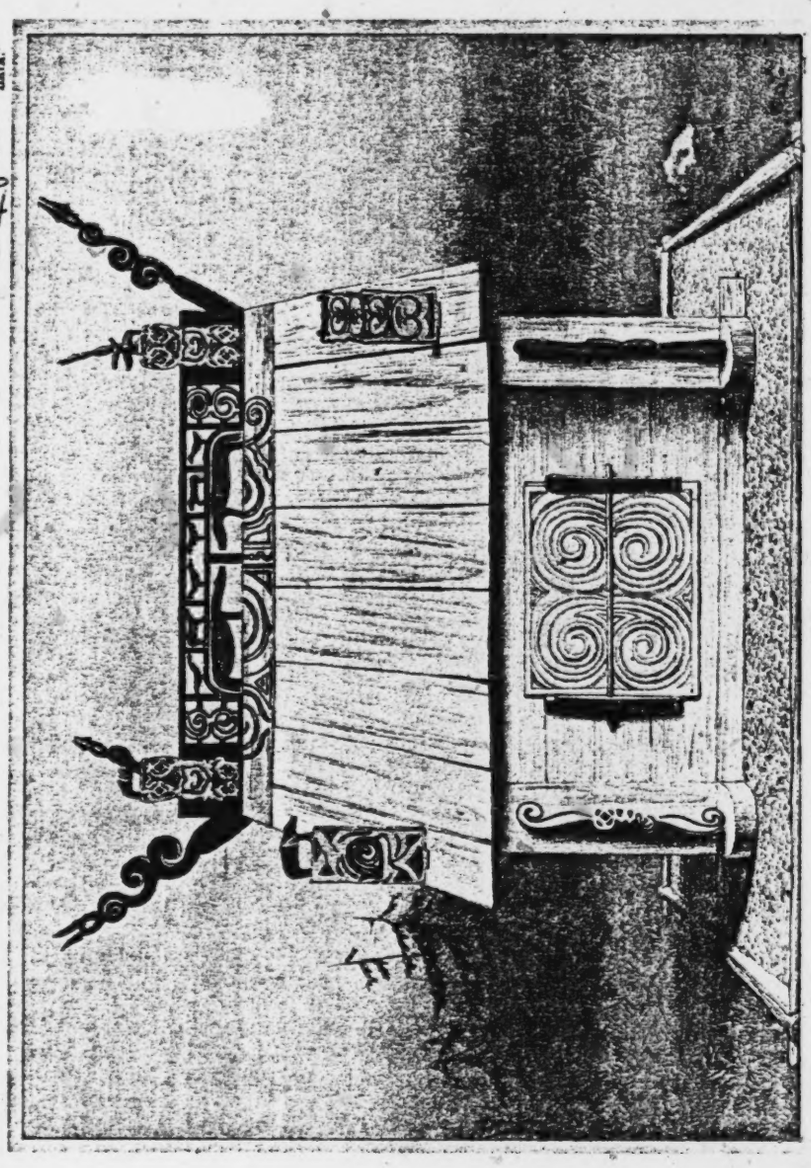


764

1. Gilyak tomb. 2-5. Objects of symbolic significance found in the tomb.

2: Schrenck--1269 B-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2

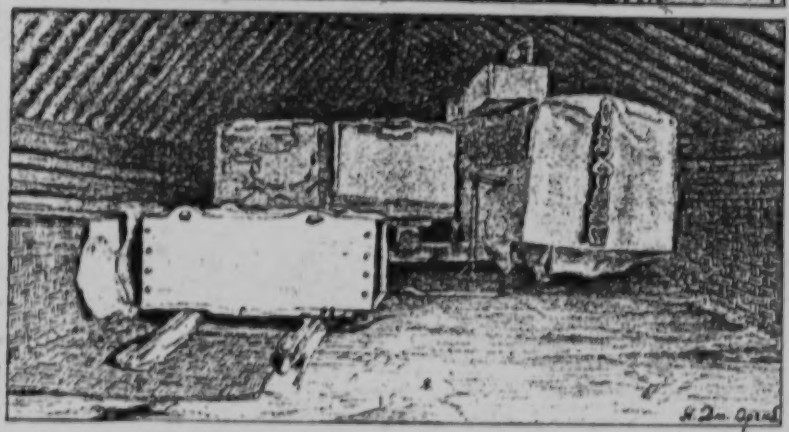
764
556
184
531



An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

2: Schrenck--1270 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Olcha
LII
764
531

764



1. Burial house of the Goldi /probably Olcha; see p. 1241, note */. 2. Interior of it.

101

131 /For information on the Goguli people of the Amur River region of Southeast Siberia, who are tentatively identified by Schrenck as a Manchu people, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 331-334./

113 Southeast Siberia RX1

101 Ainu AB6

102 Tungus RU5

103 Birar

Orochon

Daur

131 Solon

Manegir

133 Goldi RX3

Orok

Orochi

Olcha

Negidal

Kile

Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

[For general information on the Dagur (Daur) see also 2: Schrenck in the RX2 Gilyak File, pp. 105-108, 334-362 and 365-373. This material has been marked for the Daur subgroup of the Tungus, but it is suspected that the Daur subgroup in reality refers to the Dagur.]

175

648

177

/For general data pertinent to the culture history of the Amur River region during the latter half of the 19th century, see also 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, pp. 1-3, 6-11, 14-20, 72-73, 158-188, 191-196, 308-311, 331-334, 362-369, 374-376, 408-409, 412-417, 432-448, 614, 625-627, 644-645, 717-719, 721, 723-726, 728-731, 773-778, 835-836, 905, 923, 967-973, and 977-987. The data contained in the above pages will be found under the OWC subheading of Southeast Siberia RX1./

262

/For information on the various items entering into the Gilyak diet, see category 116, pp. 645-679./

/For information on the house types of the Polar and West Greenland Eskimo, see also 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 504-512. This information will be found in this source under the OWC subheading of ND2 Eskimo./

343 /For information on the raff, a small burial hut erected at a grave site, see category 764./

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical
Manchuria AG2

441

/Information on itinerant Chinese merchants in the Amur and Manchurian areas will be found in categories 439 and 563./

796

/For specific information and details of the Gilyak bear festival, see category 116, pp. 1132-1167, and 1174-1184./